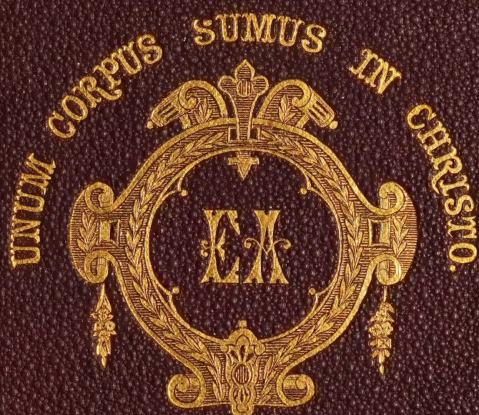




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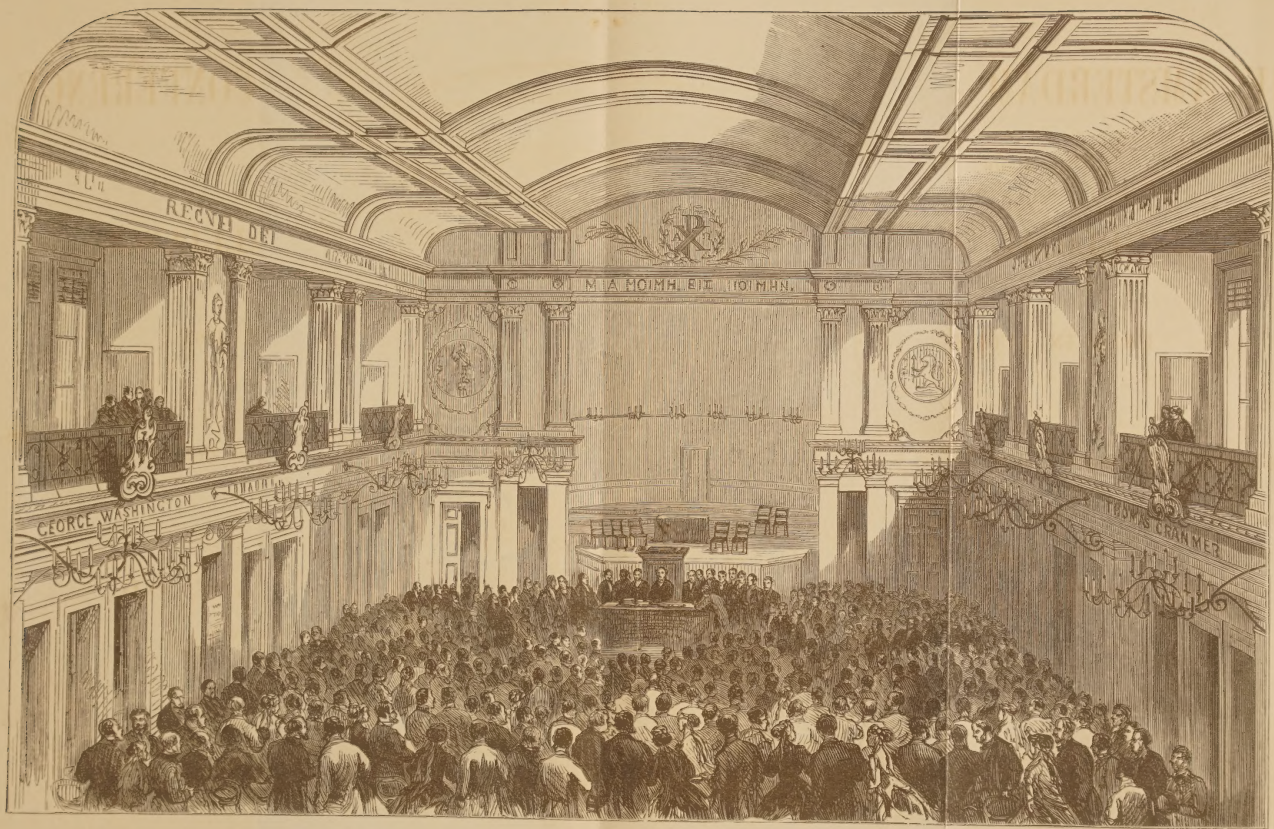
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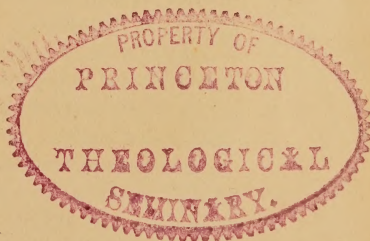
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HELD IN AUGUST, 1867.

Published by authority of the Council of the British Organization.

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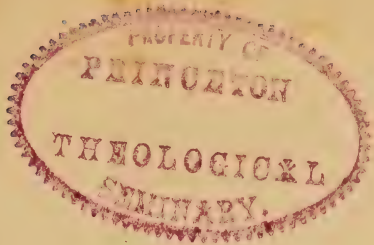
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DESCRIPTION OF THE PARK HALL.

THE Park Hall, of which a wood engraving is given as a frontispiece to this volume, was admirably suited for the meetings of the Conference. It is a large building, standing at the upper end of the Park Garden. The principal room is capable of containing, in the area and galleries, some 1500 persons, and in connection with it are several smaller rooms, for Committee, and sectional meetings. It is entered from the garden through a glass vestibule running its whole length, and many feet wide, apparently designed to be used as a winter garden. Glass doors open from this vestibule into the hall, and over these were the arms of the city of Amsterdam. On entering the hall it was impossible not to be struck with the comfort of the general arrangement, and still more with its beautiful decorations prepared for the occasion. At the upper end was a large platform, bearing the President's chair and table, surrounded by other chairs for the Committee and principal members, and the rostrum for the Speakers; and behind this, more elevated still, was the orchestra, for the psalmody was always accompanied by instrumental music, and sometimes conducted by a choir. Above the vaulted orchestra, in the frieze of the cornice, was inscribed in Greek capitals, the words of Christ, in John x. 16: ΜΙΑ ΠΟΙΜΗ, ΕΙΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΝ; and above this, in the lofty bow window, upon a chassinet, the classic symbol of the Saviour adopted by the early Church in a wreath of palm. On one side of the orchestra was the obverse of the old Dutch coin, a female figure, with the Bible and cap of liberty, and the motto *Hac nitimur, hanc tuemur*; and on the other, the reverse, a lion holding a bundle of arrows, and the motto, *Concordiæ res parvæ crescunt, discordiæ maximæ dilabuntur*, both encircled with a chain linking together the arms of the different provinces. On the side walls were four inscriptions in Latin, viz.: *Evangelium Christi lux mundi*; *Evangelium virtus in salutem*; *Regnum cælorum fermento simile*; *Regnum Dei granum sinapis*. Under the ballustrades of the galleries were suspended the arms of the principal countries represented in the Conference, and beneath them, in letters of

gold, were inscribed the names of some of their most illustrious patriots and reformers. On the one side were the arms of *France, Prussia, England, Denmark, and Switzerland*, and the names of CALVIN, LUTHER, CRANMER, EGEDE, and ZWINGLE; and on the other the arms of *Sweden, Belgium, America, Russia, and Italy*, and the names of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, ALDEGONDE, WASHINGTON, WLADIMIR, and SAVONAROLA. On the end wall opposite the platform was, first, the monogram of the name of Jesus, in medieval characters, and under it, in Latin, the words of St. Paul, which the Evangelical Alliance has adopted as its motto, "*Unum corpus sumus in Christo.*" Beneath this were the Netherland arms on a ground of folded orange-colour drapery, and in Gothic characters the motto, "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*" In four niches, two on each side of the side-walls, four emblematic figures, more than eight feet high, painted grey, represented the four preceding Conferences in *London, Paris, Berlin, and Geneva*. First, *England*, a female figure resting on an anchor, symbol of commerce and of faith, crowned with the rose, the thistle, and the shamrock, and with the palm branch in her hand, lays the first stone, with the inscription on it, "*Lóndon, 1846,*" and spans it with a pair of compasses. Then *France*, with the eagle and the cross, holding in her hand an open book, on which she has written *Déclaration des Principes*, meaning the doctrinal basis of the French branch of the Alliance, lays the second stone of the column inscribed *Conférence de Paris* (1855). Next, *Germany*, who has laid the third stone, inscribed *Berlin* (1857), with her right hand is placing upon it a bust of the late King of Prussia, while in her left she holds the open Gospel of St. John. Lastly, *Switzerland*, leaning against the column which is now raised still higher by the addition of a fourth stone inscribed *Geneva* (1861) and surmounted by a bust of Calvin, holds in one hand the Federal banner with the sign of the cross, and crowned with the cap of liberty, and with the other points to the sun rising behind the clouds, surmounted by the motto of the city of Geneva, "*Post tenebras lux.*" The whole of these decorations were designed and executed with great taste and skill, under the superintendence of the Rev. M. COHEN STUART.

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PREFACE.

AMONG the Protestant nations of Europe, Holland historically holds a foremost place. In geographical extent comparatively small, and contending against greater difficulties, for her physical existence, than perhaps any other country, she has a history which the greatest nations might covet, and traditions which cover her people with everlasting renown. From the first they have been brave and generous, lovers of freedom and national independence, and of the Gospel. Holland retains her ancient characteristics still, and long may she retain them alike to her own honour, and for the benefit of mankind.

The rise of the Dutch Republic is one of the grandest historical episodes in the providential government of the world. The fierce struggle in which she engaged with the most powerful monarchy of Europe, the incredible hardships she endured, and the horrible cruelties inflicted by her enemies, find no parallel in the history of those or of any other times. With indomitable perseverance she fought at once for her liberty and her religion against the armies of Spain and the Inquisition of Rome. Her soldiers were all heroes, and her Christian citizens almost all martyrs. The strife was long, and the issue at times seemed doubtful; but patriotism and piety, under the inspiration of Protestantism, and the flag of the House of Orange, at length and finally achieved the victory.

Persecutions in France and Switzerland, in Germany and England, and wherever else the newly awakened zeal for the Gospel provoked the deadly malice of the Papacy, drove swarms of refugees to Holland. They were received as fellow-sufferers with open arms, and contributed by their faith and valour to her ultimate independence and prosperity. Nor in the sixteenth century alone, but at a later period, Holland became the home of the persecuted, and the land both of freedom and of the Evangelical faith. Is there a Protestant nation of Europe which does

not owe to her even now, after the lapse of generations, a debt of undischarged obligation for the hospitality and protection extended to their exiled subjects in the days when their liberties were crushed and their religion was proscribed at home?

But it must be added in grateful acknowledgment of the faithfulness of God, who never permits acts of generosity and kindness to his suffering children to go unrewarded, that while Holland thus became the centre of attraction to all lovers of truth and freedom, and the refuge to which conscientious and godly men, men of learning, and ministers of the Gospel, in more than an official sense "the angels of the churches" from which they were driven, resorted from all countries, she received into her own bosom as the consequence a rich and manifold blessing.

In language equally graceful and elegant it was said by one of Holland's most illustrious statesmen, and the historian of her ancient greatness, in his address at the present Conference, "The Prince of Orange and his brethren, our Maccabees, were by birth Germans. French, English, thousands of Belgians, emigrated to us. Well, from all these different elements, collected together, —fused, naturalized by the fiery trial—out of this chaos the Spirit of the Lord called forth the State, by the Word of God, weak enough as yet, but with the providential mission to hold up the standard of the sovereign and free grace of our Lord Jesus Christ."

" Holland is the product of the Evangelical Alliance of past times."*

It was as natural therefore to the antecedents of our Dutch brethren as it was worthy of themselves, to invite the Evangelical Alliance of the present times to assemble in one of its general Conferences in their country; and the Evangelical Protestants of other nations were but perpetuating the sympathies of their own forefathers in meeting the invitation with a cordial and unanimous acceptance.

PRELIMINARY DIFFICULTIES.

Some preliminary difficulties, however, had to be met and removed. Of these one of the chief related to the basis of

* M. Groen van Prinsterer, pp. 509, 510.

Christian doctrine on which the Dutch Conference should be convened. The Evangelical Alliance has its own doctrinal basis of nine articles as originally agreed upon and settled at its formation. The French branch subsequently reduced these to a single proposition. But the French formula, tacitly and inferentially acquiesced in, as suited to the exigencies of the French brethren, has never been accepted by the other branches as a substitute for the original. The Dutch had never organized a branch. Some distinguished Christians of that country were present and took an active part in the formation of the institution; they had also since maintained a friendly correspondence with its committees in different countries, and had cordially co-operated in some of its most public and important transactions, but they had done this either as individuals, or as the members of a Protestant society which they considered as in some sort supplying the place of a local branch of the Alliance, and rendering the formation of one for Holland unnecessary. Dutch Protestants, moreover, generally are strongly attached to the creed of the ancient National Church of the Netherlands, and it was proposed, and by some contended, that this should be put forward as the platform of the intended Conference. The proposition, however, for obvious reasons, could not be accepted. The Alliance, composed of members of all Evangelical churches, could not, with propriety, be invited to stand together upon the creed of one. However high the place their creed deservedly held in the judgment and affections of the Dutch as a true outgrowth of the Reformation, and the symbol of that pure faith for the maintenance of which their fathers had heroically suffered a baptism of fire and blood, other churches of the Reformation period had their creeds also, and in like manner endeared to them, and it would have been somewhat invidious, by giving this prominence to the one in question, to have put the others into a position in which, like the eleven stars, they would have seemed to do obeisance to the star of Joseph. No such superiority was, indeed, meant to be assumed for the symbol of their Church by the Dutch brethren, but they felt that in view of certain great divergences from it by many of the pastors and theological professors of their own country, which they much deplored, its use on this occasion afforded at least for themselves the securest foothold, and the best guarantee of their fidelity to the essential truths of Divine Revelation. Their fellow-Christians on the other hand

could not, with this explanation, persistently object to its occupying a place conjointly with the doctrinal basis of the Alliance in any document that might be issued convening the Conference.

The invitation therefore appeared in relation to this subject in the following form :—

“We, Christians of the Netherlands, being heartily devoted to the Netherland Confession, in its national and historical character, at the same time associating with the doctrinal basis of the English and French Branches of the Evangelical Alliance, explained in the sense of the various Churches of the Reformation,—invite all members and friends of the Alliance, willing to join us, to the General Conferences, which are to be held, God willing, from the 18th till the 28th of August, 1867, in Amsterdam. Whilst avowing, for ourselves, our attachment to the great tenets of our national Confession, we acknowledge, without reserve, the Evangelical character of all Churches and Communities, that adhere to the great Scriptural truths.”

Preparations were made for holding the Conference in the autumn of 1866. The brethren of the different churches in Holland who had formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of carrying the design into effect, and had appointed BARON VAN WASSANAER VAN CATWIJCK their president, THE HON. J. W. VAN LOON, vice-president, and the REV. M. COHEN STUART, secretary, had encountered and surmounted many obstacles. These are detailed, as it was proper they should be, in the introduction to the Dutch edition of the Transactions of the Conference. They need not, however, be more than referred to here except for the sake of adding that the perseverance and steadfast faith of these brethren, and especially of their devoted and indefatigable secretary, are worthy of all praise. By men of less earnestness of purpose and vigorous Christian zeal, the work would scarcely have been carried through the trials that beset them among their own countrymen.

But when these were happily overcome, and all the preliminaries were arranged, other and insurmountable obstacles presented themselves. Divine Providence now interposed in two occurrences which necessitated the postponement of the Conference. Early in the summer of 1866 the peace of Europe was broken by the sudden outbreak of the German war, which

involved not only the two great nations immediately in conflict with each other, but many also of the lesser States, and in its progress seemed not unlikely to overleap the bounds of Germany and to extend to other nations of the Continent. While the war was raging in Bohemia, Holland was itself visited by another scourge. The cholera still lingered there, and cases of much severity had at intervals awakened alarm even in the spring; but as the summer advanced its ravages increased, both in the number of its victims and in the places visited by it, so that the danger and the consternation arising from it produced a state of things altogether incompatible with the contemplated gathering in Amsterdam. In the face of these two "sore judgments" of the Lord it became impossible to proceed. The Conference was necessarily deferred.

Nor could it be foreseen how long the postponement might last. Even should the cholera abate, the war might continue. It might even kindle a general conflagration and spread itself over many battle-fields. Such an apprehension appeared by no means ill-founded, for the political horizon was surcharged with threatening elements. The nations were angry, the rulers were ambitious, vast armies were eager to rush into the conflict, and suppressed nationalities were only waiting for the opportunity to throw off the yoke of their conquerors and reassert their independence.

It was not, therefore, without many misgivings lest the purpose now surrendered should be long before it found itself fulfilled, that letters announcing its present relinquishment were sent forth. But there was no alternative; and this conviction, that they were acting under the force of a Providential necessity, sustained the hopes of the brethren, and enabled as well as disposed them to "rest in the Lord and wait patiently for Him." Happily they had not to wait long; for, to the astonishment of all men, the termination of the war was rapid and final. The acquisition of territory by the victor was said, indeed, to have provoked the jealousies of another great empire, but the hand of Omnipotence held their lust of dominion in subordination to the interests of peace. With the approach of winter also the cholera was mercifully mitigated, and gradually disappeared. The spring of the next year, however, brought new difficulties, which again were felt to press heavily by the Dutch Committee. Some of a political nature, arising out of the late war, and

especially affecting their own country, as the Luxemburg question; some produced by the restored peace, as the International Exhibition in Paris, which seemed likely not only to divert to that capital the scientific men, the manufacturers, artificers, and industrial agencies of Europe, as well as multitudes of visitors who would thus not be left at liberty to go elsewhere, but to demand also the presence of philanthropists and Christian ministers and the resources of Christian benevolence to be expended there upon a large scale; and some still of a domestic kind arising from the different opinions existing among the brethren themselves. In truth, some were so discouraged as seriously to entertain the thought of relinquishing the Conference altogether, or of proposing to the French branch to hold it in Paris. This latter suggestion was also discussed in England, and a letter was despatched to Holland, in which, after an examination of the question, it was shown that duty as well as consistency required the original intention to be maintained. In the meantime the same conclusion had been reached by the Committee there, and finding their own resolution thus confirmed, and being about the same time strengthened by the accession of a few new members of great influence in the universities and churches of Holland, they went forward with augmented vigour until, by the help and blessing of the Lord, their utmost wishes were more than realized and their efforts were crowned with complete success.

INAUGURAL SERVICE.

The Conference assembled at the inaugural service on the evening of Lord's-day, August 18, in the New Church, Amsterdam. This large cathedral church, built, notwithstanding its name, A.D. 1408, was filled to the extent, it was estimated, of 4,000 persons, occupying and crowding all that part of the sacred edifice which is appropriated to Divine worship. The Rev. Dr. VAN OOSTERZEE, Professor in the University of *Utrecht*, preached on the occasion a sermon of great power and beauty, admirably adapting an incident in the history of St. Paul to the circumstances of the assembly and to the sentiments and objects which had brought them together. The hymns sung at this service, and at all the subsequent meetings, were printed in parallel columns in four languages—Dutch, German, French,

and English; and all being in the same metre, they were without difficulty adapted to the same tune, which was also printed on the same page; and thus all were enabled to unite in this act of worship. A portion of the *Te Deum* closed the service, and as the voice of each individual worshipper helped to swell the strains of this glorious old hymn, he might, and probably in numberless instances did, realize the blessed and sublime fact, that his heart was at that moment in unison with the whole Church of the redeemed in heaven and on earth.

The Holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee.
O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage;
Govern them, and lift them up for ever.

It should be stated that another sermon was, at the appointment of the Committee, preached in the French language the same evening, at the Walloon Church, by *Pasteur* ROGNON, of Paris, founded on the confession of Peter. (Matt. xvi. 13—19).

THE CONFERENCE.

On the following morning the business of the Conference commenced, and it was concluded on the Tuesday evening of the week after. At the successive meetings the Papers composing this volume were read. It is not the province of the Editor to characterize them as a whole, or to point out their distinctive peculiarities. They no doubt bear the impress of the individual minds of their authors, while the sentiments they inculcate, and the facts they embody, are more or less tinged by the medium of creed or of country through which they passed into their uttered form. It were easy to remark on the scholarship of one, the logical force of another, the scientific theology of a third, the historical value of a fourth, the practical good sense of a fifth, the eloquence of many, and the intellectual superiority and catholic spirit of all; but on these and other kindred matters the reader will form his own judgment. Only one observation shall be added, to the effect that whoever shall give them a careful perusal will find himself amply repaid by the information he will acquire of the state of religion in many countries, by the reassurance of his faith in the Divine origin and power of Christianity, and by the enlargement of his sympathies with the true Church of Christ in its conflicts and varied

trials, its social philanthropies, its missionary enterprise, and its all-pervading spirit of life and love.

A very inadequate idea would, however, be formed of the Conference if it were supposed that the whole of its time was occupied with the Papers. A considerable portion of each day was spent in devotion, in social intercourse, and in various efforts of practical usefulness among the citizens of Amsterdam. Some of these may now be mentioned.

DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES.

On the morning of the first day, before entering upon the business, two hours were set apart for united prayer and praise. The Scriptures were read and prayer and praise were offered in four languages—Dutch, German, French, and English. The presence of the Lord was thus earnestly sought at the commencement, and His blessing to rest upon all our engagements and transactions ; nor can it be doubted that these supplications were graciously answered. It is not too much to say that the fulfilment of the departing Saviour's promise was daily realized: "*I will pray the Father and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever.*" For to what other cause shall we attribute the devout and loving spirit that prevailed—the warmth of brotherly affection that was manifested—the glowing zeal that was displayed—and above all, the universally-felt desire that the one name—the name which is above every name—the name in which we had met—the name which supplied the central attraction and the common bond of our fellowship—the endeared and adorable name of JESUS, should be confessed by all and be glorified by all? But not the first meeting only, every subsequent meeting was opened and closed with prayer and praise ; and besides these occasions, the more public assembly was preceded every morning by one, and sometimes by two or more prayer meetings, at an early hour, conducted in separate rooms. Sometimes also part of an evening was spent in this manner, when the devotional exercises were intermingled with short addresses or conversations on some passage of Scripture or some method of Christian usefulness.

THE COMMUNION.

And now came the second Lord's-day, of which we may

venture to say (remarks the Rev. Cohen Stuart) "Seldom if ever has a Lord's-day been hailed by any meeting of Christians in any clime or country with greater joy and delight than this." Everything, indeed, combined to invest it with more than ordinary attractions, while all hearts were harmonized and elevated to a communion of solemn joy. The meetings of the week had produced a sense of profound gratitude for the manifold and rich pleasures afforded by "the comfort of brotherly love," and the "fellowship of the Spirit." This also was united with a renewed, and perhaps in many minds a deepened, conviction of the power of the Gospel, and of the continued presence of the Lord with His people, and in all minds with an increased realization of their true unity in Him, their glorified Head. Added to this there was the anticipation of commemorating His death together; and all these considerations conspired to raise the expectation of a day to be afterwards spoken of as one of "the days of heaven upon the earth."* Many of the foreign brethren occupied the pulpits of Amsterdam in the morning and evening of the day. They were all willing to speak from the fulness of their hearts, and large congregations heard the Word of Life from their lips. ROGNON, D'HOMBRES, DE PRESSENSE, BUNGENER, ARCHDEACON PHILPOT, MCGILL, PROFESSOR MCCOSH, Dr. GUTHRIE, and others, preached in the churches; while some held unusual religious assemblies in other places. But the afternoon was the culminating point to which all had been looking forward with intense desire; and when it came, the Christian festival then solemnized was acknowledged, by common consent, to have placed the crown upon the head of the Conference. It was surely a sublime spectacle to see Christians of so many countries sitting together at the table of the Lord; nor could it fail to awaken in the communicants the joyful anticipation of that still sublimer and glorious festival, when "a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues" shall be "called to the marriage supper of the Lamb." The celebration took place in the Remonstrant Reformed Church, a remarkably plain but large edifice, and well adapted for the purpose. Three tiers of galleries were filled with non-communicants, who were anxious to witness the novel and solemn scene. The table was placed in

* Deut. xi. 21.

the middle of the church, extending in the form of an anchor down the middle and towards the two sides, and the communicants were seated on each side of the table, sixty or seventy at a time, until all had participated. At the head of the table were eight ministers, two Dutch, two German, two French, one English, and one American. After the 65th Psalm had been sung, as usual, in the four languages, the opening address was delivered by one of the Dutch pastors, which he founded on the words of the Lord, "*With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer*" (Luke xxii. 15). Each of the other pastors then made a short address, and each repeated in his own language the words of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 23—26 : "*For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.*" The bread and the wine distributed by two lay elders then passed in profound silence from hand to hand, until all had received. A few moments of meditation or silent thanksgiving ensued, when one of the ministers said, "*Go in peace:*" then solemn music was played on the organ as each table rose. This order was observed with each successive table, and at the close the Lord's Prayer was offered up in the four languages; after which the whole assembly rose and sung the Doxology, and the Benediction was pronounced.

Thus terminated such a communion as, perhaps, none who were present had ever witnessed or enjoyed before. Here was the true Evangelical Alliance, here the real oneness of the Church of Christ. O how little, how poor, how comparatively insignificant appeared our differences when we were all thus assembled, with one heart and one soul, beneath the shadow of the Cross, to manifest our common and warmest love to the Lamb of God who loved us all and died for us all, and to profess a simple faith in Him! Christ is not divided. Why, then, should His followers be? Those who sat at that table were one with the Lord, and were they not one in the Lord? Assuredly they were, and consciously they were. And

so of all the true seed. All the ransomed and justified in Christ Jesus, all renewed and holy souls, "being many"—and how many that day will show when *he will come to be admired in his saints and glorified in all them that believe*—"are one body." "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." Let the fervent prayer ascend from every renewed and sanctified heart that this same Holy Spirit, the Comforter, would so abundantly pour down His grace upon all who are in Christ that, surmounting all obstructions, whether arising within themselves or from without, they may determine in His strength that their unity shall become a manifested reality, a fact so patent that the world shall be able neither to deny nor to overlook it.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Among the opportunities afforded for social intercourse should be mentioned, first, the daily *table d'hôte*. In the Zoological Gardens, which are not far from the Park Hall, where the Conference met, is a large building, the lower part of which consists principally of one room. In this room about 300 members of the Conference on an average dined together every day. Nothing on these occasions was spared by our Dutch friends to minister to the comfort of their guests. Not only was the dinner itself excellent and ample, but the service and all the arrangements were admirable; and though the company was so large, the dimensions of the room were sufficient to accommodate all without any inconvenient crowding. It must be added, in grateful appreciation of the hospitality of Holland, that all their foreign visitors were entertained free of charge. Opportunity was always given after dinner for short speeches, and the interchange of friendly sentiments which then took place between the speakers of different nations was always most cordial. It was the unembarrassed outflow of Christian affection, the sparkling stream of joy and love welling up from the hidden fountains of the soul, the animated and sympathetic interchange

Of hearts in union mutually disclosed.

The evening of the first day the Committee had very considerably determined should be devoted to a kind of free *conversazione* in the gardens of the park. The weather was

propitious, and the gardens, spacious and attractive, were rendered additionally beautiful by being splendidly illuminated. Continental people greatly surpass the English in the easy, graceful, and effective way in which they manage these open-air gatherings. Few things were more enjoyable than the manner in which this evening was spent. Old friends who had not met since the last Conference now met again, and awakened in each other pleasant memories of the past. Men of renown in the Churches, not personally known to each other, and yet well known by their works and reputation, had now the pleasure of forming a personal acquaintance. Thus friendships were renewed and friendships were formed. Groups seated themselves at the little tables scattered here and there, and others walked in pleasant companionship through the fragrant and winding paths. And from time to time conversation was suspended while some sacred melody, or the magnificent harmonies of an oratorio chorus, held all ears in rapt attention, and all hearts entranced. For, to add to the pleasures of the occasion, an orchestra was provided, and both vocal and instrumental music was performed. LUTHER'S hymn, *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* was first sung with full accompaniments, and this was followed by a selection of sacred airs from STRADELLA, F. A. VAN SUCHTELEN, MENDELSSOHN, BACH, and KOENNEMAN, a motet by LINDBAINTNER, two choruses (*The Heavens are Telling*, from HAYDN'S *Creation*, and the *Hallelujah Chorus*, from HANDEL'S *Messiah*), and the whole was closed with the 89th Psalm. Nor was this the only instance in which music was summoned to lighten by its charms the more serious engagements of the Conference. The directors of the Crystal Palace had, with great kindness, proposed to the Committee to give a musical entertainment, to which the members of the Conference should have free admission, and this mark of interest and respect shown by their fellow-citizens had been gratefully accepted. Another evening, therefore, was appropriated to this enjoyment. The Crystal Palace of Amsterdam, although not so large as some edifices of this kind, is a handsome building, and on this occasion it was brilliantly illuminated. The orchestra executed several classical pieces of BEETHOVEN, HAYDN, WEBER, ROSSINI, STRADELLA, and WAGNER, and a number of national airs. The Zoological Gardens also, in honour of the foreign guests, were thrown open on the evening

of their weekly concert, when the citizens were invited to meet them.

Two other gratifications provided by the Committee are yet to be mentioned. With a most obliging attention to what they deemed would be interesting to their guests, they had planned for the Saturday afternoon two excursions, one to Haarlem and the other to Zaandam; either of them to be taken at the option of each individual. A number of carriages were held in readiness at the gates of the Park Garden to convey the company, in the one case to the railway, in the other to the steam vessel. Those who proceeded to Haarlem, besides the pleasure of hearing the great organ in the church of St. Bavon, formerly renowned as the largest in Europe, though now probably surpassed by several of more recent structure in England, passed on their way through the land of hyacinths and tulips, and had an opportunity of visiting the famous Waterworks, which supply the City of Amsterdam, and the still more famous Ship Canal which connects that capital with the North Sea. Those who went on board the steamer enjoyed a most agreeable and refreshing sail on the Y. They visited as the special point of interest the house, or rather hut, in which Peter the Great lived while working as a shipwright in the docks. On their return, entering into a church, accompanied by many of the townspeople, they joined in an act of Divine worship, singing, reading the Scriptures, and prayer, after which they made a collection to be given to the poor. These recreations so thoughtfully pre-arranged were felt to be most welcome; for the meetings had now continued a whole week, and there were few who did not experience the exhaustion incident to close attention and much excitement.

EFFORTS OF PRACTICAL USEFULNESS.

This Dutch Conference was distinguished more than any of the preceding by another feature, which gave it an additional value. Allusion has already been made to it, but it must now be more distinctly noticed. The Committee had from the first been desirous to render the visit of so many foreign Christians to Amsterdam fruitful of spiritual good to the citizens at large. Various methods were employed for this purpose, some of

which may be mentioned. On two occasions the regular proceedings were suspended, one near the commencement and the other just before the close of the Conference, when the Hall was filled by a large concourse of people from the city, to whom several speakers explained the nature and design of the Evangelical Alliance, and of its present transactions. Nor this alone; but the opportunity was seized to urge upon them the obligations of the Gospel, and to exhort them to an imitation of the faith and example of their renowned forefathers. The speakers were the Rev. COHEN STUART, Dr. KRUMMACHER, Professor THOLUCK, Baron VAN WASSENSAER, Lord RADSTOCK, and Mr. BAXTER, on the first occasion; and on the second, the Revs. Messrs. HASEBROCK, KRUMMACHER, HELDRING, and Mr. BRANDT, of *Amsterdam*. On another occasion it was announced that *Pasteur* FISCH, of *Paris*, would preach in the Hall, and again it was filled with a large and attentive congregation. M. FISCH founded his discourse on the words, "*I will show forth all Thy marvellous works.*" (Ps. ix. 1.) After an appropriate reference to the International Exhibition in Paris, from which he had come to this gathering of Christians, and to the contrast which so forcibly struck his mind, that while the former was designed to show forth the works of man and to glorify him, the latter aimed at the glory of God and the celebration of His wondrous grace in the great work of human redemption; the preacher said, "Come from all parts of the world at a time when the existence of the supernatural is denied with unblushing boldness, we all are here to proclaim that the Church is still the grand miracle, and that it is by a miracle she lives. THE SAVIOUR-GOD—behold the first marvel we announce; MAN SAVED—behold the second." M. FISCH could scarcely have selected a subject more appropriate to his hearers or have treated it with greater ability, whether to confirm the believer or to refute, if not to convince, the gainsayer. Many hearts sent up the fervent prayer, "Spirit of truth, bear Thy witness with Thy servant!"

But not in the Park Hall only was the Gospel preached. The use of a spacious building was obtained in Eland-street, and another in William-street, which are a kind of City Mission stations, and in these crowds of the poor, the miserable, and the moral outcasts of society listened evening after evening to the message of mercy brought to them by the stranger and inter-

preted by some of their fellow-citizens. Here, at different times, addresses were given by both ministers and laymen. Among the former were Mr. VAN LENNEP, from *Smyrna*; the Armenian pastor, BOYAJIAN, who accompanied him to the Conference; Mr. MAASDYK, of *Katwyk*; Mr. EGGENSTEIN, of *Antwerp*; VAN KELDE, of *Brussels*; BOUVIER, from *Switzerland*; and Mr. TUCKER, from *London*; among the latter COUNT A. BERNSTOFF, LORD RADSTOCK, GENERAL ALEXANDER and others. Some of the brethren had acquired much experience in London and other large towns in open-air preaching, theatre preaching, ragged-schools, and other efforts to evangelize the masses and reach down to the lowest depths of human vice and wretchedness; and they constantly went amongst these classes of people in Amsterdam, and were always well and gratefully received. There were those who would gladly have preached out of doors, but this is not permitted by the law of Holland. One exception, however, must be made to this statement. Whether the law is not violated by the practice within the limits of the Park Gardens, or whether its violation was connived at by the authorities, the writer does not know; but there frequently, after the business of the Conference was concluded for the day, sermons were preached in several languages; and when they could no longer see the preacher or each other, the people still hung upon his lips, and closed their worship with a choral hymn. In the Odeon, persons of a better social position were invited to listen to evangelical addresses by Professor ST. HILAIRE, LORD RADSTOCK, and others. The soldiers in the barracks were also cared for. Permission was kindly given to Mrs. DANIELL, accompanied by General ALEXANDER, to visit and speak to them of "the common salvation."

SIDE GATHERINGS.

To the preceding narrative must yet be added some brief notice of the various side gatherings—so to call them—to which the Conference gave occasion and furnished the opportunity. Two meetings were devoted to Sunday-schools; at the former of which the Rev. C. S. ADAMA VAN SCHELTAMA, of *Amsterdam*, spoke at considerable length on the peculiar hindrances which have hitherto prevented their development to any great extent in Holland, and the necessity of promoting them more vigorously

now, since the education given in the national schools is made exclusively secular, even the Bible being prohibited in them. The Rev. Mr. BROCKELMAN, of *Heidelberg*, gave an account of the Sunday-schools of North Germany, where, also, they are comparatively few. He was followed by the Rev. E. PANCHAUD, of *Lausanne*, and Rev. Signor APPIA, of *Naples*. The second meeting was held in the Park Garden, the speakers taking possession of the orchestra, and the people clustering round and in front of it. The Rev. *Pasteur* BERSIER, of *Paris*, first gave an admirable address on the influence which Christians generally — and especially Christian women — might exert on the advancement of religion, and an account of the Sunday-schools of France. Signor APPIA and Mr. BROCKELMAN spoke again, the former giving much encouraging information respecting the opening of Sunday-schools in Italy. Dr. GLADSTONE also made some pertinent remarks on making Christ the central subject of all Sunday-school instruction; and Mr. MALCOLM, from *Scotland*, stated some of the gratifying results of 25 years' experience as a Sunday-school teacher. At another meeting a large company assembled to hear from Mrs. DANIELL an account of her extraordinary Christian work among the soldiers at Aldershot, which awakened great interest, and was followed by other and more private opportunities being afforded to that excellent lady to give further details of her labours, and to answer inquiries respecting it. The spiritual condition of the Jews engaged the attention of another meeting, presided over by the Rev. W. PRESSEL, and which was addressed by Professor PAUL CASSEL, Dr. CAPADOSE, and the missionary Mr. MEYER, who had laboured among them in *Hamburg*. In a fourth instance opportunity was given to Dr. MULKERENS to speak of the Priests' Protection Society in *Dublin*. And in a fifth the Rev. Dr. CATHER expounded the principles of the Systematic Beneficence Society; and his address was followed by another on the same subject by the Rev. F. TRESTRAIL. And besides these meetings, which were open to all, some of a more restricted kind were held among themselves by persons from the same country. Two only need be mentioned: one of them was convened by the American brethren, Dr. PRIME, Dr. SCHENCK, Mr. WORTMAN, and others, to which they invited a few of their English friends, to advise on the proposal of holding the next General Conference at New York, and on the subject of furthering the newly-formed

branch of the Alliance in the United States; and the other by the brethren from Scotland, to consult on the revival and extension of the Alliance in that country.

CONCLUSION.

The Editor cannot allow himself to conclude this Preface without the addition of a few sentences of grateful acknowledgment, so well merited by our Dutch friends, at once for their most generous and Christian hospitality, and for the business-like ability displayed in all their arrangements for facilitating the transactions and promoting the comfort of the Conference. From the moment that he found himself in Amsterdam every guest was made to feel that, although he had come to a strange city, and was surrounded by unaccustomed faces, he was received as a brother, and welcomed to the bosom of a Christian home. Private families opened their houses with the utmost kindness to entertain the visitors; and if, as was the case in some instances, accommodation was preferred at an hotel, this also was gratuitously provided. Among their traditional honours the hospitality of the Dutch nation is conspicuous and unsurpassed. It is enough to say, and it implies no mean commendation, that on the present occasion they showed themselves mindful of their former reputation and were equal to themselves.

And not only is it proper to advert thus to the cordiality with which the members of the Conference were individually received, but a similar acknowledgment is due for the liberal manner in which the whole expense of the Conference itself was defrayed. As on former occasions, so on this, an offer was made by the British Committee to provide a portion of it, but the offer was courteously declined. The Christian people of Holland were properly sensitive on the point, and as they knew they had the ability, so they honourably determined that they would exclusively enjoy the privilege of taking this burden on themselves. The whole subscription raised by them amounted to 30,000 guilders, of which 500 were graciously contributed by the King. While great praise is due to the Provisional Committee for the admirable arrangements made by them, and for the fidelity with which, amidst many discouragements, they adhered to the resolution of receiving the Conference, it ought

especially to be mentioned that they owed much, as did the whole Alliance, to their gifted and devoted secretary, the Rev. M. COHEN STUART. When, under the pressure of unexpected difficulties, some were almost ready to faint, and spoke even of abandoning the design, his courage never failed, his industry never flagged, and in the complete success which attended his efforts and those of his coadjutors, they all received an abundant reward.* Nor should the names be omitted here of Baron VAN WASSANAER VAN CATWIJCK, the noble president, and the Hon. J. W. VAN LOON, the vice-president. The courteous and dignified manner in which these gentlemen fulfilled their duties, and the amount of untiring labour, official skill, and inexhaustible patience which from day to day they brought to the conduct of the business, are beyond all praise, and justly excited the admiration of all observers. They have secured for themselves a place in the respectful and loving memories of their Christian brethren in many lands.

Finally, while thus, in accordance with Scripture precept, honour is paid to whom honour is due, the whole Christian brotherhood composing the Evangelical Alliance will, with one heart and soul, unite in the doxology: "*Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.*"

* During the progress of these difficulties, which are fully described as before-mentioned in the Dutch volume, much valuable assistance was rendered by the Rev. Dr. SCHMETTAU, foreign secretary of the British Organization, who repeatedly visited Holland for the purpose, and on one occasion was accompanied, at the request of the Council, by the honorary secretary, the Rev. Dr. STEANE.

This is a suitable place in which to draw attention to the volume above referred to. It has been prepared under the auspices of the Dutch Committee and the able editorship of Mr. COHEN STUART. In it the Papers read at the Conference are published in their original languages, together with photographs of their several authors; and both the frontispiece prefixed to this English volume, and a larger coloured engraving of the Park Hall. The Papers are preceded by a short narrative of the origin of the Evangelical Alliance, which the Editor deemed necessary for the information of his Dutch and other continental readers. While this narrative is written with considerable care, it is not altogether unnecessary to add that it would scarcely be safe for any future historian to rely upon its statements without consulting original documents, since the Editor's personal unacquaintedness with the facts, and his residence in Holland, where he had not immediate access to records, have not unnaturally occasioned some errors.

SALUTATIONS.

The following short addresses conveying the salutations of different branches of the Alliance, and of the Christians of different countries, to the Conference, were delivered on the second day :—

Mr. J. ADRIEN NAVILLE, president of the last Conference, held at *Geneva* in 1861, said :—

Among the traditional customs of Switzerland there is the ancient one that at any public festivals the leader of the *corps*, on a procession being made, goes first as its standard-bearer. The Evangelical Alliance has its banner too. At the last meeting I had the honour of being its standard-bearer. I rejoice that, faithful to that banner, I now appear among you as a common soldier on this ground. The seed then sown has brought forth abundant fruit. All Evangelical societies with us have since then gained in strength and extent. But here in Holland we are not less sure of God's protection and blessing. Your secretary once most aptly wrote—"Switzerland and Holland have much in common. The rivers arising in your country send their waves to ours." Yes, here we are in the classic land of liberty. Christians of the Netherlands, receive the heartfelt salutations of your brethren of Geneva, the city of Calvin.

PROFESSOR REVEL, of *Florence*.—Brethren, the friends of Italy salute you. Rome celebrated the feast of St. Peter in the most splendid way. But still more glorious, and still more blessed is our Alliance-feast. I love Rome, now the capital of Roman Catholicism, but sooner or later she will be the capital of Italy. Politically, Italy is free, but she must also become spiritually free. ("*Souvenez vous de l'Italie, courbée encore sous le joug, mais le secourant, et luttant dans la foi.*") But this spiritual yoke will also be thrown off and broken. The Reformed have planted the Gospel-standard (that is that standard of which the gentleman before me has been speaking) throughout Italy to Naples and Catania. One Bible of Diodati in Naples has produced a wonderful hunger and thirst after the Word of God. "Teach us how to pray" is the general cry. And they will learn to do so, and praying they shall become free, and praying conquer. We will fight, though our position be dangerous. Brethren, in Italy we belong to the vanguard of the army of Christ. Encourage your soldiers! Give us your prayers, support us by your faith, by your love, your zeal, and we shall gain our glorious object.

Rev. DR. BLISS, of *Constantinople*.—Receive the salutations of the Turkish branch of the Alliance. Do not think this branch is lacking in growth and fertility. This branch extends its operations over Macedonia, Galatia, Cappadocia; and do these names not touch your hearts? It is with extreme pleasure that I see here the former Dutch Ambassador at the Ottoman court, *Count de Nyevelt*. Among all the Christians of the East this name has a good sound. It is to him that the Alliance in Turkey is largely indebted. And he knows this to be the case. Our task was to fight the great fight of liberty from one end of Turkey to the other. A faithful and honest execution of the *hatti-houmayoun* will, next to God, be owing to our efforts. But as yet we may not repose upon our laurels. Help us in the struggle. In the East the Light of the World appeared. The Christians of the East are now gazing full of hope and confidence to the West; and—united with the brethren—they look on High, whence help and victory come.

COUNT ANDREAS BERNSTOFF, deputy of the Committee at *Berlin* :—

I salute you, my brethren! We have met here to celebrate a feast, or, as the significant German word expresses it, to “*feiern*.” Sometimes it is said of us Germans, that we are too fond of feasting, and prefer singing to working. *Ora et labora* must be joined in the Christian. But singing too gives us animation and strength. The joy of the Holy Ghost is real life. (*Auch hier müssen wir Kraft und Stärke sammeln für den Kampf des Glaubens und der Liebe.*)

MR. DENNIS WORTMAN, of *America* :—

We Americans are here not as strangers. In Holland, we come to our spiritual fatherland, and we recognize the English and Dutch as our forefathers. We come to see how our parents are doing. I hope the next time the parents will come, and see how the children are doing. I came to Europe in the “Great Eastern.” I ask, What is the next great thing for the “Great Eastern” to do? I answer, To bring you over to America. The brethren in the Far West send you their most heartfelt salutations. Europe and America have *one* interest. We have, like you and with you, to fight the great fight against unbelief—a contest by no means yet finished; but, be assured, we shall come forth conquerors.

During a considerable time America was without the sympathy of the Christian world, and not without reason; but now we may proudly raise our heads and give our hand of fellowship to all, for America is freed from the curse of slavery. That blessing is not purchased at too high a price, though it cost us streams of blood, millions of money, and a frightful civil war. Now, brethren, you are

our evangelical allies. Let us extend together the Kingdom of God. In spiritual matters let us have no Monroe doctrine ! He who unites with us in the truths of the Gospel is heartily welcome to our country. America for the Americans, but the whole world for God. In politics patriots, but cosmopolites in Christ.

GENERAL BURROWS, from *Canada* :—

The Evangelical Church in Canada salutes you. She is united, through political ties, to England, but with a still stronger tie to the Church in Europe. The Alliance has produced also in Canada true liberty, and overcome sectarianism. This is the work of the Alliance, that is ever faithful to her calling.

MR. JOHN FINCH, Treasurer of the *British* Branch :—

Dear brethren of Holland, oratory is not needed, or I would not have spoken ; here words are of less consequence ; it is the heart that is all important. Twenty years ago I saw what the Alliance was and did. And therefore I rejoice the more to see her transplanted to Holland too. Receive our visit as one returned for the visit of your William III. to us in England. It was he who saved our Protestant liberty, and established our civil rights on a firm basis. Let the spirit of liberty and of faith be the bond of union between the Dutch and English.

The Secretary also read letters from the Rev. Jean Monod, Professor in the Theological College, Montauban, and the Rev. Dr. Merle d'Aubigne, Geneva, stating that many others had been received from eminent men of different countries, regretting their inability to attend the Conference ; and the following telegram from the triennial Convention of German Baptist Churches assembled at this time in Hamburg :

“The Conference of the German Baptist Union assembled at Hamburg, to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance sendeth fraternal greeting.

“We regret to state that this Conference being held at the same time with yours, none of us can have the pleasure of coming to Amsterdam. We take, however, a warm interest in the Alliance, and wish, with all our hearts, a very happy result to your meetings.”

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE OPENING

OF THE

FIFTH GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE,

AT AMSTERDAM, 18TH AUGUST, 1867.

BY THE

REV. PROFESSOR J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE,

OF UTRECHT.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

THE Fifth General Meeting of the members and friends of the Evangelical Alliance has invited you to come hither, opening wide the doors of this place to receive you. Well may our hearts be glad and rejoice, for we feel that the invitation is in perfect accordance with the will and spirit of our Lord. Is anything more required but this simple invitation to justify the exalted feelings with which we are come up hither? If ever we have been privileged to say, "Lord, it is good for us to be here!" surely it is now in this solemn evening hour. What a glorious spectacle is presented to us! and not only to the eye of our imagination, but also to our actual sight. Inhabitants of the Old and New world united in one general confession of the Gospel—ever old, ever new. Christians of all denominations, who, without deserting their colours, stand united under one banner; tongues of every nation, one and all ready to join in singing the one song of salvation; guests from north and south, east and west, preparing to sit down at the same table of the New Covenant. "Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the dew of Hermon that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore." In like manner, in centuries gone by, the sons of Abraham, coming from the three parts of the then known world, went up to Jerusalem to celebrate for the first time the feast of the Christian Pentecost; and these pious pilgrims did not rest till each of them could say in their own language, "Our feet stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem." In the same way, too, the word of prophecy assures us, shall the nations of the earth one day go up to the mount of the Lord; in that day when "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruninghooks," and when

brother shall no longer lift up his hand against brother. And shall we not rejoice in our God, who in His mercy gives us a distant glimpse of the dawn of that glorious day, be its realization ever so imperfect. The sublime idea which forms the principle of the Evangelical Alliance must fill our hearts with exultation.

But it will not be necessary for me to depict to you who are here, in glowing colours, that bright and glorious epoch; your silent prayers have already mounted to the Throne of God, imploring Him to bless your efforts in forwarding this blissful state of things; be it but only one step. And therefore, in the name of Him who delighteth in mercy, and who desires that all people shall rejoice as *one* man in His name, I bid you welcome to this place. We read that once in every hundred years a voice was heard in heathen Rome, saying, "Come and see our games. None living has ever seen them, none living shall ever see them again." And now we too exclaim, "Come to this feast of brotherly love, never before celebrated in this form in our country." Its very announcement tells us: "We being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." If possible, let your soul here find what it seeks; the strengthening of your faith, the quickening of your spirits, and, above all, increase of that "love which is the bond of perfectness." May the Lord Himself make His face shine upon you, and me, and all who call upon His name in this place; may "the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost."

This welcome, addressed to friends and strangers, will, I am sure, be gladly received by you all, and be as warmly returned. But among the latter there is perhaps one who in his heart says, "To-day I have the privilege of seeing gathered together the most distinguished men of the present Christian world, and more especially of this country and city; and perhaps he who is now delivering this address is one of the first among them." But if any one, my hearers, be foolish or even mischievous enough to imagine such a thing, he surely will not have the courage to proceed further in such reflections, if at least he believes in the sincerity of the humble confession of sins, which not without good cause formed the first part of this our first meeting. The beautiful form used, though well-nigh

forgotten, is certainly not unknown to you. It is still extant in the Liturgy of our Church, and employed at stated intervals by our brethren of the Walloon Church at their divine service. We could well-nigh envy them their doing so; and although it often may be that the heart is far away while the lips are uttering the words, still you may rest assured this was not the case this evening. Just as little as the Israelites could have joyfully celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles with their brethren, had it not been preceded five days before by the Day of Atonement, as little should we venture to look upon this hour as a holy and festive one, had we not before all things deeply humbled ourselves before the immaculate presence of the Almighty. He who—not to speak of others—has learnt to know something of his own heart, and how much there is that is human and sinful in preparing and executing any Christian work, will not be at a loss to understand us, when we say that to-day, and within these walls, not only hallelujahs, but also *miserere*, ought to resound. No, my friends, here we do not desire a spiritual exhibition, with more or less splendour, in opposition to the industrial one, so much admired elsewhere; here there is no room for vain glorying in ourselves, as little as for vile sycophancy towards others; there is only one prize we desire to compete for here—God grant it!—and that is who shall be greatest in ministering love. They who receive you, beloved strangers, in this our Jerusalem, do not wish, in any other sense, to be considered first than that in which Paul calls himself “the chief of sinners,” but who obtained mercy for Christ’s sake. With aversion they decline the supposition that they and their brethren would exclusively style themselves THE Christians of Holland. The Lord has perchance far better and far more faithful servants, whose absence we deplore with a mixed feeling of sorrow and shame. But they in whose name we now speak, however deficient they may be, after all belong with you to Christ, and earnestly desire, as far as it lies in their power, to show themselves Christians in another sense than that which the world attaches to that word. Of no greater treasure do they know, for their consolation in life and in death, than the unadulterated Gospel of the Apostles, as accepted by the churches of the Reformation; for “all have sinned and come short of the glory of God,” “being justified

freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Be it far from them to glory save in the cross of that Saviour, although they may not be able, unconditionally, to add that they are also crucified to the world. They confess, though in weakness, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God and of man, is their one and all, their light and life, their hope and their strength, not only their Master, but also their Lord and their God. No, beloved stranger, do not expect to find here that Thessalonian in whose praise it is written : "As touching brotherly love, I need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another." Rather a divided, a miserably defiled church of Corinth, but nevertheless a Corinth whereof may be said, as it was of the first, "for the Lord has much people in this city." In the name of that people, I offer you the hand of fellowship; they desire to persevere with you in the doctrine of the Apostles, to battle with you for the faith committed unto the saints, and therefore without further delay to place themselves with you upon the firm ground of the primitive confession of the Catholic Church, the indubitable Christian faith explained in the sense and spirit of the Holy Scriptures : "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into Hell, the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting." And let all the people say Amen.

This Amen, my beloved hearers, did it find as ready a response in your hearts as the welcome given you? Well, then, no longer are we strangers one to another; and he who addresses you now knows which chord of your heart he must touch to obtain your desired sympathy. What may, what can, the subject of our discourse be but that which serves to unite us, forming as it were the tacit condition on which the whole Evangelical Alliance rests? We have just confessed that we believe in the Communion of Saints; but, without doubt, this article, the last added to the ancient Apostles' Creed, may most

appropriately form the grand and principal topic of our evening's meditation. For your sakes, my beloved hearers, I wish the task assigned to me had been entrusted to one more worthy and more capable; but, as it now rests upon my shoulders, I will set about it with gladsome heart, and not with a sigh. I know the subject I have to speak on is one that occupies as large a share of your hearts as it does of mine, and I am not addressing my judges, but my brethren. Not from mere custom, but because it is our custom, I wish to draw your attention to my subject by referring you to a part of the Holy Scriptures, which, I believe, is pre-eminently precious to us all as the abiding basis of the Gospel-Proclamation. The part of the Sacred Record that immediately struck me as most appropriate for the present occasion you will find in the 28th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, in the 14th and 15th verses, where you will read the following words:—

And so we went towards Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii-forum, and the Three Taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

Perhaps the text contains little that surprises you. But certainly much that attracts you, for it seems wonderfully appropriate to the occasion, and we may venture to say we have not sought it, but God has given it us; and it contains an abundant measure of instruction.

Four great truths of vast importance and extensive application are immediately presented to our view, standing out in bold relief between the lines of the text:

1. Christians have everywhere brethren.
2. These brethren desire communion.
3. This communion gives rise to gratitude to God.
4. This gratitude inspires us with hope for the future.

We see in them, as if in a bright mirror, the *existence*, the *force*, the *value*, and the *fruits* of the Communion of Saints. But there is still more; for after we have duly analyzed the text in its various parts, the whole affords us, in conclusion, the answer to a very natural question, which, on an occasion like the present, greatly occupies the mind. These words lead us intuitively to humble thanksgiving and heartfelt

prayer, and prayer it is that pre-eminently consecrates this, our first meeting.

And now the prayer rises within our hearts, "Oh Lord, show forth thy salvation, and give us good speed!" With this prayer in our hearts, let us unite in singing the praises of our God, to express our feelings and our faith. And, while thus engaged in prayer and praise, may your alms come up as a memorial to God, who is all-merciful, and not forgetful of your acts of charity.

I.

Two chieftains—somewhat more than eighteen centuries ago—are passing through a much-frequented part of Southern Italy, followed by a chosen band of men, more or less numerous. We see before us the centurion Julius, to whom the task of conducting some prisoners before the Tribunal of Rome has been confided, and the Apostle Paul, who, in the fullest sense of the word, is chieftain in that war which the rising kingdom of God had begun to wage with Heathenism in its full power. The Ambassador is in bonds; you know whose prisoner he is, and with what commission he is charged. They have already left the sea and the first haven behind them, and now are travelling along the queen of roads—as this powerful high-road was called—to the city of Seven Hills. There is little that attracts the eye; nothing but a monotonous, marshy plain presents itself to the view. Here the well-known Pontine Marshes, yonder the Albanian Mountains. The inhabitants are but little civilized, many of the population being uncouth and rude. It is a kind of desert, if you like, but not without many a lovely oasis. At Puteoli, Paul had already reposed beneath their shade, and there, to his great surprise, he found believers in the Gospel. It was not difficult for him to obtain the centurion Julius's permission to pass an entire week in this pleasant circle of friends; and does it not appear to you as if this Julius secretly and more than half belonged to the sect that was everywhere spoken against? Refreshed by this Sabbath of Seven days, he sets his face to go up to Appiiforum, which was situated on a canal dug by order of the Emperor Augustus, and where all travellers, going to Rome, abide some time, though not always received in the same

kindly manner. Does it not seem to you that the news of his arrival has preceded him in his steps? Strange visitors from the Capital are now introduced to him, brethren who had heard of him, who knew who it was that was coming, and wherefore he was about to appear in the midst of them. Is it you, Epenetus, the well-beloved one, the first fruits of Achaia unto Christ, or Mary, who has already bestowed much labour on the Apostle, or Tryphena and Tryphosa, or Rufus with his mother, in whom Paul found a second mother? We do not know. These names are taken from the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and are in a certain sense of little importance. Names are nothing, hearts are everything! Behold! they hasten from afar to meet him: as "unknown and yet well known," they offer him the hand of fellowship, they regard him with looks in which their whole soul is expressed; and no longer need this stranger say: "Appii-forum is a place where he finds himself perfectly alone and deserted," for the Christian has brethren everywhere. Has not this self-same Paul experienced the truth of this in an eminent degree, when, immediately after his conversion, he was saluted as brother Saul; and might not that word be called, in a certain sense, prophetic? The work Ananias began in him was continued by Barnabas, and when Barnabas departed, Silas took his place. Aquila and Priscilla, Philip and his daughters, Timothy and Luke—but wherefore enumerate all these proofs to show the truth of the declaration, that he who hath left all for Christ shall receive a hundred-fold in this world, with houses, and brethren, and sisters. Presently, a few miles further on, we see the same scene repeated at the Three Taverns. It was the will of God that Paul should enter Rome not unobserved, live there not unloved, and depart from thence not unmourned, for, oh! my hearers, nothing in the world excites so much hate, but nothing again so much love, as the Gospel and its faithful witnesses. It is the disciple of Christ that has most enemies. As soon as you become, as long as you remain, or decide, in a moment of importance, to show yourself a follower of Christ, so soon will you with sorrow perceive that suddenly a deep chasm opens itself between you and many a one whom you, till then, had tenderly loved, and whom you never have harmed. But, again, nobody has more faithful friends than he who has sincerely chosen the best of friends;

for that self-same Christianity that raises up high walls of partition, casts down others that seemed to us immovable as rocks, as by one magic blow. The disciple of Christ, I do not say *finds* friends everywhere here on earth, for often the most excellent Christian stands longest alone and deserted. Hearts formed to understand and value each other, to supply, as it were, each other's spiritual wants, remain during years strangers to each other, all owing to some misunderstanding or to some singular concourse of circumstances. Here and there are houses and circles that seem hermetically closed—if I may venture to say so—to the uninitiated. But if the Christian does not everywhere and always *find* friends, he has often, nevertheless, more than he knows of, more than it would always be good for him to know; and often it happens that he meets with them just there and then, when he least of all expected it. Look at Peter and Paul, these strange visitors: does it not seem as if all things concurred to separate them? Origin, language, custom, habits, ideas—all were different, and one more than another. Nor is Paul's condition in life such that men should eagerly hasten to show him great marks of honour. Here, according to all appearances, there is no rising sun to worship; policy advises to keep aloof, and to wait; self-interest has naught to gain, and, nevertheless, the hand of fellowship is stretched forth. Some years later we see an Ignatius or a Polycarp on his way to the place of execution. The enemy drags him along, but, like children seeking the last blessing of a father, faithful disciples flock from town to town, from village to village, and the expiring regards of the martyr repose on a multitude of faithful followers, wrestling with him in prayer. Then, again, we see Luther at the Diet at Worms. Are there, indeed, as many devils let loose against him as there are tiles upon the roofs? Perhaps so; but surely a good angel came forth to meet him on the threshold of the audience hall, in a form he least expected, in that grey-haired knight, who, kindly clapping him on the shoulder, said, "Poor monk, poor monk, you have before you a march, the like to which neither I nor a great many captains have ever seen in the bloodiest of our battles; but if your cause is just, then go on in the name of God, and fear nothing: God will not forsake you." "Ah," you exclaim, "those were Apostles, martyrs, reformers!" But this objection confirms still more the truth of our assertion. For,

you perceive, the reason of their seeking and finding another was not only or especially that they were Apostles, martyrs, or reformers, but because they were Christians, and infinitely closer united to one another than by any ties of relationship. Yes, Christians dwelling here below are a peculiar people, who are as much characterized by their spirit as, for instance, an Israelite by his countenance; and most appropriately and justly has a believer of the second century delineated this in this way:—"They inhabit their native country but as foreigners, they bear all the burdens of a citizen, and yet are regarded as complete strangers; they are in the flesh, but do not live after the flesh; they are poor, yet making many rich; they are put to death, but to them death is the beginning of real life." In a word, what the soul is to the body Christians are to the world. This, oh! Christian of the second century, is the mirror in which we see you reflected; and well can we understand the Christian of the present time involuntarily casting down his eyes in shame and confusion when he looks into it. But now it can be fully understood how *this* soul, imparting life and animation throughout the whole body, is perfectly cognizant of this its inward unity, and, as it were, immediately and everywhere recognizes itself wherever the confession, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all," is uttered. And do not imagine this recognition requires a long introduction, a special declaration, much less a doctrinal exposition; in many a case a single word, a glance, a mere trifle, suffices. Two strangers, meeting in a mixed society, have often recognized each other as friends in Christ, when either the one or the other has, by a single involuntary sign, shown his approval or disapproval of the conversation or narrative. Behold two sinking men, from different countries, on board that foundering vessel. All around them are shrieking, groaning, and wailing, in the fear of death, but these two, with the peace of God on their countenance, grasp hold of the same anchor; and on the brink of eternity two souls are united that never again shall be separated. Oh, why, then, does so many a one, like another Elijah of old, lament that "he only is left?" The seven thousand who did not bow their knees unto Baal are not only known to the Lord, but are all spiritually related to one another, and God least of all predestined that they should remain strangers to one another. The churches on earth salute

one another in the spirit, without knowing one another face to face; the church militant is continually and invisibly meeting the triumphant church before the presence of God. The Christian, with his eye fixed not only upon the Father, but also upon the brethren, well may say, "Yet am I not alone;" for his relationship to the brethren extends as far as the kingdom of his Sovereign, who hath declared that wheresoever we may find ourselves in this world, "One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."

Again, Christians have everywhere brethren. Wonderful phenomenon, and yet how true, and, above all, how blessed. Be welcome, subjects of my King, in whatever part of His footstool ye may be dwelling; we have never seen one another; and yet we are not strangers to one another. Be welcome, my brethren, it is all one whether you come from a mighty metropolis or a humble Puteoli: even there the Lord had His disciples, though Paul did not know it. The power of self-interest is a fearful fact in this world, but, my beloved, the power of love is more than a dream, the voice of experience extends over centuries, but it has never been able to contradict the truth of the confession, "I believe in the communion of saints."

II

But, you exclaim, profession alone does not suffice; we must also feel, and experience, and enjoy what we believe, at least from time to time. Just so, my beloved, it is this which exactly constitutes the peculiar desire for communion, the existence of which we are reminded of in our text. *The brethren*—and this second assertion is infallibly true as the foregoing one—the *brethren desire communion*. Who has confessed this with more frankness than Paul himself, who already, some years before, had declared to the Christians at Rome, "For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established; that is, that I may be comforted together with you by the mutual faith, both of you and me." Observe, my beloved hearers, even Paul longed to go to Rome, not only to impart, but also to receive consolation. He, the great Apostle—great because he was pre-eminent in humility—as if drawn by some magnetic

influence, had already long before desired to go thither. Often he had proposed to go to them, but had as often been let. Sometimes it appeared as if it would never come to pass; but in his heart of hearts the longing to go thither was never for a moment extinct; and hundreds of times had Paul repeated to himself what, on another occasion, he so loudly had proclaimed, that he *must* go to Rome. St. Paul says he *must*, and doubtless his intention was, before all things, to bear the banner of the cross till he planted it beneath the walls of the Capitol; but at the same time, also, to have his grand desire accomplished of being with the brethren, who were many in number, and to whom he had already imparted so invaluable a gift in the extensive epistle he had addressed to them. And what shall we say of those dear brethren who seemed to think but little of the forty-three miles' distance, and who could not rest, till they had warmly pressed Paul's manacled hand? Perhaps something of human weakness formed a part of all this zeal; perhaps they suffered some of that weakness that the present times know but little of, namely, a little *apostolatry*. Be it so; but, wherever brethren may meet to form an Alliance, be it at Appii-forum or in the capital of Holland, there we must expect something, or even much, that is human. And yet how excusable, how perfectly comprehensible, is that weakness here! for where there is communion, there will be a yearning for love, and love cannot bear separation; it longs for intercourse and union. We see how artists, learned men, leaders in some great social or political question, not only embrace the opportunity of seeing one another, but how they endeavour by all means in their power to promote and to bring about such meetings. They will, for instance, speak on the unity of language and orthography as if the salvation of nations and kingdoms, nay, of men's souls, were depending on it. And shall Christians never feel the want of meetings, so that they may learn to know and value one another better, especially when the most vital interests of the Kingdom of God, and of this world, are concerned? Soldiers who have once fought under the same banner never can forget the close tie that formerly united them; they long to meet again; and when they do meet, how inexpressible is their joy. And shall the soldiers of Christ, who have fought with the same weapons against one common enemy, not sound one another's wounds,

and celebrate one another's triumphs? Shall they all glory in isolation, and each party, within his own camp, stand gazing at another with uplifted shield, bearing in blazing characters the motto, "Every man for himself?" We see commerce and industry restlessly striving to render the inventions and treasures of some parts of the world the common property of all; and shall Christians only rigidly adhere to their nationality, and by carefully watching that the gifts of grace they may have received do not cross certain limits, prevent their becoming a blessing to all? The means of communication are daily increasing; kingdoms and cities are constantly approaching closer to one another; soon there will be no such thing as distance; and shall they who especially belong to one another regard this revolution of things as if it least of all concerned them?

Hearken, my beloved brethren, you who are come here from all parts of the world, we by no means wish to maintain that it is impossible for your spiritual welfare to exist without coming into contact with us. Alas! we cannot say of our country what Paul declared of the Romans, "that their faith is spoken of throughout the world;" and it was therefore a humiliation we well deserved, that at former meetings of the Evangelical Alliance this spot of ground was hardly mentioned, as it was sparingly represented. But if, involuntarily, justice has not been done to us, behold how the Christians of Holland are but too willing to forget, and, like as in years of old, they made their country a glorious refuge to the persecuted, so now they welcome most hospitably all Christians from all parts of the world. Holland, but too prone to imitate what is bad in foreign countries, to overrate what is but imperfect in other lands, now exclaims to the most distinguished of all Christian nations, 'Come over and help us,' and if ye need us not, well, then, we need you; we want the light of your science, the power of your faith, the example of your pious zeal." But we all need one another, and, God be praised, if we are needy, still you are not so rich in spiritual gifts that we should have nothing to impart to one another. Paul considered himself "a debtor both to the Greeks and the Barbarians, both to the wise and unwise." And have not we, also, great claims to settle with one another, when we consider how constantly the debt of love has been accumulating? The brethren came

to Paul, having heard of him ; and have we not heard enough of one another to be able to speak of much mutual struggling and suffering ; and if we know little of one another, is it not a reason the more for us to meet, so that they who were strangers may become dearly-beloved brethren ? No ; it is not good for man, for the Christian, for Christian people to stand alone in the fiery contest of the present day ; more than ever it is desirable brethren should see one another face to face ; self-interest even advises it, and how much more does love. O say not, when you hear that word love, that you, honestly speaking, feel little want of communion. You would be witnessing against yourself, and prove that your highly-praised faith is not a vital principle. Say still less that the most distinguished minds are characterized by their tendency towards isolation and individuality. I do not contradict that this may be in some measure the case, but at the same time I do maintain that God, who weigheth the spirits and searcheth the heart, above all things sees whether love reigns in that heart. And how much hidden pride, how much secret suffering, is hidden beneath that stately mantle of individualism ; and how many a one has withdrawn himself from the brethren—not because he finds in solitude a charm, but because he suffers less than by having intercourse with others : he is afraid of the clashing of opinions. Say least of all that the communion of saints is not worth much, and affords but little satisfaction, and that it is therefore better to abide alone and seek communion with God only. To many a complaint of this kind I could easily answer : My brother, be silent ; I too know it. Let us remember that here upon earth a brother's love, however warm it may be, is not perfect, often perfectly sincere, without its therefore being tender and deep ; nor can ever a brother here below be to us what our Heavenly Father is there above. But, alas ! sometimes our Heavenly Friend seems immensely far off from us. We go groping about like blind men, and sometimes we should willingly give all we possessed for one friend on whose breast we might repose our weary head. Did not the Lord himself, when suffering agony in Gethsemane, repeatedly go for consolation and strength to His slumbering friends ; and when Paul was sorely beset from within and from without, did he not find fresh strength and consolation in the communion of a brother ? for he says, “ God that comforteth those that are

cast down comforted us"—by what? A miracle? by the appearing of an angel? Nay, but "by—the coming of Titus." Ah, let us not be wiser than He who has so deeply implanted in our hearts this yearning for communion. It is God alone that can find sufficiency in Himself; but the creature, even the new creature, can only live and be perfected by communion with others. In the universal body the eye must be able to see how the hand moves; the ear must hear the beating of the pulse of life; the heart feel whether the feet are feeble or strong. Next to prayer, there is nothing so favourable to spiritual growth as mutual communication. In love alone is life; in self-interest and egotism love not only finds death, but the grave and death at the same time. If it is anywise possible, brethren should meet face to face, at least from time to time.

III.

And he who has now enjoyed this privilege will not require a long demonstration in order to be convinced that this communion increases our cause of gratitude to God at the same time that we enjoy it. The text says that Paul, on seeing the brethren, thanked God: from the brethren he instantly looks up to the Father. Paul has still faith enough, or, if I may thus express it, is simple-minded enough, to see in the meeting that has just occurred God's kind providence, who is graciously mindful of him, and sends him this sweet consolation. A certain well-known school may smile at Paul's narrow ideas; but you know Paul lived eighteen centuries too early to be quite up to the mark. Methinks we hear Paul, with grateful heart, render loud thanks to God; nor does this in the least surprise us, for when he saw the Roman brethren, it seemed to him as if he saw Rome itself, and Rome from its most enchanting side. His wish has now been accomplished—well-nigh too late for his longing heart, but still it has been granted *at last*, his ardent and frequent prayers have been heard. In the brethren he sees his Heavenly Father saying to him, Paul, thy prayer has been heard. Paul, on meeting the brethren, must in many respects have felt what Moses did when meeting Jethro and his kinsfolk in the desert, for Moses, too, had passed through many dangers and perils;

and do you not think the delight of at last meeting must have been considerably enhanced by its having been so oft and so long delayed? Much the same do we feel, beloved friends and members of the Evangelical Alliance, for already, in 1866, we dearly wished to celebrate this glorious day of our present meeting. But the mere mention of that year and date fills our minds with gloom and terror, and never will the mind be able to forget that fearful host of calamities, of visitations, of fearful judgments sent by God. There was general excitement and disquiet, a financial panic, the cattle disease, and cholera, wars and rumours of war, all uniting to fill the heart with ominous alarm; still the Almighty spake, "Not yet." With trembling hearts we look back to the past, with anxious questions on our lips we fixed our eye on the forthcoming year. Then, how lovely does 1867 appear to us; for it is the year in which we celebrate this feast of love and peace. Does not this year appear to us like the sun in his full glory, surrounded on all sides by black and threatening clouds. How glorious and delightful does the *present* day appear to us when we think of yesterday, with all its storms, and of the morrow so pregnant with dangers. Great indeed has been the recent struggle, many have been the sufferings, but, thanks to God, many is the prayer too that has been uttered; and we now thank God from the depths of our hearts that He has permitted us to see the brethren, for we know full well that in the communion of saints the will of God is being done. Surely you have heard this self-same Paul declare "that it is God's pleasure which He hath purposed in himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth." Yes, union, alliance, centralization, the all-important word of our century, is likewise the great secret of God's adorable plan with our world. In order that this plan may be accomplished, ages roll on, thrones totter and fall, princes devise, and the nations make war, and wherever we assist in building the temple of peace, there we add a link in the chain of that plan. God be thanked, we are about His work, and are furthering what He, before all things, has in view. But there is more: in this way the prayer that the Son of God, with dying lips, uttered, is being accomplished.

Not less than five times is the union of believers mentioned in that interceding prayer, and what a fearful accusation does this not form against so many ages and churches and confessions of the Christian faith. Union, alliance, centralization—these are the grand ideas of the Son's life and prayer, on earth and in heaven; and they who bear His name are continually reminding the world of a kingdom that is divided against itself, and therefore must fall. Alas! we deplore that things have been thus so long; but, God be thanked, a brighter day is dawning, the will of our dying Lord is being heard with far greater attention than it ever has been done before, though it may be yet far from being accomplished. There is yet much that is wanting to render our love perfect, but something has already been gained by our expressing our shame at our former want of love, and through the dry bones a breath of life is already heard rustling. How great is the cause of our joy; for where the will of God is being accomplished, there the prayer of the Son is being heard; there we already see the *fruits of the Spirit*. Paul enumerates, first and foremost, love, in the long list of the fruits of the Spirit; and must not the Spirit necessarily be extinguished where hate and discord reign? Yes, union, alliance, centralization, is the great work the Holy Spirit is preparing and is endeavouring to bring about in all kinds of wonderful ways; and the great work of the Lord will then only be complete when not only every individual soul is regenerated, comforted, and sanctified, but when all the redeemed will form one spiritual body, united through Him with the Father and the Son, and all most closely united to one another. If there be but one single tiny spark of love in this poor heart, be sure it is His work, it is His breath that has kindled that spark, and soon the word will be fulfilled in a spiritual sense that saith, "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth." And you are unceasingly complaining, pray do not say, there is yet much wanting to give us cause of gratitude, that we must not run after illusions but look reality in the face, and by no means ask whether we expect a union which, according to your ideas, is so untimely, so imperfect, so insignificant, will here be able to effect anything, for then you run the risk of becoming proud and unjust. You consider our meeting untimely! For him who does not wish it, it certainly is; such an one will find fault with any time, when-

ever it be, and I doubt in my turn whether the year 62 or 63 after Christ, was really so favourable for a meeting as the one held at Appii-forum. You speak of *narrow-mindedness*. We are as little such as Paul himself, who, spite of all his liberality, did not hesitate to utter an anathema on even an angel, should he preach any other Gospel than he had preached. We do not anathematize any one, but, on the other hand, we cannot give our hand to one who would force upon us a fancied Christ of naturalism for the historical Christ of the Holy Scriptures. Others, again, say we are *too free*, because we acknowledge one great living centre only. Really, we feel inclined to say that the one accusation nullifies the other, and that consequently the right path is found, and with it truth.

Others, again, maintain that our union is imperfect in its very formation, growth, and operation. Ah, it certainly would not be so imperfect if you, who speak thus, had not withdrawn yourselves in so cold and haughty a manner; ye who are so perfect ought only to associate with the perfect, and if ye find such, happy are ye. "And what can such feeble efforts, what can persons so few and insignificant in number effect?" exclaims another. True, we do not expect signs or miracles; as far as we know, none such occurred at Appii-forum, nor the Three Taverns either. But the brethren felt deep satisfaction at having obeyed the impulse of their hearts, at having comforted Paul, at having inspired one another with courage for the forthcoming struggle, and at having felt the sweet sensation that it is not absolutely necessary to wait to enter heaven, in order to know and to taste what the communion of saints is. We, though few and unimportant, are satisfied with a little, with small beginnings, and if we are privileged to feel this, well then we are not wiser, and do not hold ourselves to be of greater importance than the Apostle Paul. Wherever we therefore see the brethren, we render thanks to *God, and take courage for the future.*

IV.

Yes, this cause of gratitude increases our courage for the future. And why, my beloved, why, think you, does Luke, that able historian, and who gives so graphic an account of this meeting, why did he add these few but most significant words,

“he took courage;” had he not perceived a change pass over Paul’s countenance, as we often see in nature when the sun breaks forth from behind the fog? We observe with gratitude that the truth of the words, “We are men of like passions with you,” is verified in Paul’s life, for in some measure, at least, we can place ourselves in Paul’s position. At length he stands on the territory of Actium, every moment brings him nearer to Rome, every step he takes on that celebrated *via Appia*, to what a scene of conflict and of portentous results does it not lead him? But the true hero never trembles *in*, though for a moment he may *at*, the danger that threatens him; and the soldier of Christ forms no exception to this rule. With pensive countenance, betokening perhaps many a care, he stands involuntarily gazing at the future, that seems to him so threatening; but what is it that all of a sudden causes every wrinkle to disappear, and makes his diamond eye to shine with life, radiant and divine? The meeting of the brethren was to Paul what the return of the dove with her olive branch was to Noah, when he impatiently asked, “When will the new earth rise out of the dark waters?” It was one glance of God’s paternal eye, speaking love to him *now*, and including a precious prophecy for the *future*. Instead of mere sympathy, which Paul perhaps hoped to find at some future period, he is immediately gladdened with assurances of love and fidelity, for Paul does not strive after a martyr’s crown, though he may by no means fear a martyr’s death. With heightened courage he at last reaches the gates of Rome. Behold a Hannibal at her gates, but one who brings liberty and peace. The Gospel of Paul makes its triumphant entrance into Rome unobserved and without pomp, it is true, but nevertheless in triumph; for, observe my beloved, it is not Paul that is entering these walls, but *Paul with the brethren, they are with him*. No individual standing alone, though he possessed the herculean strength of an Apostle Paul, but the whole Church, led by or in union with such guides and captains, can eventually hope to obtain the victory in the conflict between the kingdom of God and the world. Oh, my beloved hearers, be it far from me to think lightly of the many privileges we possess, mercifully granted to us, and not to the early brethren; and as little do I wish to close my eyes to so many favourable signs of the times, both near us and around us. No, my be-

loved brethren who come from afar, here you will not find a churchyard, but a battle-field; and if our soldiers are not grievously wounded, still they are truly faithful warriors; their swords are sharp and bright, with many a promise of triumph to cheer them. But nevertheless—we confess it at this our first meeting—of late our hearts have felt exceedingly faint and oppressed by many a fear, and yet, spite of all, we wish not to have sorrowed less, seeing the great cause for affliction that there exists. Egotistical souls too easily retire into themselves when times become dangerous and critical, like for instance, the Prince of German poets did, who, when in 1813 every man's heart thrilled with intense desire to join in the war that restored liberty to Europe, shut himself up in his study, and there, with wonderful ardour, sat down to pursue his Chinese studies. But souls that sympathize, suffer with the suffering Church, and in that measure as they lead a spiritual life; and you, my beloved, have indeed suffered. Much less do I venture to sketch the dark side of this century, and I shall here merely confine myself to the observation that the similarity as well as the dissimilarity of the present condition of the kingdom of God, compared with the state of things as we see them during this part of Paul's life, affords us but too much cause for the concern we feel in our minds. Behind us many a shipwreck of our most holy faith, vipers too have crawled out of the fire, but, alas, we have not shaken them from our wounded hands without serious damage; we have had the sick among us too with the most malignant fever of doubt, and to heal which we have not always been able. Around us a spirit of heathenism, much less noble in its kind than Paul met with in his time, and a spirit of materialism so vulgar and common as never had raised its throne at Appii-forum.* With Paul we are travelling onward; on one side of us the Pontine marshes of *superstition*, yonder the Albanian mountains of *unbelief*, and like Paul we are called to defend our faith before judges, who partly are not less impartial than those who sat at Rome. Exactly as in that time, the Gospel stands arraigned before the highest tribunal of

* Inde forum Appi
Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
HOR., Sat. v.

See also Cicero ad Div. ii. 10.

the world, and from all sides the anxious question arises, "Whither are we going?" "To a Babylon of confusion," Rome cries out, that never can forget her ancient hate and grudge against the Gospel. "No, back to Rome;" a voice is heard coming from Albion's white cliffs. Yes, we see ominous birds in the atmosphere of the Reformed Churches, announcing the coming night. "Watchman, what of the night?" anxious voices are heard exclaiming from all sides; and in vain the watchman looks for the dawning day. Nay, not quite in vain, for, though the sun be hidden, the stars are coming out; though the Lord tarry, He nevertheless sends the brethren as messengers of peace, and as allies in the great contest; and we who see this quickly take courage, just as we catch hold of a drowning man in the very moment of his disappearing beneath the waters. And shall we not take courage? No longer are we standing alone, for, with the brethren, we fix our eyes upon the century we live in, upon the Church, and upon the world. Yes, *faith* now takes courage to continue the fight, for it sees that everywhere the Lord has such as are His, much more so than he imagines, and many more than he can count; it hears that the struggle that has nearly exhausted us is being waged in innumerable places too, and the enemy who proudly lifts up his head where we are, is already beaten down elsewhere. *Love* takes courage to labour on, for late, but not too late, does love form a treaty or covenant of love between all the brethren, who, though differing in non-essentials, are perfectly of one heart and of one mind where it concerns essentials—the want of a Saviour in the course of their lives and in their choice. And what has this union of brethren chosen? The glorious motto that the Swiss of old chose in their renowned war of Independence—"One for all, and all for one." What matters it if this work is long and difficult! It reminds us of that courageous effort to dig through that mountain in the South of Europe which forms the grand barrier to one uninterrupted line of communication between Switzerland and Italy. Doubtless, the work will be done, but it requires an immense amount of patience and faith. By slow degrees the work is proceeding; unexpected hindrances occur; the instrument seems sometimes too feeble for the work. Behold, it breaks; it is shattered against some hidden mass of rock that seems to say, "Thus far, and no farther." But take courage, valiant labourer; soon

you may meet with a sorter layer of earth, and then your work will get on more rapidly. There ! the first ray of light, coming from the other side, penetrates the darkness at last ; the last partition of earth falls on wings of iron, distances haste to meet each other, and no longer are the Alps and the Apennines separated from each other by a high wall of partition. Thus the Christian's faith fights on ; thus it has labours and hope. *Hope* too takes courage to wait, for in a meeting like this she catches but a faint, although most important glimpse of that General Assembly of the Church of the first-born which are written in Heaven, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, celebrating the everlasting feast of peace. Oh, blessed prospect, to be all united there without spot or blemish, and with all those who love the Lord in sincerity and truth ! It is a prospect that shall in no wise put us to shame. My hearers, did I not say in the beginning : " Come to the feast ; no man living has ever seen it ; no man living shall ever see it again ? " Well, now I say : Greater things shall ye see if ye continue in your faith and love : greater things shall ye see there above, where all ransomed souls shall melt into one grand Hallelujah—like drops in an ocean—of thanksgiving, of love, and of praise. Greater things on earth, though from Heaven first seen, when Christ appears in all the glory of a king, bringing with Him peace and unity, though having its root in wonderful diversity. How do we feel our fears vanishing and our courage increasing when, thus united in bonds of sweet unity, we stand gazing from the summit of some holy mountain on a struggling and suffering world. What feelings of quiet, of fresh vigour, of intense enjoyment, come creeping over us ; how sorry we feel that we cannot longer tarry here. But hark ! what sounds are those that strike our ear while descending this mountain of revelation, and from whence Moses and Joshua together once descended too ? Is it the noise of war or singing ? Of the former there has really been no lack ; well, then, let the latter be heard too. Let us with one accord raise that martial but glorious melody—" A strong tower is our God," and praise Him with our song.

Regarded in each of its parts, the text has preached many a glorious truth to us ; and when we once more read the whole, it affords us an answer to a question of vast importance. May

we expect that at present the Communion of Saints will be to us what it was in former days to Paul and the brethren. We answer, Most certainly; but it is only possible under these conditions. We can only partake of that privilege *if our hearts feel like these brethren felt; if our eye sees like St. Paul's eye saw; and if there is a blessing like that which rested on the meeting of the brethren.*

A heart like that of those brethren. Beloved, my heart's desire is that you may take a broad and deep survey of this treasury-house, and how infinitely happy would it make me if I could get some of the gold therein contained to be current among you. Observe, they did not make any pretext to remain behind; on the contrary, they hastened to go forward. With confidence they meet Paul, although they only know him by report, not always too exact; with perseverance they conduct him and his fellow-travellers till they have reached their last station. Paul might choose to dwell by himself in his own hired house, but I very much doubt whether his fellow-travellers paid much for theirs. Certainly, it is not without some signification, we find it written of these men in the Epistle to the Romans, "they were given to hospitality." Probably, these brethren, whose names are not mentioned, belonged to the family of Gaius, to whom St. John wrote, "Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers." Do you think it may be true that this family is not so numerous among us as we might reasonably expect? That the hearts of some are more roomy than their houses; that the admonition contained in Hebrews xiii. 1—I pray you read it attentively in your closets—is written as uselessly for them as the words of the second verse: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers." So much the more honour is there due to those, be they high or low, who have, on the present occasion, so clearly shown the contrary. All honour to the beloved King of our country, who has expressed his sympathy in so gracious and munificent a manner, and who thereby has affixed his seal to the words of a most pious but deceased prince, who declared that he saw in the Evangelical Alliance a happy sign for the future of the Evangelical Church. Honour be rendered to all who have given a helping hand to our most holy cause, as far at least as that hand was directed by a heart like that of the brethren. But—and who

does not know this—such a heart none of us has by nature, for Christian love is not the fruit of the natural, but of the new birth. These brethren gave themselves up so willingly to Paul, because they had already entirely surrendered themselves to the Lord. Let us, before all things, go to Him with our sins, so that He may deliver us from them, but let us bring our hearts too, so that He may fill them with His love. How far, how very far are we—even the very best among us—from feeling, I do not say as He felt, but even as the brethren felt. Shall I here speak of the formality of our love, of the jealousy of our love, of our love being so little constant, aye of perhaps not being quite honest at times? No, my hearers, I prefer to spread over this all, and yet much more, the mantle of love, as far as I can possibly make it reach. But what I say to myself, that I also say to you; and let him who hears give ear unto it. There is, and there ever will be, but this one infallible touchstone of every true Christian life: “We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death.”

Yes, my beloved, a heart like the hearts of those brethren is requisite, *but also an eye like that of Paul*. Perhaps one of those Roman soldiers, standing at some little distance, and watching this meeting, thought how is it possible that a man of such good understanding can rejoice at so insignificant a thing. That arises, soldier of Nero, from your not having the eyes of a Paul, notwithstanding all your soldiers’ common sense, otherwise you would judge very differently. Paul—and that is the peculiarity of those eyes—sees in *small* things the germ of great things, and in a foreign country he recognizes and trusts the brother. In a handful of corn planted on the summit of a mountain, he already hears from afar the waving of the plentiful harvest on Mount Lebanon. These Italians, too, he calls Christians, though not formed in his own school. No judgment does he pronounce on the purity or falseness of their doctrine, before he has admitted them to his presence. His Gospel is known at Rome too, and he by no means intends keeping it secret, but he who is now acquainted with it, and feels himself drawn to Paul, him he in no wise repulses from mere suspicion. Paul may find many a thing not lawful to do, but he gives abundance of liberty to his brother. It has been observed in some, who likewise profess

Paul's doctrine, that the contrary is seen to occur, but to nothing else but the power of such principles can we ascribe it, that among this company, that abode full seven days at Puteoli, afterwards a considerable time at Appii-forum and the Three Taverns, not a single note of discord was heard. My hearers, shall this feeling guide and unite us at present too? Deeply would it grieve you and me and the cause of the Lord, if such feelings were here totally found wanting. Whether you have brought with you or not that eye of Paul will appear from your seeing in what is relatively small, the germ of something great, and whether you will be able to value what is good, though presented to you in a form that is strange to you. The Lord keep us from judging or condemning our brother instead of, "in lowliness of heart, esteeming others better than ourselves." May the Lord teach each one of us to feel with the heart of these brethren, but also to look with the eye of an Apostle Paul. And how, think you, did Paul himself learn thus to look? Certainly, in the school of experience, where he had also acquired circumspection and wisdom, but especially in the school of prayer for the enlightenment of the eyes of his understanding, which is the gift of the Holy Ghost. O ye who long to look around you with an eye as clear and as bright, as free and as joyful, look with Paul continually, and before all things, *on high!*

On high. Yes, my beloved; if our joy is to be fulfilled, it will depend upon a blessing resting upon us, like the blessing that rested on the meeting of those brethren of early days. Wherein that blessing actually consisted is not written in the Acts of the Apostles, but certainly it is in the Book of Remembrance that is written before God's presence. But who can doubt there was a blessing who also believes in the truth of the promise, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there will I be in the midst of them." A hidden blessing is a true blessing; and this is not only true as regards the past, it appears also to the present; and, moreover, that which is hidden shall once be revealed. Though centuries have passed, and Paul and the brethren are no more, yet their example speaks to us; and so eternity will once reveal that what we have done for the sake of the Lord Jesus, for His glory, has not been done in vain. Pilgrims on earth, living here or elsewhere, our meeting here bears in many respects a resemblance

to the short meeting of Appii-forum and the Three Taverns. We, too, are travellers, each of us laden with his own fetters, even though Christ has made us free : we are called to witness for our Lord, and already on our way to the Supreme Judge. But if we may there experience what Paul and the brethren here experienced ; if we meet brethren where we expected to find strangers only ; if we—strengthened by this meeting—go hence after having passed through the most fiery, but last, ordeal ; if, in a word, we here have already had a foretaste of what the Lord will there give His children to enjoy—there, where there are not three Tabernacles, but one vast Mansion belonging to our Heavenly Father, and where the first-born among many brethren are waiting to unite with all those who are the Lord's,—oh, tell me, have we not, then, abundant reason to exclaim, “The Lord has been mindful of us.” But, in order to render such thanks *there*, we must have been *here* constant in prayer ; and, from the very beginning, “Veni, Creator, Spiritus,” —“Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, come,” the ancient Church sang, in moments of great importance,—that hymn must be to-day the key-note to our united prayers. Well, then, let us raise hearts and hands on high, and let this covenant, like a threefold cord that never shall be broken, be sealed between us, the brethren, and the triune Holy God.

I.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CHRISTENDOM.

1.—OPENING ADDRESS BY BARON VAN WASSENAAR VAN CATWYCK.

2.—REPORTS FROM THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES :—

THE NETHERLANDS, BY PROFESSOR
DOEDES.

BELGIUM, BY REV L. ANET.

FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZER-
LAND, BY PROF. ROSSEUW ST.
HILAIRE.

GERMANY AND GERMAN SWITZER-
LAND, BY PROF. THOLUCK.

RUSSIA, BY PROF. FROMMAN.

SWEDEN, BY REV. MR. RUDIN.

DENMARK, BY REV. DR. KALKAR.

ITALY, BY PROF. MEILLE.

SPAIN, BY A. CARRASCO.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND, BY REV.
CANON BATTERSBY.

NONCONFORMISTS OF ENGLAND,
BY REV. J. H. HINTON, M.A.

SCOTLAND, BY REV. W. ROBERTSON.

ISRAEL, BY REV. DR. W. PRESSEL.

THE EAST, BY REV. H. J. VAN
LENNEP.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BY
REV. DR. SMITH.

OPENING ADDRESS OF BARON VAN WASSENAAR.

DEAR Brethren in Jesus Christ our Lord: In the name of the Executive Committee, and of the Christian people of the Netherlands, I bid you welcome to our country. We are thankful to God, who permits us, after so many trials, to realize at length this Christian festival, which His holy will prevented last year. The cholera, and the war which then raged, made us understand that death being always near, we should always be ready for it. It is now two years since that, after some consideration, we gave to our Genevese brethren, who proposed the inquiry to us, the assurance that we should gladly receive the members and friends of the Evangelical Alliance. An Executive Committee was appointed, which did me the honour to elect me its President. I will not trouble you with the regrets which I feel that I, who have no claims to the office, should have had this post assigned to me, while my beloved country contains Christians, who, by their antecedent works, have acquired a title to our gratitude which we can never forget. The Lord, who can glorify Himself through my weakness, will give me, I am persuaded, the needed ability which I earnestly entreat of Him. Your indulgence, dear brethren, will pardon all my imperfections; and if we all seek, not our own glory, but the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, my task will be easy, and the Lord will bless our assemblies.

Unity in Christ is the true and only Evangelical Alliance; a unity which is manifested here below only in an imperfect form, but which will disclose itself completely when, divested of our earthly habiliments, we shall go to Him in whom we are one. Every Christian who, by the grace of God, knows that the end of this present terrestrial existence is to prepare for life eternal, is conscious, even while here, of two kinds of life; the one external, which the world observes, the other interior, which is hid in Christ, and which the world does not recognize, but which ought to manifest itself in the life which

is external. If to two Christians the source of this inner life is truly the same Christ who has said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," they will be brothers in Christ, even though their inner life should have but unfrequent opportunities of being mutually disclosed. If many brethren in Christ meet together openly confessing "God manifested in the flesh," and that this Christ-God is their Christ, the source of living water to which, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, the Regenerator, they come to satisfy their thirst, then these brethren are citizens of the same kingdom, even though in all that is obvious to the world—country, language, church forms, they are altogether distinct. They are voyaging in different ships, but they are guided by the same star; they are regenerated by the same Holy Spirit, who makes known to them the evils of their own hearts, but at the same time gives them strength, and, penetrating to the innermost depths of life, finds there that hidden spring which gushes up a fountain of living water flowing through and fertilizing the whole domain of the external life. They are travellers to the same goal, they have a brotherly alliance which the world does not comprehend, but which we hail with heartfelt thankfulness to God.

The subject on which to-day we invite our brethren from different countries to present their reports, is the advancement of the kingdom of Heaven on earth. We are about to ask of the whole of Christendom, in the name of Christ, for whom time has no limits, but with whom for nearly nineteen centuries the world has been acquainted, though it has often misconceived Him, *Watchman, is the morning about to dawn?*

THE NETHERLANDS IN 1867, CONTEMPLATED IN AN ECCLESIASTICAL AND RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR DOEDES, UTRECHT.

FOR the Protestants in the Netherlands, the difference between this year, 1867, and the dreadful 1567, the year to which Alva's arrival and the beginning of Spain's revenge, has given an ever-memorable notoriety, is inexpressibly great. If we look three centuries back, what a scene of anxiety and fear, of astonishment and confusion do we behold! Those who loved the Reformation, the Gospel of our Lord, and their Free Confession, knew not where to hide themselves. It was as if only one shrill cry was everywhere heard, and men could listen to nothing else but this startling summons: "Hasten forth—flee instantly—seek elsewhere a place of refuge!" Thousands upon thousands fled hurriedly away, and left a country where religious liberty was proscribed. See them going, outlawed for Christ's sake! Who among the Reformed would then have thought, that in this month of August for example, we should meet at Amsterdam, for the glorifying of God and His Son, publicly to discuss the things which concern His kingdom? Even owing only to the division which then existed between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, it would not have been possible then. And now? . . . Spain plucks the bitter fruits of her hostility to the Gospel, and the free Netherlands taste the full enjoyment of the acquired religious liberty. Here now, Protestants from all countries assemble in the name of the Lord, to welcome one another. Against the dreadful year of the dispersion, stands the joyful year of the solemn reception of foreign brethren in Christ. God be praised, that in 1867, being altogether free, we can look back rejoicingly at the year 1567. Yes, blessed be God's name, who did not permit the Spanish tyrant to annihilate the Reformation in these lands, but who has preserved it from destruction, and who, still by His power, causes it to grow and flourish.

The Netherlands are a Protestant country; so, in a certain sense, we may call it, without giving our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens any just cause of uneasiness or offence. That the Netherlands since the sixteenth century, has been formed and developed under Protestant influence, that till the year 1795 it might be called a Pro-

testant state, is as little to be denied as that the Protestant population still constitute the great majority. But let that rest for the present, like many other things which belong to the past. We shall now direct our attention exclusively to things as they at present exist. The Netherlands in 1867, contemplated from an ecclesiastical and religious point of view, shall now occupy some moments of our attention; and, if we must sometimes look back, it shall be no farther than is necessary to shed some light over the present. In this review, I wish to be as impartial as possible, yet I shall no otherwise speak of the actual state of affairs, than according to the light in which they present themselves to me. This light is in a great measure determined by the stand-point from which I deem it needful to survey it. If I have my own opinion of things, no one has not. "Justice to all," is for me not an empty sound; and if it be not more so to you, then will you give me a fair and impartial hearing. Be it also remembered, that it is only the external features of things that I describe. The final verdict I shall leave to you.

The ecclesiastical and religious condition of the Netherlands in the 350th year after the public commencement of Church reform in 1517, has, as might be expected, not only its lights, but also its shadows. We do not wish to make the last appear more prominent than the first. Although there is abundant matter for a mournful song, yet there is indeed reason enough for notes of joy. If we look only upon that which we might wish otherwise ordered, or deem necessary to censure and resist, we should be tempted to hang up a picture, above which posterity might well place as an inscription, those words from the beginning of the First Book of Moses, "Darkness was upon the face of the deep." It may seem, perhaps, to some that there is scarcely any light visible in our present condition. This may be accounted for by the point of view from which they survey everything. If they are Protestants, and believing Christians, we would ask them, if forty years ago things were indeed better than they are now? If we compare 1867 with 1827, I think we may say that we have made some progress. It is easy to cry out "Ah! our dear Holland is become a prey in the claws of infidelity; rationalism, neology and apostacy, here sway their sceptres, shamelessly and without restraint." But the reality justly asks, "Is not this somewhat exaggerated?" The enthusiasm of the *optimist* would certainly not be justified in us, yet the deep dejection of the *passimist* could scarcely in the year 1867 be defended.

We will not, however, remain any longer in the vestibule; or, if you prefer another image, we will place ourselves at once upon an eminence, from which we may obtain a complete view.

There then lie the Netherlands before you; the free Netherlands,

the land in which men are freer, and in which they speak and act more freely than in most other countries in Europe. Large it is not, but it is not therefore to be esteemed insignificant. Its inhabitants love independence and firmness, without obstinacy or particular narrow-mindedness. Separated from England by the sea, from France by Belgium, from Germany, and especially Prussia, by its frontiers, and also in a greater or less degree by its language; in an intellectual, and certainly also in a religious sense, it yet lives in constant communion with them. What Germany, France, and England supply for the civilized, the religious, or the theological world, to read and to reflect upon, is here very speedily known; especially with respect to Germany and France, even as soon as in these countries themselves. Perhaps some may think that the contiguity of three such powerful states and nations, and especially an acquaintance with the Protestant literary works supplied by France and Germany, operates unfavourably for the preservation of the original and distinctive Dutch character. Persons coming from abroad, may possibly think that here they will really find little else than Dutch-speaking Germans, French, and English. Thus far, however, we have not yet advanced! We really sail under our own Dutch flag. We gladly take from Germany, from France, from England, from the whole world, whatever is beautiful and true, and religiously good, the result of deep thought and sound learning; but otherwise, as well in our own morals and habits, as in our language, we know well how to detect what is German, Gallican, and Anglican, and to separate it from our own. It is rather hospitality than the right of citizenship that it finds among us. Spain did not formerly make us Spanish, nor did France at a later period make us French. We are and remain Netherlandsers; we are so on a religious ground; and this is true, not only of the very influential *Reformed*, but of the whole *Protestant* population, and also more than many would imagine of the *Roman Catholics*. We do not exclude, on the contrary, we hail what is good, regardless of the side from which it comes, and if we are strongly attached to our native land, we are not blind to that which may be justly welcomed as true illumination, civilization, or healthful progress. Our peculiarities we have, but it is not clear why men should ridicule them, if they be not in themselves ridiculous; unless Germans, Frenchmen, and the English, may have each their own peculiarities, while the Netherlandsers, on the contrary, must have neither colour nor character. By those in other lands who judge fairly of us, this will not be desired.

There then lie the Netherlands, with its three and a half million inhabitants, which, according to some, we may not call a Christian state, although, without much opposition, it may be denominated a Christian country. This, the 68,000 (more accurately full 67,500) Israelites who

live as citizens amongst us, will not take amiss. Although there is here no State-religion, Holland is not therefore an irreligious State. Our institutions, our legislation, and our whole national existence, bear the stamp of Christianity. Will men not believe it? Then let them compare Holland on Sunday with Holland on Saturday; let them read with the proper attention the law relative to lower education, which prescribes the training up of the young to Christian virtues, notwithstanding that it excludes religion from the lower public school; men will find this to be the case everywhere. But we shall not dispute about it. The Dutch Jews, of whom a comparatively small number belong to the Portuguese Jews, can scarcely desire more freedom, or more equality, with Christian citizens, than is secured to them by law. We live here in a free country; that the Dutch Jews too can testify. There has not been a State Church here since 1795, but every one avows his religious faith with perfect freedom, under the necessary guarantee for the protection of society and its members. All denominations have equal liberty to regulate whatever belongs to their religion and its observances, and the State thus secures public order and tranquillity. Indifferent as to the religious opinions men entertain, all enjoy the same private and civil rights, with equal claim to civil honours and offices. If the Israelites are, nevertheless, separated from their Christian fellow-citizens, it is by their ineffaceable nationality, by their religion, morals, and custom, (everlasting apology of the Old and New Testament!) and not by the law. But in whatever respects different from the Christians in the Netherlands, they are one with them in love to our common fatherland; and in attachment to the House of Orange they stand among the first. .

The Netherlands is then a Christian land. Of the population, as everyone knows, full three-fifths are Protestants, two-fifths are Roman Catholics;* but this calculation does not apply equally to all the provinces, least of all does it apply to Limburg and North Brabant where by far the greater part belong to the Romish Church; while in Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe, the reverse is the case; and North and South Holland, like Utrecht, number many more Protestants than Roman Catholics.

Since 1853, the year in which the Episcopal Hierarchy was introduced into the Netherlands, Dutch Roman Catholics form an ecclesiastical province, under the Archbishop of Utrecht and the four subordinate Bishops of Haarlem, Bois-le-duc, Breda, and Roermond. The Archbishopric and the four subordinate Bishoprics have each a seminary, which is divided into two sections, a chief and a subordinate;

* According to the census of 1864, there were 2,138,309 Protestants, and 1,285,774 Roman Catholics (1,818,000 belong to the *Reformed Church*).

the latter is established in a different place from the first. Between the Roman Catholic and Protestant population, there exists, in general, no animosity, except where, by local situations, political circumstances, or by foreign influence, the usual good understanding is disturbed. Then indeed the difference of religion, which excites attention to different interests, sometimes strongly develops itself. Upon the whole, the Dutch Protestants cannot complain of any particular intolerance on the part of their Roman Catholic neighbours, if only the Roman Catholic priesthood sets a good example, and no Roman Catholic newspaper or monthly periodical awakens and inflames the passions. As to the tolerant disposition of the Dutch Protestants, who indeed as they make the great majority, and by the character of their religious principles, can easily be very tolerant. This toleration is only then put to a severe test when, in relation to themselves, the State forgets the principle of "justice to all," or when Protestant sympathies are painfully wounded; otherwise the Roman Catholics, if we are not entirely mistaken, have no more cause to complain of them than they of the Roman Catholics.

Are we referred to the so-called "Protestant movement" of April 1853; we strongly maintain, that they who stood foremost in that movement, need not now be ashamed, nor should they suffer reproof from their fellow-Christians. The circumstances under which the Papal aggression and the introduction of the Episcopal Romish Hierarchy took place, the way in which it became known, and the offensive and insulting tone of the famous Papal Allocution explain everything. The "April-movement" of 1853 was not the result of hatred on the part of Protestants towards their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, but it was a most respectable protest springing from insulted Protestant feeling against Rome and ultramontane brutality. It is very true, we know, that anti-Romanism is not the same thing as true Protestantism; but we know also, that there is a liberality with respect to Rome which springs not from religion, but from irreligion. With rationalistic Christianity, or a so-called liberal Protestantism, which takes no cognizance of dogmatic differences, no believing Christian can ever be profited. Love above everything, but respect therewith for our most sacred rights!

These last words are adopted by the old episcopal community of Romanists, known by the name of Jansenists.* That not a few Protestants sympathize with them, is easily explained. Since the beginning of the former, and especially in the present century, their rights ought to have been more fully recognized. They represent the Dutch Catholics of former days. Since the year 1853, their condition has not become easier or more agreeable. With an Archbishop of

* About 5,500 in number.

Utrecht at their head, under whom a Bishop of Haarlem is placed, they are still looking out for their recognition by Rome, and their seminary continues to educate future priests. Faithful to the resolutions of the Council of Trent, they in no wise follow the Roman Catholic Church in her latest creation of dogmas, and they remain trustful and calm, hoping, though it seems without much ground, for a better future.

If we now fix our attention more particularly on the Protestants, we shall soon perceive that full nine-tenths belong to the Reformed Church, and scarcely one-tenth to other Christian denominations. In passing, we may just observe, that the government of the Dutch Reformed Church, since 1816, has been synodal, provincial and classical; likewise that the Walloon,* besides 4 English Presbyterian, and 1 Scotch Church, form part of her communion. Since 1852, at which time a new general regulation was introduced, the Dutch Reformed Church has more liberty with regard to the State, than formerly, while we may reasonably expect, that before long, with regard to the administration of her properties, funds and incomes, she will act much more freely. The Government also wishes, that the legal separation of the Church from the State may, at least as much as possible, become a reality to the Dutch Reformed Church. Besides, by the renewed general regulation of 1852, the right of the Church relative to the election of elders and deacons, as well as the calling of ministers, was acknowledged, and in this present year 1867, preliminary steps have been taken for the completion of what remains unexecuted. At this moment, little can be said as to the consequences that may attend this new state of affairs. One expects some good from it, another anticipates confusion, and another grievances. Certain it is that no congregation need longer submit to the dominion of a consistory, whose majority acts in opposition to the general sentiments of the members, as it is now in a position to exercise a decisive influence on the nomination of officers, and the calling of ministers. Many of those, who do not think this at all desirable for their interests, are now much disturbed, and forebode for their party, very naturally, little joy.

With the Reformed, should in the same line be mentioned the Separatists. Their Churches, which have existed since 1834, are united under a synodal government. They are distinguished by their particular attachment to the confessional writings of the Dutch Reformed Church, as, according to their firm conviction, grounded on the Word of God, and agreeing with it. Treated in the first years with very little leniency, let us rather say with much intolerance, since 1841 and especially since 1849, they have been placed by the Government more upon the same footing with other denominations. Amounting in

* To which belong nearly 10,000 souls.

number to about 75,000, they represent with respect to the doctrine of the Church, the principle of stability. Their Theological School at Kampen, where their future pastors and ministers are trained, breathes, however, if we do not deceive ourselves, in no wise a spirit of exclusiveness, but, on the contrary, of lively interest in that which now occurs, on the ground of Theological science at least in the conservative direction.

The very opposite of the Separatists, regarded in an historical and Church-confessional point of view, are the Remonstrants,* who, as is well known, did not originally separate from the Dutch Reformed Church, but were removed from it. In principle, as anti-confessional, as the Separatists are strongly confessional, the Remonstrants wish to be a Christian communion, in which the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, is preached and confessed with toleration and freedom. In preferring to call themselves Reformed Remonstrants, they show that they do not forget the community to which their fathers belonged. There is nothing which they would rather see than continued approximation between the Reformed Church and their own brotherhood; approximation, for separation they do not desire; approximation, for they would also be called Reformed; approximation, but so that the Dutch Reformed Church should come to them, and that they should retain the principle from which they will not depart—the principle of freedom in preaching and profession, without being in any way bound by any strictly formal and written confession. In this spirit their future pastors and ministers are trained in their Theological Seminary at Amsterdam, favourably known since 1634.

The Lutherans† have, since 1791, been divided into two churches. (The rupture, which commenced in the Amsterdam church, was occasioned by a departure on the part of many from the doctrine contained in the Church confessional writings). The Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, the one half, has, since 1817, had its Seminary at Amsterdam, of which the 50th anniversary was lately celebrated. If we may judge of the spirit which animates the institution by that of the festival oration, delivered by the then President Tutor, we must come to the conclusion, that the great distinctive tenets of Lutheranism will be no longer preserved. The Restored Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, the other half,‡ originally based on their attachment to the doctrine of the Church, now desires, as much as her sister society, to be reunited. On both sides, the first steps towards reunion are taken, and the expectation is thus produced, that the Restored Evangelical Lutheran com-

* There are about 5,400 Remonstrants. † About 64,500.

‡ The smallest half, to which belong about 10,000 souls.

munity will not celebrate its 80th anniversary, or if otherwise, with but little desire for a continued separate existence.

The Baptists, known to many by the name of Mennonites,* pre-eminently represent the principle of the autocracy of particular congregations. While the general body takes care of the financial interests and of their Seminary at Amsterdam, established in 1735, providing for the education of the future pastors and ministers, there is in all other respects an entire freedom; no Church confession whatever binds any minister or Church member. Only on the point of Adult baptism they remain inexorable, so that here is the boundary where the ground of Church freedom among them terminates.

When we have mentioned four congregations belonging to the Episcopal Church, which are placed under the direction of the Bishop of London; the German Evangelical Congregation, which belongs to the Evangelical Church of Prussia; two congregations of Evangelical Brethren, the well-known and very highly esteemed Herrnhutters, or Moravians; and lastly, that here and there are particular friends and followers of Dr. Kohlbrugge, of Elberfeld, some adherents of the Darbyites and of the Irvingites, and some who sympathize with the Baptists; the different existing divisions of Protestants in the Netherlands have passed under review, and the necessary foundation has been laid for the observations which are now to follow.

It will astonish no one that these should especially concern the Dutch Reformed Church, since the greatest part of the Protestant population belongs to it, so that there are more members of the Reformed Church alone than Roman Catholics. As the Dutch Reformed Church has become more and more independent of the State, it would not be supposed that the State still exercises a decisive influence on the instruction given to the future ministers and pastors of the Church. This, however, it does, not by interfering with the theological instruction itself, but by appointing the theological professors. It will be asked, has not the Dutch Reformed Church, then, like the smaller Protestant societies, and like the Roman Catholics and the Israelites, its own theological institutions or seminaries? Some greatly wish that it were, or that it might be so. But the actual state of things is, I may presume, well known. While the Royal edict of 2nd of August, 1815, determines the so-called law relative to the higher instruction, that in each of the three Universities at Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen, a Faculty of Theology shall exist for the education of students of the Reformed Church, the professors in that Faculty are appointed by the king from a number proposed by the curators. The Dutch Reformed Church has determined that candidates for the ministry must generally have studied in one or other of these

* Full 42,000 in number.

three universities. Now, what has been the case, especially during the last twenty-five years? Many complain that the State does not do justice to the Church. Strangely enough, since it is the Church herself which sends her future pastors and ministers to the above-named universities; and the existence of a Faculty of Theology in a country university, expressly for the service and convenience of the Dutch Reformed Church, must surely be considered a privilege rather than an injustice. Be that as it may, perhaps our ecclesiastical and theological condition would not appear so very different from what it is, even if during the last twenty-five years the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church had named the theological professors. Probably the present state of things is drawing to a close, and we shall shortly have something new. Certain is it, that a law for the regulation of the higher instruction is ready to be introduced. What the Dutch Reformed Church will then have to do, who will tell us? At present there is nothing for us but to wait with a lively interest.

We shall now leave the future, and go back some years into the past, that we may the better comprehend the present. Do we wish to observe, notwithstanding some conformity, a most remarkable difference, we must go back a period of about thirty years. There was then in the Dutch Reformed Church the great, well-known distinction of "orthodox" and "liberal." Those who adhered to the doctrine of the Church were generally called "orthodox," while those who troubled themselves less with doctrine were called "liberal." But on both sides there were the so-called "ultras" and the so-called "moderates." The ultras went, in the opinion of the moderates, "too far;" the moderates were, in the eyes of the ultras, "the halves," neither the one thing nor the other. The ultra-orthodox and the moderate-orthodox alike adhered to the doctrine of the Church, because, and in so far as, they respectively considered it agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. The liberals, indeed, assumed a freer attitude. The moderate among them, although, in many respects, they agreed with the doctrine of the Church, yet would not have it placed in the foreground, but only held next the Bible. Among them it was, the Bible, the Bible alone, and nothing but the Bible. What we are accustomed to call the authority of the Bible was acknowledged as well by the moderate-liberals as by the orthodox. By the authority of the Bible, however, was meant, as is always the case, the Bible as we ourselves explain it, not as represented by others of a different opinion. The moderate-liberals wished to be considered eminently Biblical. The ultra-liberals held themselves freer with respect to the Holy Scriptures. Their last word was not, "It is written." Although it had been written a thousand times, this was not sufficient. It had also to be understood, and justified by reason. If this could not be done, and if

there was no exegetical remedy at hand, then it was rejected. We can imagine what influence both the one and the other must have had on the representation and appreciation of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the two natures of Christ, of the personality of the Holy Spirit, of predestination, of original sin, and of the death of our Lord, in connection with the forgiveness of sins. What men, however, at that time, notwithstanding all their disputes, generally acknowledged was, the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament (perhaps with a few exceptions), and the credibility of the evangelical history; whilst the ultra-liberals perhaps, here and there, after the recital of a miracle, silently placed a note of interrogation, if they did not transgress by insisting on the so-called *natural* interpretation. Who that called himself a "preacher of the gospel" would not then have been ashamed to deny or to dispute the resurrection of Jesus from the grave on the third day? So it was about the year 1830, and even afterwards, when the "Leben Jesu" of Strauss was published. The Bible was still the point where men could meet each other. The exegesis had the highest and last word. The question is not, now, whether its decision was always impartial or not. But biblical, then, all ought to be—as well dogma as preaching. We need not remind you, however, that things were sometimes represented as biblical which did not deserve that honour, even as things sometimes passed for orthodox which could only be so represented by mistake.

The same may also be seen in 1867, for with respect to the *biblical*, and especially the *orthodox*, the touchstone and the scales of which some avail themselves, are anything but trustworthy, and are too much loaded with subjectivity and personal taste. What, however, with all this was remarkable, was that orthodoxy could not depend upon the sympathy of the great official majority. Then and for a long time afterwards, there prevailed, in an astonishing manner, what a witty fellow-countryman has justly designated *Orthodoxophobia*. There was often much contempt poured upon those who were really and believingly orthodox. For a certain party there were always scoffs ready at hand; for those especially who understood the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in the spirit of the old Church doctrine, and who found themselves designated disturbers, and intolerant, to an eminent degree. Intolerance the liberals sometimes dared to charge upon the orthodox; as if the intolerance of many liberals, at that time, had not justly become a proverb. While the beautiful word "liberality" makes one think of a mild, conciliating, and unprejudiced appreciation of persons and things; through the conduct of many liberals, liberality itself was become unknown. We have spoken of the year 1830, and those which followed, when the moderate-orthodox stretched out their hands to the moderate liberals, as against those who were feared as ultra-orthodox;

and these last, the ultra-orthodox, could reckon upon much less sympathy from them than the ultra-liberal.

Under these circumstances there appeared, about the year 1837, a new system, a new mode of thinking. While men in general laid all stress on the doctrine relative to our Lord Jesus Christ, with reference always to the doctrine, it was the so-called Groningen-School which fixed the attention more exclusively on the *person* of Jesus. With that school the question was not so much : what is the doctrine of the Bible ? Much less : what is the doctrine of the Church ? But : what does the *person*, the whole work and life, the whole appearance of Jesus Christ himself teach respecting man and God, and the relation which subsists between them ? To ascertain this, the doctrine of Jesus, and also that of the Apostles concerning Him, was consulted, but not so that this was thought sufficient. What does the whole person of Jesus now show us ? This was the question. So with the person of Jesus in the Gospel, so in the dogmatic teaching Christology as appeared in the foreground. A pre-existence of Jesus, but not eternal, a personal pre-existence of Jesus, as the Son of God, was accepted ; the credibility of the evangelical history was taken for granted, as acknowledged and as sufficiently ascertained. The difference between the Old and the New Testaments on the one side, and God's word, God's revelation, and the Gospel, on the other side, was emphatically pointed to. To the writings of the New Testament great importance was attached as a source of knowledge concerning the person and work of Christ ; and not less to the history of the Christian Church, as the continued revelation of the work of the exalted Saviour. Quite opposed to a frequent appeal to the authority of the Bible, as was the custom of the orthodox party, the Groningen system soon found much favour with many of the liberals. At the same time, by its endeavours to make the doctrine of the Church more purely biblical, by means of a constant reference to the Bible, the Groningen School readily found more and more sympathy among many moderate-orthodox, to whom it was peculiarly pleasing to have the person of our Lord always placed in the foreground. Many among them, and more moderate-liberals, became also what is called Groningers, while from the Groningen University itself a very large number issued forth, under whose influence the Groningen system found a ready acceptance among many. Disputes, however, were by no means uncommon. Against the Groningen school the ultra-orthodox were the first to protest with great alacrity. For various reasons, especially on account of the Groningen Christology, in connection with the Groningen Soteriology, others also, at a later period, raised their voices against this system. Heavy and fierce has been the struggle. The whole Dutch Reformed Church was moved, a

movement which made itself distinctly felt in the smaller Protestant communities, not to mention the Separatists. The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church was more than once appealed to from various quarters, to decide between the disputing parties or factions. In general, it was then: Groningers or orthodox. But we must not forget that many were by no means satisfied with this dilemma, and wished to be considered neither orthodox nor Groninger. Many moderate-orthodox and moderate-liberals united themselves rather under the formula "*biblico-ecclesiastical*," without anxiously defining it any farther. As far as the Synod is concerned, that body has satisfied itself since 1841 with the remembrance that the ministers were bound to the doctrine of the confessional writings, as that doctrine in its nature and spirit constitutes the essence and the principal part of the creed of the Dutch Reformed Church. If some wish to bring all things back to 1618 and 1819—if a few feared that an entire change of affairs was at hand—if no one really desired stability at any cost, the Synod left the door open for development. A later period has shown that through the open door, besides the principle of development, the spirit of demolition has also crept in. The Higher Church government, under the Synod, preceded the Lower in indulgence, with regard to anti-orthodox sympathies, and in the year 1854 a new formula, to be signed by the future ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, was easily introduced, which might then, with justice, be called very elastic; while now, in 1867—so times are changed—it is found to gall some (we mean the moderns) as an iron belt.

Meanwhile a younger generation had grown up, who were as little satisfied with the Groningen school as with the properly-called orthodox system, who were also more or less under the influence of a religious revival, which made its way here, as well as to other parts, thirty or thirty-five years ago; but it also received and retained a deep impression from the struggle of historical criticism, occasioned by the appearance of Strauss and the new Tübingen school. Many of them had a love for the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church, and a clear perception of the truth of the system, that not any doctrine, not any dogma as such, but the person of Jesus himself, is the centre of the Gospel. By the commotion occasioned by the "*Leben Jesu*" of Strauss, and the new Tübingen school, their attention was more particularly fixed on the historico-critical examination of the life of our Lord, the rise of Christianity, and the Apostolic age. They moved in an historico-critical atmosphere. More and more convinced that the growth and existence of the Christian Church can suppose nothing less than the fact of the resurrection of Jesus from the grave, and that this resurrection, combined with His testimony respecting Himself, forces us to acknowledge Him as the Son of God become man, they attached

much importance to the fact of the resurrection. Others proceeded more exclusively from what was merely human in the character of Jesus, and, relinquished more and more what is not immediately connected with it, or which cannot be explained by that alone. At the same time, more and more difference arose in the Christological view of Jesus, so that while some continued to acknowledge Him as the Son of God incarnate, in the spirit of the Church creed, others saw nothing more in Jesus than the perfect man. It also became increasingly evident, though many were not aware of it, that together with this there prevailed different cosmological systems—viz., among the first-mentioned a *supernatural*, and among the last-mentioned a *natural*, or, as its supporters would rather have called it, an *organic* system. According to these last, everything develops itself naturally, without any direct intervention of a supernatural agency. The promoters of this natural hypothesis may be considered to have been formed under the leading influence of Strauss's writings, and the more recent Tübingen school, although we must acknowledge that they were in no wise the servile followers of those German divines. They felt a lively sympathy for the natural cosmology of Pantheism, although they certainly did not deny the existence of a personal God. By degrees it became more and more evident that the systematic denial of all miracles, even of the miracle of Christ's resurrection, and of the perfect sinlessness of our Lord, must follow, and be expressed as unavoidably as determinism on ethical ground. All this followed, indeed, and was soon known by the name of "modern cosmology." This frequent reiteration of "modern cosmology," "modern self-consciousness," "modern science," brought into vogue, in the Netherlands, the name of "modern theology," by which name, in France and Germany, people only thought of the theology of the present time in general, without saying anything definitely as to its principle or position.

To these names, "modern theology," "modern system," we in the Netherlands are now well accustomed, but here, twelve years ago, they were not in use. Twelve years ago, the commission of the Walloon Church, in Holland, gave an historical report of the condition of the Dutch Reformed Church. It was in the year 1855. Holding itself as far as possible, neutral, and with an exemplary effort towards correctness and impartiality, it accurately described the condition of affairs at that period. If persons read it now, they ask with astonishment, is that no more than twelve years ago? The words, "modern theology," do not occur in it. Men who are known as champions, some also as victims of modern theology, or who have earnestly defended and sustained it, are not named, because they could not be. Whether miracles be not impossible, whether the Gos-

pel narrative respecting them, be worthy of credit, and whether the bodily resurrection of Jesus on the third day be a fact or a fiction, are questions about which we in the Netherlands have had to contend before. But with whom? Twenty years ago, we had not to contend in reference to these subjects with theologians, much less still with preachers. And now? Some would have considered the Groningen school still, partly at least, as a pioneer of the modern theology. But unjustly. The supernatural cosmology is the atmosphere in which the Groningen school breathes, and her deductions can never lead to the denial of miracles. The modern theology, on the contrary, views everything in the light of nature, and can do no otherwise than reject miracles. Now more especially it does this, under the pretence of being forced to it, by the so-called empirical mode of thinking. The investigation of nature, or the whole of natural science, would, according to them, always have taught, that everything takes place according to fixed laws, that both in nature and history, everything must be explained naturally, that there is nothing whatever in nature or in history, that has not a perfectly natural origin. Everywhere a natural causal connection. Such, they tell us, is the utterance of all real science. This mode of thinking, by which a miracle is admitted nowhere, but everywhere natural development, and upon moral ground, determinism, or in reference to moral acts, fatalism, is accepted, has, within a few years, found an astonishing number of adherents. Among the ministers, at least, this mode of thinking made its appearance at first, somewhat cautiously and timidly; and for a considerable time, people refused to assent to deductions, which, however, were inevitable. But that timidity no longer exists, and as the modern theology is taught at the universities and seminaries, even so its principles are published by the ministers from the pulpit. That it was opposed from different quarters, might be expected, and is also sufficiently known. Besides various objections against particular points, it has been urged as the principal difficulty, that science does not at all teach that continuity in nature and in history, which some choose to represent as beyond every doubt. True it is, that the natural sciences, everywhere supposing a natural connection of cause and effect, regard this only as an hypothesis, but will by no means build a system upon it, unless it be such as may be rendered subservient to the more accurate investigation of nature. Natural philosophers themselves willingly acknowledge that they do not know the real cause of a great variety of phenomena. Therefore, our theologians and ministers act very incautiously by employing that which is not proved or made out, as if it could be regarded in the same light as an axiom, and accordingly change the whole evangelical history, and indeed the very Gospel

itself. Quietly, therefore, may they who are addicted to supernatural cosmology wait for the refutation of this capital point. They from their side maintain that in the actual state of science, the right of denying miracles fails, and that the supernatural theory needs not at all be ashamed of itself; we mean that method of thinking, according to which, not everything in nature and history can be explained by natural causes; but some phenomena and facts must be considered as produced by the personal God, without any intermediate natural cause. In theology, it is as to cosmology, either supernaturalism or naturalism; and with respect to Christianity and the Gospel, either apostolical or modern. On ecclesiastical grounds, the difference must be somewhat differently expressed—a little more precisely defined. There, and we have now again more especially in view the Reformed Church, through the increased and ever-growing departure from the Church doctrine, in consequence of the devastation produced by the modern theology, the confessional principle is defended with growing interest. There are now very many orthodox, who are by preference, confessional; they adhere without reserve to the doctrine of the Church, and thus think that they will best resist existing confusion. This stand-point of the strongly confessional party does not, however, meet the decided approval of other orthodox, according to whom the Bible must always remain the last touchstone of the Church's creed, and these, therefore, take their stand on a Biblical confession. But very many also think that at the present time, the maintaining, on ecclesiastical ground, the apostolic gospel, against the reckless negations of the moderns, is the main question, and therefore take their stand on apostolic and evangelical principles.

Now, against all these the moderns are placed, who by their principles, are essentially opposed to the Dutch Reformed Church. This last point they—at least, the greater part of them—will not admit. "We remain!" is the present watchword of a large number of them. What will the end be? A rupture we can not as yet foresee. Against the free doctrine, which has found its way amongst us, there is a greater freedom allowed for hearing and choosing. Appearances of various kinds make us confidently believe that a Christian Church cannot long exist under a ministry which is inspired by modern theology, and that such a ministry as contains no Gospel of salvation for the lost sinner, cannot in a Christian Church long find a response. However we may further judge of the condition of parties or factions in the Dutch Reformed Church, and the smaller Protestant communities, we shall be obliged to acquiesce with the anti-moderns in opinion, that however important the evangelical defence of Church confession may be, yet the Church is best served against the influence of modern theology by a powerful, simple, faith-inspired proclamation of the Gospel, adapted to

the actual necessities of the sinner's heart, speaking to the conscience, and enlightening and sanctifying in its operation. It is also best served by the preaching of the Apostolic Gospel, having for its substance Jesus Christ, God's only begotten Son, risen from the grave on the third day, as the only mediator between God and man; and which directs the repenting sinner to the free grace of God, as it is revealed and glorified in this only Mediator and Saviour of sinners. This, indeed, is the chief element in the preaching of all, especially in the Dutch Reformed Church, who, in opposition to the moderns, may be called orthodox, although they may not agree in all things with each other. Yet some will place more especially on the foreground, what God does, or must do, in the conversion and regeneration of men; others, what men themselves have to do for their salvation; others, more of the doctrine of predestination, and the so-called doctrine of special election; others (and they are very numerous) will in general waive the doctrine of predestination, and preach the universal offer of salvation. But now, more than some years ago, among the orthodox party, the conviction becomes more and more lively, that not this or that doctrine, but the living glorified Head of the Church, must Himself be the grand subject of preaching and confession, as also the preaching of the necessity of faith in Him, together with the renewing of the Holy Ghost, evident in the conversion and sanctification of all real believers. We might wish that with all this, there was in general more unity, co-operation, and alliance, among the anti-moderns. But this cannot be forced or actuated at once; and those who love the Lord are not in reality separated, although the standpoint of the Church, or the scientific method, whether of criticism or of apologetics, seems to make a division. Finally, the Church can no more affect the union of hearts than theology, but only love to the same Lord as the only Saviour.

Do you ask if there are many in the Netherlands who love the Lord Jesus? To that question we venture not to reply. Who shall decide the number of really believing Christians in the Netherlands, and the proportion which that number bears to unbelievers? But if you ask if much has been done in the Netherlands to stir up many, and especially the younger generation, to that love, our answer is ready. Besides what occurs in the families of believing Christians; besides catechetical instruction, on which in many congregations, much care is bestowed; besides the healthful influence of the diaconal schools, may well be named, the increasing number of Sunday-schools, and the efforts now being made to promote Christian instruction in the inferior day-schools. As to the public lower school, that is in no respect connected with the Church; that is a State school. The public lower instruction, regu-

lated by the law of the 13th of August, 1857, is altogether apart from religion. All that is opposed to the respect due to the religious opinions of those who differ must, at the public lower school, be carefully suppressed and avoided. As the public lower school is open alike to Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Israelites, and as they all have an equal right to it, as a general school established by the State for the common benefit of all, it will readily be seen that it cannot satisfy the wants and reasonable demands of conscientious Protestant Christians. It is true, the law prescribes that the public lower instruction should be made subservient to the education of the young, in all "*Christian and social virtues*;" but it must not be forgotten, that with respect to Christian virtues, *no offence must be given*, even to the Israelites. Therefore, a society for Christian National instruction has been formed for the purpose of assisting as much as possible private schools, where that which is prohibited at open public schools can take place without interference. For, it is true, private schools on Christian principles may be established, only without any support by the State. This last constitutes a great difficulty, and has elicited the enquiry: Is it just and honourable to refuse all help from the sources, out of which the instruction given by the State is supported, to those who cannot conscientiously approve of the general school principles of education, while on the one side the public instruction is unsparingly furnished by the State, with all that is necessary to render it as efficient as possible, and on the other hand, the necessity of a different instruction from that supplied at the public school, everywhere manifests itself. Of course, the present state of affairs has its defenders, especially among the advocates of that imaginary Christianity, which is elevated above the difference of creeds, but it cannot possibly count upon the sympathy of those who will not have education separated from instruction, and who would make the public school serve for the education of the people, and consider the proper and unrestricted use of the Holy Scriptures together with a faithful representation of our national history at the public schools, especially for the Protestant youth, indispensably necessary. The law of 1857 has by no means worked satisfactorily. So long, however, as no alteration takes place, there remains little to do but to join with constitutional efforts for improvement, unwearied labour for the erection and support of (Christian) private schools. For the school, also, in a Christian sense, there remains much to be done, while for other Christian interests, we calculate on the continued sympathy and support of the friends of God's kingdom. That this is not in vain, is sufficiently known. All sorts of unions and societies, whose object is exclusively, or for the most part, religious, find more or less support; a support which does not prevent that assistance being generously

given, also for other countries, especially for Belgium, France and Germany. Among the various institutions, concerning which, respectively, we can say no more at present, those especially deserve our attention which have for their object the spread of the Gospel throughout the heathen world. There was a time, when, in the Netherlands, there existed but one missionary society, thus leaving to the friends of missions, the choice of giving their support exclusively to that, or joining some foreign society, or of doing nothing at all. In this respect, also, there is a great change. Whatever in the last years has declined in the Netherlands, in missionary zeal there has been no abatement. While the missionary cause is more earnestly prayed for, it is also more liberally supported. Do you say, "yes, but it is not all gold that glitters;" we answer, that there is at all events more glitter now than there was twenty-five years ago, and that now, men are acquainted with the missionary work, where then nothing was heard of it. Those who for some years contributed little or nothing, because they had little choice, in consequence of the limited number of missionary societies, need not now be at a loss. All sorts of systems and opinions existing among the several divisions of Protestants, are now represented. By some this may be considered deplorable. The forces, as they think, are thereby too much divided. But if here we meet with an evil, yet from that evil much good proceeds. Competition is as useful here as on any other ground; whereas monopoly, while it is the grave of rivalry, lulls vigilance to sleep. Let there be a rivalry of many missionary societies! By that, the heathens will be no losers, while the heart of the believing Christian rejoices over it, and prays the Lord of the harvest, "may love to Thee constrain them all." The heart of the believing Christian does not desire that one of them should be dissolved, but whatever aims at anything good or anything Christian, in the Netherlands, need not fear dissolution. It may slumber for a while, it may for a time decay, but it awakes again—it revives, as soon as there is a necessity for it. Of late years, so far as we can remember, only one society has been dissolved. It had a noble object in view. It might count upon the sympathy of all true philanthropists, even as it was supported by them with heart and soul. In the name of religion and humanity it pleaded her cause: inexorable in her zeal against what was, and remained a disgrace to the Dutch nation. Yes, it was a genuine Netherland society. But its best friends did not desire that it should long exist, and it was also speedily extinguished. It even put an end to its own existence, full of joy at the accomplishment of its purpose: the abolition of slavery throughout the Dutch colonies in Western India. The year 1863, brought this joy to the Netherlands. Netherlands' joy, may it be multiplied in like manner, by the abolition of all that is immoral and unchristian; by the taking

away of all that obstructs the progress of God's kingdom! Should we ever hear that the assemblies of the Evangelical Alliance are for ever abolished, that the abolition of these Christian gatherings is effected, we should rejoice with great joy, if, at least, it could be added, that the whole Protestant Christianity, the Netherland Protestants among the first ranks, had become, by faith and love, one great Christian Alliance, all dissensions passed away for ever, all differences surmounted, in the higher unity of one spirit—the Spirit of the Lord.

BELGIUM.

A RAPID SKETCH OF THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN BELGIUM, AND MORE ESPECIALLY OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY THE REV. L. ANET, BRUSSELS.

I.

The population of Belgium approaches five millions. They profess the Roman Catholic religion, which they confound with Christianity. Protestantism, which was extinguished by the violence of the 16th century, has reappeared only in the present, and is represented by a weak minority.

Roman Catholicism in Belgium presents a great variety of opinions, shading off and multiplying from the most decided ultramontanist to that complete indifference which marks the transition to infidelity.

The ultramontanists are a minority; but a minority powerful by social position, by wealth, by the periodical press, by their courage and boldness. Their leaders are the bishops, and men eminent in politics, in trade, in commerce, at the bar, and in short everywhere. With their decision, their energy, and the resources and staff of the convents, it is easy for them to seize the reins and control the other parties in the Church.

Next to these come the moderate Romanists. They aim to be at once good Catholics and good Belgians, submissive to the Pope, and at the same time, friends of liberal institutions; to solve a problem which is absolutely insoluble. They have able leaders, and many public organs.

In the third place stands a class rather than a party, which comprehends a great number of persons in certain places and certain positions; they are those who are indifferent. They are born and brought up in the Romish Church; they accept its doctrine and its practice without endeavouring to understand them, and without manifesting either towards the Church, or towards their confessor, if they have a confessor, any further submission than they please. They govern both their conduct and their principles without troubling

themselves with the requisitions of the Church. They wish to have a religion to serve their necessity, and when they judge it convenient.

The rest, and that a great number, for they form the mass of the liberal party, fiercely attack the clergy and their pretensions in their journals and various publications, in their speeches in the Chambers, and other places, and by their acts. At the same time they declare themselves to be good Roman Catholics, and sometimes pretend to be as good as the bishops. They accept the doctrines of the Church, all its doctrines, or nearly all, on condition, however, that they remain a dead letter in the catechisms, the laws, the decrees, the encyclicals, and other authoritative documents.

The most important journals of the liberal party have many times published these pretensions; I ought to say, have played the comedy with a zeal which would have rendered it highly comic,* had it not offended the moral feeling.

Last of all there remain those who, as the consequence of their principles, have broken with Rome and with every form of worship. Some of them contend that religion has had its time,† and is useless; others that religion is mischievous, the enemy of humanity, and the source of all evil. Sometimes it has embarrassed, sometimes stopped all progress; it must be altogether thrown aside, and its restraints broken as soon as possible, and at any cost. And in order to attain this end in the most summary manner, and to pluck up the tree by the roots, it is necessary to shake off God. "Fight with God, for man has never had such a foe."

These avowed adversaries of all religion have formed themselves into a society under the name of "Freethinkers." These associations are become the home of open atheism, and are animated by an ardent spirit of proselytism.

What becomes of Christianity in this Babel? It is evident that they who preserve the least of it are those who occupy the two extremes—the Freethinkers and the ultramontanes.

The Freethinkers, however, whatever they say, are far from being able to rid themselves of Christianity: they never will be. We cannot permit them to believe that they can. It is to Christianity that they owe liberty of conscience, considered in its generous results. It is to Christianity that they owe the equality of all in the eye of the law. And the philanthropical works of all kinds which exist among us, and from which the Freethinkers cannot refuse their homage, would they ever be met with in a civilization apart from Christianity? Whatever is noble and elevated in our social and political institutions, and in our civilization, we owe to Divine Revelation, for it is by that

* Especially on occasion of the discussions raised by the *Encyclical*.

† "Le Pere Céleste." By Ernest Naville, p. 2.

beyond everything else that we distinguish ourselves as amongst the most advanced people, whether ancient or modern. We defy infidelity, therefore, whatever it may be, to divest itself completely of Christianity, without at the same time despoiling its advocate of the character of a good citizen, and a good man.

The greater part of the Roman Catholics, in all that concerns the truths of the Gospel, and the particular dogmas of their own Church, accept a belief without examination, and without knowledge; an ignorant faith having no real action in the conscience, no renewing influence on the heart. Between such a faith and the condition of the deist, the pantheist, and indeed of any sort of infidel, the difference is not great; it is but the distance that separates one tomb from another in a cemetery.

There are persons who are something more than these without possessing all that is necessary. But they are thinly, very thinly scattered;—those who build the edifice of their faith on Christ, in spite of the profound darkness of Romanism in which they are involved.

No doubt the fundamentals of Christianity are retained in the Romish Church, but they are there as a dead letter. Nothing, unhappily, that indicates a living faith, remains in the pulpits, the writings, the reviews, or the journals of Belgium: you will not find a vestige of Christian life. The whole attention is engrossed with ecclesiastical, scholastic, literary, and, above all, political subjects. Nothing remains for Christianity but the amelioration of manners, and of political, social, and philanthropic institutions. This, no doubt, is valuable; these are precious fruits, and of immense worth to general society, but it does not suffice for the salvation of the soul.

As to the spirit which actuates the different parties in the Romish Church in reference to liberty of conscience, and of worship, to the Gospel, and to Protestants, I will but give an example. I will not take it from journals or books that are decidedly ultramontane; I will not speak of the defenders of the spirit and letter of the *Encyclical* and of the *Syllabus*. I extract it from a periodical publication, edited and conducted by men of the most liberal portion of the clerical party, entitled *Revue Générale*. The number for June last contains an article in which M. MANE, Y FLAQUER (a Spanish correspondent), endeavours to attenuate and to justify the religious persecutions in Spain, to show that liberty of worship is an evil,* and that Spain ought not to grant it. There we read as follows:

“Matamoros was a bad workman at hat-making, he did not like work, and was otherwise of no very exemplary character. By means

* In a note the Editors of the *Review* make a reservation on this last point. They declare that “our constitutional institutions are in their view admirably suited to the condition of Belgium.”

of five francs a day paid him by the Bible Society of London, he attached to himself certain persons of his own sort, of a morality like his own, and over their bottles and cups preached to them the excellence of Protestantism. These tavern preachings became so public, that the authorities were forced to interfere. The offender was taken before the ordinary tribunal, and the penalty prescribed by the penal code was inflicted upon him. Let it be observed that the impression in this instance was not more rigorous than exists in England itself in cases of religious offenders. I remember that STUART MILL, in his work on *Liberty*, cites four similar cases which had occurred in a short space of time in his own country." "The English journals took up the affair of Matamoros vigorously, repeated to satiety that Spain was reviving the persecutions of the Inquisition, and used all possible efforts to transform into a tragic hero a poor wretch who was not fit even to become the hero of a Sayriète."*

How can we listen to men who propagate slander with such brutality and absence of shame? As a pendant to these vile assertions I could cite, if time permitted, other morsels from the same article, and among them that in which the writer pretends to have "established and proved that in Spain the laws and customs respect every man's religious convictions, that nobody is molested on account of his faith, or his scepticism, and that they even scrupulously abstain from inquiring about the worship of the foreigner."

II.

A little candle shines amidst this thick darkness, shedding a beneficial light: it is Evangelical Christianity.

Belgian Protestantism, as I have said, forms in comparison a small minority. It is divided into two parts: one consists of those churches which receive support and pecuniary subsidies from the State;† the other of free churches known by the name of *the Belgian Missionary Church or Evangelical Society*.‡

Thirty years ago there were seven churches paid by the State, not including chapels of ease. They had seven pastors. Four were composed entirely of foreigners.§ Now there are eleven, and they have thirteen pastors and three evangelists for scattered Protestants. This

* A poor romance.

† Art. II. Statutes of Organization, 1839.

‡ Besides these two bodies there is a small company of Darbyites and a few Irvingites. We do not take account of the seven or eight English Churches, because they have no influence with our people.

§ Brussels, Antwerp, Liege, and Verviers.

increase is owing in great part to the conversion of Roman Catholics.* These churches adopt the Presbyterian polity. As a body they have no confession of faith, nor any creed, which would enable me to determine what is their doctrine.† But I am happy to say that the majority of their pastors preach and defend the truths of the Gospel.

Unhappily since the year 1830 there have always been rationalists among these Protestant pastors. They have many times publicly attacked Divine Revelation. Latterly one of them did this, first in a quarterly review, published at Brussels, and since then in 1865 by the publication of a book entitled *Le Protestantisme Liberal*. The audacity of negation is pushed to the extreme. According to the author, "religion has neither dogmas nor mysteries. There are no miracles. The superhuman is a human invention. Man has not fallen from a primitive state of innocence. Sin is no offence to God. There is therefore no Son of God incarnate and raised from the dead, and no redemption."

This deplorable publication by a man who calls himself a minister (minister of whom and of what?) has done much mischief. Still we are assured that "the Lord knoweth them that are his," and that none of them shall perish.

The churches supported by the State are strongly attached to Protestantism. They support their poor and provide for their orphans. Those at Borinage are spiritually zealous, and display much activity in spreading the Gospel around them.

The Missionary Church of Belgium.—The Belgian Evangelical Society reckons twenty churches ‡ or stations, not including auxiliary stations. All the churches and stations were founded with a view to the work of evangelization among the Roman Catholics, and they have all arisen out of this work. They are for the most part composed of persons who were formerly Roman Catholics.§

* The Evangelists also labour among the Roman Catholics. The Churches have schools at Brussels, Antwerp, Malines, Maria Hoorebeke, Seraing (for Germans), Dour, Paturages, Cuesmes, and Rongy.

† *L'Union*, a monthly review, may be taken as the exponent of the Churches, supported by the State, but it expresses the sentiments of its editors. It was for a long time conducted by Pastor ERNEST VENT. It followed in the track of the *Lien* of Paris, which in part it reproduced. It was afterwards edited by Mr. *Picterszen*, who gave it an orthodox character. It is now in the hands of Mr. *Pradez*, pastor at Liege.

‡ It ought, perhaps, to be said nineteen, since the two Churches at Brussels using the French language are under the same administration.

§ There are indeed here and there some foreign Protestants, either temporary or permanent residents. Thus, to take examples, some from amongst the most, and some from the least numerous churches, we find at Charleroi 774 members (including children)—four are of Protestant origin; Lize-Seraing, 663—five of Protestant origin; Strée-Beaumont, 92—only one Protestant. It is thus in many other places where the population is better

They are almost all situated in the large towns or in the great centres of population.*

Their polity is Presbyterian. The supreme ecclesiastical authority is vested in a Synod composed of the pastors and delegates of the Churches. A council of administration (called the Administrative Committee), chosen annually by the Synod, has the general oversight and direction. It must not consist of less than ten members, of whom the majority are laymen.

The Christian Missionary Church of Belgium having sprung entirely from Christian proselytism, may well consider its vocation to be missionary. On its fidelity to its vocation depends its existence. The first part of its motto is, "I have believed, and therefore have I spoken." With the help of the Master, whom it serves, it desires to work until every human being in Belgium has heard the message of salvation. Not till then may it repose.

Its modes of action are three:—1. *Regular preaching*. It holds from forty to forty-five public services every Lord's-day. During the week it gathers many meetings, either in large rooms set apart for worship, or in private houses; it preaches in the open air, in cemeteries, and public places, &c. 2. *The instruction of children and young persons*. It has nine week-day schools, with more than 450 scholars, and twenty-eight Sunday schools, with 780 scholars. In nearly all the churches there are associations of the young who carry on a work much blessed both among themselves and around them. 3. *Religious publications and their distribution*. It prints tracts, pamphlets, and sometimes books. It publishes two reviews, one in French, *Le Chrétien Belge*, which is in its eighteenth year, and one in Flemish, *L'Evangeliebede*, which is in its sixth year. It is about thirty years since it formed a central dépôt at Brussels, and nearly twenty since it opened a religious bookshop in the same city—the only Evangelical bookshop which has ever existed in Belgium. It has some dépôts in the provinces. It constantly employs nine or ten colporteurs and Scripture-readers. It distributes gratuitously more than 100,000 tracts annually. The distribution is made by the pastors

educated. In those which are composed in part of original Protestants and in part of former Romanists, the former are a small minority except in Brussels, in the French speaking Church, in which, however, the majority of communicants are converted Roman Catholics. It is the same at Ghent; at Antwerp the converted Romanists are the minority.

* *Brabant*.—Brussels: two French speaking, 1 Flemish. Small annexed stations in the Walloon country: Louvain, Antwerp, Ghent, Roubaix, Namur.

Prov. of Liège.—Liège, Lize-Seraing, Grivegnée, Nessonvaux, Verviers, Sprimont.

Prov. of Hainaut.—Charleroi, Jumet, Hondeng-La Louvière, Trameries, Wasmes, Strée-Beaumont.

and other labourers, and by the members of the churches. There have been received in the central dépôt 1,675,843 copies of different works, without including the sale of those which have been put into circulation by the bookshop.

Bibles have been supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has had an agent and a central dépôt in Brussels for thirty-two years. This excellent society employs colporteurs. It has six at the present time. Since the year 1839 it has placed in the country 307,598 copies of the Sacred Scriptures.

The Christian Missionary Church of Belgium for about nineteen years has adopted the Belgian Confession of Faith of the 16th century.* This old Confession expresses, in our judgment, in language at once noble, simple, profound and fervent, the ancient faith of St. Paul and his companions in the Apostolate. No doubt, had we ourselves drawn up a declaration of our principles, we should have used a different form of language; we should have expressed ourselves more fully on certain questions; on the authority of the magistrate in religious matters we should have professed a totally opposite principle; we should have attached to some articles greater importance, and to others less; but we should have stood upon the same ground, and with entire conviction have confessed the same truths.† I say with conviction, and I wish as much as possible to emphasize that word. Nothing is more repugnant to the sentiments of the pastors of the Christian Missionary Church of Belgium, and of their lay brethren who are associated with them in the administration and direction of its affairs, than that hypocrisy which consists in adopting and signing a declaration of principles or confession of faith, and then giving to its words and phrases another signification than that which usage and grammar assign to them. Such a proceeding cannot be too strongly condemned which is reduced to a system by the disciples of Loyola.

There is another method, less mischievous certainly, but of which we nevertheless disapprove. It inscribes Christian doctrines in symbolical books, giving them a purely speculative value. They remain deposited in documents, but they have no influence upon the ministry of the pastors, nor upon the conduct of the members of the Church. This dead orthodoxy has the art of rendering unfruitful seed which in its own nature is most prolific. It places the seed of the Word in a state similar to that in which excellent corn was found, shut up by the Egyptians in their tombs for two or three thousand years. Let us not, however, forget that in the day when God shall open these

* It is sold at the Evangelical Bookshop, 19, Rue de l'Imperatrice, Brussels.

† I speak in the name of the pastors of the Christian Missionary Church of Belgium, with whose principles I am acquainted; but I know that many pastors of the Church, supported by the State, hold the same doctrines.

tombs, and cause the drops of celestial dew and the rays of the Sun of Righteousness to penetrate them, the seed will spring up and soon produce the blade, the ear, and the fruit.

Still, we are convinced that a man ought not to be invested with the Christian ministry, whatever may be his talents or knowledge, who has not experienced the truths which it becomes his duty to preach. Before entering upon an office which requires him to defend the divine and absolute authority of the Word of God, that Word ought to have become the source of a divine life to himself. Before he undertakes to say to his fellow-men, "God loves you," he should possess the consciousness that he has himself been vivified by that love. Every preacher of the Gospel who is not a branch in the true vine, who does not live by life from Christ, usurps a charge which has never been committed to him by the Master; and exercises a ministry which will remain unfruitful in the salvation of souls. The preaching which does not come from the heart of the preacher before it reaches the hearer, although it may be sufficiently conformed to the truth to merit the character of being orthodox, will produce no results but such as are entirely superficial. For ourselves, we pray that God would banish from the sphere of labour assigned to us even the purest orthodoxy, if it be not an orthodoxy which has penetrated the inmost recesses of our souls. When we look at ourselves in the light of our missionary work, we regard an instructor whose heart is unrenewed as a hindrance to it, whatever may be his scholastic aptitude and his respectability. The simple colporteur of the sacred Scriptures and religious tracts, if he be not qualified by a personal experience of the truths of salvation, sensibly counteracts the blessed influence of the books he circulates. His words and his actions, however well regulated, always contradict in certain important respects, the language of his books. This is why we think that if a confession of faith is necessary at the present period, like a standard in the confusion of a grand battle, it is not sufficient of itself, but every labourer in the Lord's vineyard, every man called to teach or to rule in the Church, ought to be instructed by the Holy Spirit, as well as by the Word of God.

We do not place doctrine above life, nor life above doctrine; but we unite them as they are united by God. We place our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ above all, and we preach Him as "the way, the truth, and the life," both doctrine and life.

It is by this living doctrine that God has brought back the Evangelical Church to Belgium. This Church, annihilated at the time of the Reformation by Spanish and Papal aggression, has remained, like its Master, three days in the grave—that is to say, three centuries.

The voice which revived Lazarus, has called it forth from the ashes of our martyred fathers. It is weak and humble; it is but a

spark, "a light shining in a dark place." It is a grain of mustard seed cast into the ground which the witnesses of Jesus have watered with their generous blood. It is not yet become a great tree spreading its strong branches in all directions; it is only a shrub, but a shrub striking its roots vigorously into the soil, enlarging and elevating itself healthfully, although gradually and increasingly developing its living shoots. What it is now shows what it may become, under the life-giving influence of Him who has made it burst forth and increase to this day.

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

BY PROFESSOR ROSSEUW DE ST. HILAIRE, OF PARIS.

TEN years ago it was said in a Report addressed to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance of Berlin, not without an appearance of truth: "we have in France very few rationalists who are bold enough to attack fundamental dogmas from the pulpit. Rationalism is disappearing." . . . But things have greatly changed since then, and these words seem to measure the distance we have travelled. Emancipated opinion has ceased to impose restraints on heterodox pastors, and the most audacious negations now proceed from the Christian pulpit. The causes of this change is what we need to investigate here, causes deep and hidden, like everything relating to the movement of ideas, which germinate and ripen slowly before they are developed in facts.

We must carry our observations back to our past history, for the past alone can explain the present. I say it with a sorrowful conviction, for a century and a half infidelity has been the prevailing sentiment in France, faith the exception. After the death of Louis XIV., our light-hearted race wearied with the long hypocrisy, at the end of his reign tossed off the bridle, and glided down upon infidelity as its natural bias. Even the Revolution of 1789 made itself on this point, as on all others, the docile inheritor of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. VOLTAIRE prepared it, ROUSSEAU inspired and guided it. *Le Vicaire Savoyard* was the gospel of our statesmen of 1793, *The Social Contract*, their political code.

The Convention, in decreeing the existence of the Supreme Being, saw in religion nothing but a mere outwork, a luxury, like poetry or the arts; the Empire better advised, regarded it as an instrument of government, and with this view took care not to neglect it. The conqueror of Marengo, in restoring the altars in the temples, never dreamt of restoring them in the hearts of the people. His only care in resuscitating religion was to provide a new support to his throne; the Concordat gives us both the measure of his liberalism and of his piety. The clergy, prostrate at the feet of this new Cyrus, could not suffi-

ciently praise this double restoration of the principle of faith and of authority. But the Catholic revival, which made so much noise in the Empire, was not serious enough to alarm infidelity, which was always mistress of the situation. At the bottom, France, taken as a whole, remained what Catholicism had made it, indifferent or sceptical. A nation of officials and soldiers had but one religion, the religion of the authorities. The situation continued the same with an additional decoration; religion, which made the perspective look well, and completed the equipment of the scene.

The time for the awakening of Protestantism in the Empire had not yet arrived. Proscribed and disowned so long, it was permitted to exist and to worship, but how could it dream of extension? No, it was too happy and too much surprised that it was allowed to exist. Besides, it wanted the faith necessary to propagate itself. So long kept in abeyance by persecutions, it had been dying by degrees, and waited for liberty to be quickened.

At the Restoration the position of Protestantism again became difficult; but the concessions made to it, required by the spirit of the times, could not be recalled. Public opinion was there to watch over its conquests, and if necessary, to defend them. A compromise was come to: Protestantism was permitted to exist on condition of using as sparingly as possible the little liberty that was left to it. It was not oppressed enough to stir it to activity, and to the exercise of the faith it wanted. The wind of persecution which fanned its ashes was not strong enough to raise them to a flame, but still the spark was kindled. If, during these days of trial it did not grow, it is saying much to add that at least it did not die.

The Catholic revival at the Restoration was no doubt more important than under the Empire; but it had the grave disadvantage of supporting itself on authority, a disadvantage which will never be pardoned in France. Catholicism restored as well as legitimacy, concluded an alliance with it, which begun by strengthening, and ended by subverting it. Young France (for we were young then, and it seems to me that France was also, and that she has grown with us!) young France had declared war to the death with legitimacy; how was it possible for her not to include in the same detestation that Catholicism from which it derived its firmest support. The clergy, supported by the king, according to the wish of the Church, already recalled the days of Gregory VII. and Innocent III, and denounced until they had power to persecute. France became by degrees divided into two camps, very unequal in strength and confidence of success, the one looked to the past, the other fixed its eyes on the future. Infidelity, in confounding itself with patriotism re-bathed in a purer source, and almost believed itself to be a religion, while combatting a retrograde faith that understood neither its age nor its country. The time for it

to take alarm had evidently not arrived; for France did not seem ready to make her escape from it.

And yet, even under the heavy yoke which the Restoration imposed on Protestantism and on France, happy symptoms began to be felt in the bosom of the two national churches. A breath of life had breathed on these dry bones! The reviving influence of the awakening at Geneva had leaped over the frontier. In the year 1822, a few Christians of the National Church formed the TRACT SOCIETY AND THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY, independently of the Consistories. At a later period the evangelizing visits of certain English Christians, and of ELIZABETH FRY, and the Sunday Schools of FREDERIC MONOD had exercised a blessed influence in our churches. In the southern provinces, where rationalism has now established its centre, some zealous pastors, CHABRAND of *Toulouse*, LISSIGNOL of *Montpelier*, COOK and his little phalanx of Methodist preachers, had here and there scattered the seed which God had begun to bless. FELIX NEFF had subdued to the Gospel the wild region of the French Alps. SYT had travelled through the whole of France, the centre, the north, the south, with his fruitful activity. Lastly, OBERLIN in *Alsace*, had spread around him in that Church laid waste by scepticism the sweet fragrance of Christ, and the holy contagion of his zeal and faith. Without having as yet anywhere appeared, the revival was everywhere like a bud ready to exfoliate. A renovating breath had impregnated the air you breathed, and in that dead Church which only asked to be quickened, good sprung forth even from the excess of evil.

In the absence of a history of the Revival, which I am sorry does not exist, it was my duty to collect all the traditions of the glorious past that still live in the memories of its worthy veterans. The Revolution of 1830 gives to all these scattered attempts a centre and a new impulse. Political liberty brings religious liberty in its train. Then commenced an era of resurrection and life for Protestantism, if I should not rather say for Christian faith. Happy and bright are the recollections of the renovation of Christianity in *France*. I did not know those blessed days of the dawn of faith, but my heart burns while I speak of them, and I envy those pure joys and that holy fervour of first love.

I must not enter into details, and I can hardly venture to give a rapid sketch of the future FREE CHURCH of France, which for nineteen years, notwithstanding its real independence has remained united to the living portion of the Reformed Church out of which it arose. How it began you know; in 1830, in two basement rooms in the street Taitbout, and afterwards in a little hall of the Boufflers bazaar, a few national Christians, and a few converted Roman Catholics laid the first stone in obscurity, silence, and prayer. Cradled in a crib, like its Divine Master, for there was no room for it in the State hotel,

presently lost sight of in this immense city, there has never existed a work more humble, more ignored, and which waited less on man and more on God; and although the impulse which founded it came from the cultivated classes, our poor Church of the Revival, like those of the Apostles, has chiefly preached to the poor and despised of this world.

About the same time also were established, with the assistance of a beloved English brother, the now sainted MARK WILKES, the fine and flourishing schools in the Faubourg du Temple, which soon received 500 scholars. In 1833, two Societies arose, which were the direct result of the Revival:—THE EVANGELICAL SOCIETY OF FRANCE, AND THE FRENCH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY. These two institutions were undertaken in common by Christians of the National Church and Independents; it was not till afterwards that they passed over to the Free Church; this circumstance, however, does not prevent many members of the National Church still continuing in union with them.

Although the influence of rationalism dominated in the Reformed Church, it did not remain a stranger to this fruitful work of renovation. A good number of faithful pastors—though I wish to speak of those only whom the Lord has called to himself, VERMEIL and ADOLPHE MONOD—had already made the first incision in this compact mass of unbelief. The revival meetings, more and more blessed, and often presided over by pastors of the National Church had exerted a good influence upon it. In 1846 our Reformed brethren founded the CENTRAL PROTESTANT SOCIETY OF EVANGELIZATION, the sister and competitor of the Evangelical Society of France. This work, now extended over all parts of the country, is very prosperous. Between the two societies a holy rivalry exists to spread the Gospel through our France, which knows so little of it, and everywhere to raise places of worship and schools. Most of the establishments of the Central Society have been raised without the support of the State, in the face of the ill will of the local authorities, and persecutions have not been wanting to them any more than to the Evangelical Society.

Lastly, the Lutheran Church, notwithstanding the profound disagreements working in its ecclesiastical centre at Strasburg, has also desired to share in this blessed work. By a happy concurrence of circumstances, the praise of which shall not be given to chance, but to God, who directed them, all the pastors of the Augsburg Confession at Paris have for many years been decided, and active Christians and life begets life. The Lutheran Church in Paris, without the aid of the State, formed, in 1845, the EVANGELICAL GERMAN MISSION, and in 1848, the EVANGELICAL WORK OF THE FAUBOURG OF ST. MARCEL, a magnificent assemblage of institutions which comprehends, together with a large place of worship, six schools and

boarding-houses, occupied by more than 500 children, a workshop, a place for apprentices, and other establishments which bear a very decided ecclesiastical impress.

Until 1849, the Taitbout chapel, with all the institutions attached to it, although really independent, was united by loose bonds to the Reformed Church. One of the pastors of the latter had for a long time supplied it. But in the interval a considerable number of Independent Churches, such as Lyons, St. Foy, Bordeaux, &c., had sprung into existence in the departments, as the consequence of the propagation of the opinions of VINET in the columns of the *Semteur*, a journal which played no inconsiderable part in the Revival. These churches, to the number of twenty-four, publicly formed themselves, in 1849, before France and the Protestant world, into the UNION OF EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF FRANCE. It is from this late epoch that the existence of the Free Church dates, nominally at least, although in point of fact, it had existed nineteen years before in Paris and in the departments, as the Church of the Revival. Instead of the twenty-four churches, of which the Union consisted in 1849, it now embraces forty-six, scattered in all parts of the country, without mentioning those which are in course of formation. They have a regular synod, with its executive committee, and central fund. It is thus seen that in this renovation of Evangelical Christianity in France, the departments were not behind the capital; perhaps, indeed, they gave the impulse instead of being the recipients of it. The same need of life in dead churches has been everywhere attended with the same results.

Lastly, to put the final stroke to this account, necessarily incomplete, the Evangelical Alliance, which assembles here at the present time, and the first basis of which was laid in the Church of Lyons in 1844, was formed in London in 1846, and has spread to all Protestant nations. You know its inspiring thought, you embody it in a living form; it is to draw together in one, Christians of the same faith of all languages and all communions to work together in the propagation of the same Gospel, and to live together not only in peace but in love.

In these solemn assemblies of Evangelical Christianity in which we have to listen to brethren from so many different countries, in which minutes are precious, and ought to be so, I regret not to be able to state as I should like the kind of reception which our col-porteurs meet with in all parts of France, but especially in our great city, among the labouring classes. Ah! I know well the people of Paris; I have always lived amongst them, I love them, I incessantly study them, and I am sure I never flatter them. No doubt they have their faults, but they have also great and noble qualities, and they always open their hearts—more especially the Catholics—to the

Gospel and its gracious appeals. They are the workpeople and little shopkeepers, who in Paris generally frequent the places opened for Evangelical worship. But in the departments it is not so; there in the centres of former Protestantism, all classes are more equally represented, and one might even say that the highest classes take the lead in the Revival.

Allow me here to take a rapid glance at the different strata of French society, and at the manner in which they receive the Gospel. I will say little of the rich and the worldly; they are invited to the wedding feast; when the Master calls them they commonly have something else to do; how can they find time in the midst of a life crowded with so many affairs and pleasures to think about their souls? As to literary men, and men of science, the intellectual princes, all, or nearly all of them, among literary men especially, in the generation which is passing away, believe in God and in the immortality of the soul; but the generation which is succeeding them is going quite another way. The spiritual reigns still in our chairs at the Sorbonne and the College of France; and gives its character to an official instruction, both philosophical and literary; it prevails even in the Academy of Sciences, among our most eminent *savans*: but naturalism is preparing to dethrone it, and has already glided into some of the less distinguished chairs. For the rest all our spiritualists, scientific or literary, speak of the Gospel with respect, even with sympathy, provided it makes no demand upon their faith or their obedience. As the people must have a religion they willingly incline to this, and acknowledge that there is not a better to supply the want; but the usurping spirit and the puerile ceremonies of Catholicism drive them from religion, which in their view is personified by austere Jansenism, or too accommodating Jesuitism. Drawn towards the Gospel by certain aspects, and repelled by others from fully accepting it, the necessity, for example, of acknowledging themselves to be sinners, and of abasing themselves to the faith of the poor and humble, and not having a sense of sin, how can they think that they need a Saviour?

As to the merchants, manufacturers, and well-to-do shopkeepers, they are just the class upon which religion has the least influence. Protestantism is nothing, Catholicism still less. All our pastors and Evangelists have made this sad experience, that while a man is pressed with want, while he must work in order that he may live, you may speak to him of the Gospel, and the chance is that he will listen to you, because he feels that he is in the hands of God! but let him be sure of his daily bread, let him toil not in order to get a livelihood, but to enrich himself, and to enjoy ease and pleasure, and he will make his escape from you, nor will you get hold of him any more. There are, no doubt, happy exceptions to this rule amongst those whose fortune is made, but there are few amongst those who have to make

it. And then in this life of unceasing toil, when six days are given up to labour, is the half of the seventh too much for rest and pleasure? Ah! if the poor man wants the Sabbath, do the shopkeeper and the agent want it less than he? If they had a day of physical rest, perhaps they would find time to remember that they have a soul.

In what parts of our great cities, then, have the different evangelization societies chosen their field of labour? In the quarters of the poor, the faubourgs, the environs; far away from the great centres of commerce, where no room is found for the Gospel, where the worship of the golden calf prevails. We bitterly regret that a class so numerous and important places itself out of the way of the blessings of the Gospel. We wish they understood how to sanctify their gains, even the most legitimate, by associating them with Him to whom the silver and the gold belong, and by making the Lord a partner in the prosperity which he sends them. But while we wait until God opens to us these closed doors, we are satisfied with the portion he has assigned to us in giving us the poor, those whom the Saviour preferred, the favoured children of the Gospel.

And our schools! Of all parts of our work perhaps this is the most blest; this affords us the most heartfelt joy, and contributes most to our success. Our schools are much esteemed among the people, and their indisputable superiority in regard to religious instruction, to discipline, and to the progress of the scholars, is universally recognized. The workpeople and the peasants gladly bring their children, and these dear children, in their turn, become our Evangelists, often without suspecting it: they make themselves our missionaries to draw their parents to us, and in more than one of our faubourgs the Church has followed the school.

In short, we must say that it is not hearers who are wanted in our churches, but churches and pastors are wanted for the hearers, and the bread of life for hungry souls. If this is doubted, let figures speak; they have an undeniable eloquence. In the year 1827 there were in Paris only five pastors and three chapels. Already in 1857 there were sixteen chapels and eighteen pastors. Now, in 1867, there are forty-six places of worship, served by at least seventy pastors and ministers of all languages and all communions. The Word of God is faithfully preached except in three or four, where ritualism, subsidised by the State, disputes the pulpits with the orthodox faith. In these facts there is something more than hopes: there is an actual taking possession of this great capital, especially when one reflects that in the Free Churches the majority of the congregation have come out of the Romish Church, to which they have no wish to return.

In the departments the progress of the Gospel is not much less a source of joy; but here we have to encounter other difficulties. Among the labouring classes, that is the peasants, and especially among the

women, the same kind reception is given to our Evangelists for they have the same religious wants, perhaps more vividly felt, and which Catholicism does not satisfy. Their doors and their hearts are open as in Paris. In a province the living forces of the Gospel, necessarily scattered, cannot yield to it mutual support. The Catholic clergy, accustomed to reign in the little centres of population where life is open, where everything is known, criticized and misrepresented, feel themselves encouraged by the isolation of our agents, and urge the local authorities to set themselves against us. Let us always do justice to the superior authorities: we have generally found for many years that they afford us justice, redress and support. Our adversaries, always ready to denounce us in the dark, have not forgotten any more than ourselves that when, in 1856, we appealed directly to the Emperor, his high protection did not fail us, and that our chapels, and afterwards our schools, were reopened in spite of the underhand plots which they devised. But, in short, it ought nevertheless to be said that religious liberty is not rooted in France, while the right to meet for the worship of God, *without authorisation*, is denied us, and until then, we shall not cease to plead this great cause, which is the common cause of all Christian communions, who require to be united in liberty as they are in the faith.

The total number of Independent pastors in France, including eight Baptists and twenty-seven Methodists, is about 100. Such has been the progress of the Free Church in the nineteen years of its existence, and if labourers had not been wanting to gather in the harvest, the number would have increased more rapidly still. The Central Society, on its part, reckons fifty-three pastors, thirteen Evangelists, eleven schoolmasters, and eight schoolmistresses. It conducts worship in 120 localities, and supports eighteen schools. Its operations extend over forty departments, and its income amounts, like that of the Evangelical Society of France, to nearly 150,000 francs. The Central Society has also founded at Paris a Preparatory School of Theology, with the best results, both as to instruction and faith.

Let me add, to take a last general view of the whole of French Protestantism, that according to the *Annual*, the total number of pastors of the Reformed Church is 685, with twenty-four vacancies; of the Augsburg Confession 311, with four vacancies; these added to the 100 Independents carry up the number of Protestant pastors in France to 1,096, about 100 more than in 1857. We state nothing new by adding, that, thanks to the united efforts of all our communions, and to the generous sacrifices of our English brethren, Protestantism holds an important place in the Universal Exhibition of Paris. Tracts and portions of the Word of God, in all languages, are profusely distributed, and almost always gladly received. The Bible and the New Testament are sold by thousands. Conferences,

moreover, and services in different languages, are held with attentive and continually renewed congregations. Of the four great prizes adjudged to those manufacturers who have done most to promote the comfort of their workpeople, three have been awarded to Protestants, and of the ten mentioned with commendation, of our co-religionists there are five. Such is the work of Protestantism in France! This is what it has done, and if it is not all that might have been accomplished, when the obstacles and difficulties are considered, it will be found that such results could not have been attained if the grace of God had been wanting to us.

Hitherto we have looked only at the bright side of the picture; let us now, however, reverse it, and after the progress of the faith state that of Infidelity. Although our history shows that France is not incapable of believing, and of contending for the faith, and that Catholicism and its abuses are alone responsible for its being lost, scepticism, which has prevailed amongst us for a century and a half, would not quietly allow itself to be dispossessed of an authority, which, until 1830, nobody dreamed of disputing. It is strange that, not to ourselves, but to Germany, belongs the melancholy honour of having awakened in France the passion for incredulity. "The Life of Jesus," by Strauss, was the first truly scientific and critical work which crossed the Rhine and seized the right of citizenship with us. A learned Academician, the chief and avowed organ of Positivism, did not think it beneath him to translate it. But Strauss's work, German in essence and in form, was far from suiting the French genius, which does not like trouble, and wishes all results to be easy. To its scientific character the book of the Tübingen professor adds another disadvantage, of much consequence in France, that of being difficult to read. And besides, the time was not come, the question concerning Christ was not on the *tapis*; public opinion was not prepared for the enormities which it has tolerated since. A kind of human respect prevailed over the infidel multitude, and restrained pastors in their pulpits, and even authors in their books and negations.

But the signal was given, and Strauss had opened the way to an outspoken boldness. While the author of the "Life of Jesus" was driven from the University of Zurich by a public commotion, his book, refuted by the most eminent theologians of Germany was prolific in France, and worked mischief in our theological faculties. Scepticism, emboldened among us by the temerity of Germany, began to throw aside the mask. Infidelity from without, stretched forth its hand to infidelity within; negations timid hitherto, and which had not ventured to invade the pulpit, put themselves forward in journals and in books, and Protestant rationalism, by its skirmishes with the outposts, trained itself for the hour of conflict.

That hour is at length come; and M. Renan has provided a banner

for the great army of sceptics, as well in the world as in the Church. Infidel France wanted a Life of Jesus suited to the genius of the people, who like thoughts bold and sceptical, but superficial, and not going to the bottom. Let it be added, that if since Voltaire our instincts have remained the same essentially, the form of them has changed. The impudent cynicism of the scoffers of the last century had passed away, a kind of circumambient Christianity in the air you breathed, compelled the most impure to decency, for sincere and serious faith, Catholic or Protestant, was always respected even by those who had none themselves.

It is this which the French author of the "Life of Jesus" appears to me to have understood with a tact which does honour to his sagacity. He knew what he had to do, and he worked for a wearied public, whose appetite he had to sharpen by piquancy, and to attract by novelty. During the century at least, in which this rock of the Gospel had endured the assault of the billows dashing against it, France had exhausted all the known forms of infidelity. One only remained to be tried, and the honour of having discovered it belongs to M. Renan. It is he who, to awaken a slumbering age, has invented a *religiosity* to replace religion; it is he who, parting with faith to arrive at doubt, has evaporated our holiest beliefs into cloudy myths, who has transformed the grand and Divine person of our Saviour into I know not what kind of fantastic personage, half dupe and half knave.

I wish it were possible for me to forget my Christian character in order to judge M. Renan's book from a purely moral and literary point of view; but even so, words fail me to express the small account I take of it. Its extraordinary success is a dishonour to our country, bearing testimony at once to its ignorance and levity; for it is a miserably defective romance, in which the facts are travestied, the characters are false, the descriptions show the veneering, and every line manifests the incapacity of the writer to judge in matters of conscience. Well, this book, in refuting which Christian science has unfortunately treated too seriously, is sold by thousands. Reduced by its author to a popular form and price, divested of its load of false science, and to make it acceptable to the people, disavowing its hardest temerities, it has thus descended to the level of a tale, as also to the lowest capacity. It has entered the garret of the mechanic and the cottage of the peasant, to extinguish in their minds the last spark of faith, which should rather have been revived.

I do not, however, deny either the success of M. Renan's book, or the harm that has been done by it. It is in itself marvellous that in a nation so volatile as France, its popularity should have continued for two or three years; but happily for upright minds, the weariness produced by M. Renan's second work serves as an antidote to the

poison contained in the first. Silence has already fallen on the tomb in which his "Apostles" sleep, and if "The Life of Jesus" has not already followed them into that oblivion which is the destiny of every work that has not truth for its basis, the reason is, that the harm done by that book still remains, and cannot be so soon eradicated, especially from among the lower orders, who read little, and who think long about what they have read. In workshops and cottages, our col-porteurs too often find M. Renan's "Life of Jesus," bought unsuspectingly by these simple people, who imagined that it taught them the history of their Saviour. But the true life of Jesus, I mean the Gospel, has not suffered by this, for it now finds a readier access to such, and refutes the other.

The barrier being once down, infidelity has overflowed on all sides. Abroad, indications of it have not been wanting, such as the proud assertion of Positivism that it is the only religion worthy of an age of progress—the meetings of students and Freethinkers at Liège and Berne—the sad current of materialism which sweeps away our young men—and the declaration of war against God on the benches and desks of our medical schools—science making itself the accomplice of ignorance, in bringing down these high questions to the level of the illiterate—the leading journals placing their columns at the service of all negations, and imagining that liberalism in religion and liberalism in politics are one and the same thing. The press, taking up in its turn this theme of irreligion, becomes new again by means of being old—to diffuse it even amongst the lowest classes! And may we not justly add that Catholicism itself has joined this impious league; when, in spite of the generous efforts of the liberal Catholic party, Rome in its Encyclical has declared war against all the conquests of civilization, and insolently hurled defiance at the conscience of France—and when almost the whole of our Episcopal body have enrolled themselves in this sorrowful crusade, endeavouring to prove to France, as they did at the Restoration, that religion and liberty are irreconcilable foes.

Within, that is in the Protestant Church, the scandal, if not the evil, is still greater. I am far indeed from maintaining that infidelity dates its appearance in Protestantism from the publication of M. Renan's book. No; the old rationalism which was then slumbering in our Churches had long prepared the way for it. The schism which broke out in 1849 in the Free Faculty of Geneva, the publication of the "Revue de Strasbourg," which exercised so fatal an influence on our theology—the articles of M. Reville in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, the "Christ and Conscience" of M. Pecault, which denied not only the divinity, but even the holiness of Christ, all this we know was prior to the publication of M. Renan's book. At the same time, the cool audacity of the writer of the "Life of Jesus" gave an

impulse to the Protestant school of criticism. Its journals, its rationalistic pastors (I will not say liberal: that would profane a name which I revere), have indulgently, I may almost say favourably, received the help, compromising as it was, which came to them from this quarter; and if Germany gave the first impulse by which our theological doubts became modernized from a somewhat antiquated form, M. Renan it was, who gave them their boldest and most popular expression. He has succeeded in gaining the ear of that public, which our Protestant doubters attempted in vain to reach, and from him we must definitely date the revival in France of infidelity.

Space and time fail me to particularise the recent events which brought to light the fundamental differences that had long undermined the Reformed Church of France. They may be summed up in a few words.

Serious dissensions between the two great parties of that Church appeared as early as the Conferences of 1863, at which I was present, and which gave me a sorrowful presentiment of the future. But in 1864 events hastened on; and war broke out on the refusal of the Presbyterian Council to confirm M. Coquerel, junior, as suffragan to M. Martin Paschoud.

By this courageous blow, aimed at the journalist even more than the pastor, the Evangelical party was fully aware that it would raise a storm; but it obeyed a conviction that did it honour. And the tumult was great indeed, both in the world and in the Church. The press, both religious and political, raised a cry of persecution and tyranny, as if Christians had no right to enquire into the religious convictions of the pastor whom they were called on to elect or to confirm.

The Conferences of 1864 added still more to the agitation. There, for a moment, on the Evangelical side, all the shades of opinion which separated the Churches were forgotten; and the common faith and the common danger were alone remembered. Pastors and laymen, Lutherans, Reformed and Independents, all united to defend their threatened Christianity.

A resolution was passed by a large majority in the Conference maintaining the three cardinal truths on which Evangelical faith rests—1. Christian Miracles. 2. The Inspiration of Holy Scripture. 3. The Divinity of Christ. This resolution could have no practical result in the sad state of powerlessness in which the Reformed Church had been placed by the decree of the 26th March, 1852, which forbade its taking the initiative, imposed on it a Central Council appointed by the State, and insisted that its elections should be conducted by universal suffrage, apart from any conditions of faith; as if the Church were the Forum, and as if faith were to be expressed by numbers. But it was a noble testimony, given in a sceptical age, and before

pastors unfaithful to their commission. The Protestant Church had affirmed its faith—alas! it had no power to do more.

To this double triumph of the Evangelical party, the Rationalists replied at the Conferences of Nismes, by refusing to admit the Apostles' Creed as the expression of the Church's faith. The Evangelical members retired in a body; and at Alais they solemnly proclaimed the faith of the Christian Church in "the Creed," and in the Divinity of the Saviour.

The elections of 1865 gave fresh vigour to the struggle. Conquered at Nismes, Bordeaux and Havre, the orthodox party obtained in Paris and elsewhere a small majority. In short, the strength of the two parties throughout France was nearly equal, with a slight advantage on the Evangelical side.

At the Conferences of 1865 the orthodox party proposed first to the assembly, that it should proclaim that "No Christian Church could exist without an explicit faith in the resurrection of our Saviour." Upon which fifty-six pastors of the opposite party replied by an address, in which they declared that "*the miracle of the resurrection being subject to great historical difficulties*, could not possess the importance which orthodoxy attributed to it,—that this question must therefore be separated from the fundamentals of Christianity, and that faith in its simple and living action must be fixed on the agreement of the holy words of Christ with the necessities of the human heart." Comment upon this would be needless; for what could we add to these words to prove the absolute separation of the professedly liberal school from the Christian faith?

In this animated drama, which has not yet reached its crisis, two scenes only remain to be described—the deprivation of M. Martin Paschoud, and the definitive separation of the two great portions of the Reformed Church. On the first I will simply remark, that the Presbyterial Council and the Consistory, in their attempt to put an end to an abnormal position, hitherto unexampled in the Church, were consistent with themselves. The refusal to continue the appointment of M. Coquerel, jun., naturally involved the refusal to authorise any longer the impossible situation of M. Martin Paschoud. Everybody knows what this situation was, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to define it. In reply to those who raised the cry of arbitrary conduct, and persecution, the example of Adolphe Monod was urged, expelled as he was from the Church of Lyons, of which M. M. Paschoud was then one of the most influential pastors, and in this way punished for his scrupulous fidelity in the discharge of his pastoral duties. Lastly, as to doctrine, the well-known opinions of M. M. Paschoud were alleged, professed by him in the pulpit and in his journal, "The Disciple of Jesus Christ."

But here the State, which had no ground of interference in the

affairs of M. Coquerel, as being purely ecclesiastical, had to interfere in the deprivation of a pastor, and the pension which it was proposed to grant him. The minister refused to listen to the entreaties of the Consistory and sanction the arrangement which it desired. For eighteen months the affair has remained undecided; and God knows when and how it will be terminated. The elections, which are to take place in the Church of Paris, will perhaps carry the question a step farther. "The Protestant Liberal Union," a kind of Church within a Church, founded in 1861, in opposition to the Consistory, gives signs beforehand of feverish activity. It is impossible now to predict to which side victory will incline; but one happy token is, that for some years the majority of orthodox consistories has been steadily increasing. The trial has been made in several nominations of a professor at the College of *Montauban*, and in the last it was decisive.

One word more on the national conferences of *Valence* in November, 1866, when an imposing number of reformed pastors took a step onward towards the great principle of the self-government of the Church. The members of that conference, after long debates, resolved to demand from the Minister of Public Worship some fixed religious qualifications for the Electorate. In consequence of this vote, the Consistory of Caen decided that a confession of faith should be required from the electors; to be renewed by them at the time of the elections.

The Minister cancelled the vote of the Consistory, alleging that the conditions having been already fixed, the Consistory had no right to modify them or to add to them. It is therefore more decided than ever that the State presses on the Church and interferes even in matters of faith as well as in the recall and in the appointment of its pastors.

Such, then, is the painful situation of the Reformed Church of France. As a member of a sister Church, and a sorrowful spectator of these long and bitter debates, I had some hesitation in deciding to enter thus into the private circumstances of a Church to which I do not belong. But, called by the confidence of the brethren in Holland to draw the picture of French Protestantism, my first duty was to describe this situation exactly as I feel and see it. If I touch wounds that are yet unhealed, I do it with a friendly hand, and with an affectionate sympathy which will, perhaps, serve to excuse my frankness.

The Reformed Church now learns, by a severe experience, how heavy is the yoke of the State. It must have become convinced that from the days of Constantine a Christian Church always loses more than she gains by that union with the State in which her liberty pays for the dowry. We did not wait for these trials to extend a fraternal hand to the pastors of that Church, when we recognized in them our brethren in the faith. If it is repugnant to our pious feelings that

error and truth should be proclaimed alternately from the same pulpit, we know well that it is not they who have caused this position to exist; it is the work of the times, and of the languishing of faith. But if they have not caused it, they have accepted it: they endure it; and we have at least a right to ask how long they will allow things to go on, and when their patience will at last be worn out. Whatever may be the result of the coming elections, we do not expect anything decided for our brethren of the Reformed Church; therefore the only wish that we can venture to express here is, that resting on their faith rather than on human support, they may ask themselves if the hour of manly resolution is not come at last, and if, in the march in which we must all take part, the tent ought not to be substituted for settled home.

Now, the situation of the Church of France being once well defined, what is its surest bulwark against the infidelity which has invaded it? We wish, all of us here, members of this holy alliance, to fight the good fight. What are the most powerful arms to repulse the enemy? Where are the specially weak points by which he has penetrated into the place? It is useful to know them, for by learning how best to keep ourselves, we shall learn also how best to defend ourselves. Well: the weak side, the vice of the piety of the present day, is, I say without hesitation, *intellectualism*; and this reproach, I believe, may be more or less alleged against all our Churches. Christianity with us is thought upon more than it is felt and lived; and in this consists its feebleness, because it is also the weakness characteristic of our adversaries, and in order to conquer them, it is first necessary not to resemble them.

I have not the honour to be a theologian; but called here to give my humble testimony before others more learned than myself, I can, through want of other titles, only bring them my frankness. Well, I am sorrowfully convinced that what is most wanting to our Christianity is not science but life, and a fruitful agreement of works with doctrine. I have a profound respect for science, and I am ready to make for it all the reservations that may be desired. I believe sincerely that vigorous theological studies, with the Holy Spirit as guide, and faith as a torch, are an indispensable preparation for the ministry, and ought to form the basis of all zealous preaching. I will say more: the pastor, even when engaged in active service, ought, by diligent reading, to keep himself well informed in science to weigh the attacks of his opponents, the arguments with which to meet them, and to preserve his armour constantly bright and ready for the conflict. But it is not given to all to take part in this holy warfare; and for those even who are called to it, it is, we must allow, only the second of their duties. They are charged to love above all; and that is the thought which should constantly possess them, which should, as it

were, devour them, like the torch which gives light only by being itself consumed. It was this burning love of souls that made Oberlin, Pyt, Neff, Adolphe and Frederic Monod, and all those veterans of the revival, who preached their faith by their works, and who lived their doctrine before affirming it. The most victorious of all the answers to the attacks of an infidel age, the only truth which it cannot gainsay when confronted with it, is the power of the Gospel to regenerate souls, and its eternal youth, which nineteen centuries have not impaired.

In France we have only two theological colleges. At *Montauban* almost all the professors teach with courage and talent the wholesome doctrines which form the basis of Christianity; and yet I say it with sorrow, many rationalistic pastors leave the benches of this school to occupy the pulpits of the south. At *Strasbourg* rationalism reigns in the teaching, and has invaded most of the chairs in the college as well as the pulpits in the Church. A few professors and faithful pastors struggle courageously against these deplorable tendencies. But if Alsace belongs to France by heart and patriotism, it is German in manners, and especially in science. An irresistible current of infidelity, drawn from the sources of the negative German criticism, carried along its youth towards those doctrines, the audacity of which injures and seduces them. Thus in our two colleges, one of which (*Strasbourg*), notwithstanding its distance, acts on the other, scepticism is in the very air she breathes, and corrupts the fruits even of the most orthodox instruction. Many a young man that I could mention, who entered into the college a believer, has left it shaken in all his beliefs, doubting his faith, doubting even his doubts, and tempted, if he is honest, to renounce a vocation which condemns him at least to conceal, when he does not attack the truths in which he has ceased to believe.

I will not carry this sad picture further. Others, better qualified than myself, will be able to point out the defects and the faults of our theological teaching. One word more, and I conclude: the Gospel, which is so well adapted to take possession of the whole man, addresses itself to his conscience and his heart, still more than to his intellect. Otherwise how could it be understood by the simple and ignorant? The subtle analysis of science, even if it be the most reverent and the most Christian, can add nothing to the Divine Word, and may sometimes take from it, by injuring that flower of exquisite simplicity, whose perfume is felt, but cannot be analysed. Science has its exigencies I know, but it has also its allurements and its dangers. You wish to defend the Gospel. Ah! begin by bowing before it, by falling at the feet of Jesus. Be on your guard while seeking to bring proud science into the service of the faith, on the pretext of realizing the undecided and encouraging the timid; be on

your guard, I say, lest you should yield something to your adversaries even while fighting against them, enter into a compact with the age, while expecting to bring it back, and diminish the truth while desiring to defend it.

But I must stop. Who am I to speak thus? These faults which I have pointed out are not so much ours as those of the age, for which the submissive, yet not ignorant faith of our fathers does not suffice. Let us be humble, my brethren, and let us acknowledge our fault in not having known better how to oppose infidelity with the only weapon that can conquer it, the agreement of doctrine with life. Let us unite all the living forces of Christianity against the common enemy. In order to press closely together in this holy league of the Evangelical Alliance, let us forget our Church distinctions, our slight differences of doctrine, different aspects of the same truth, and let us seek in it that which unites us, and not that which separates. See within the Church as well as without, how our adversaries give one another the hand, and march together to the assault, more united to attack us, than we are to defend ourselves. To resist them better, let us bathe our science in faith; let us be humble in order to be strong, and trust in Him alone whose Almighty strength is made perfect in our weakness.

One word now upon French Switzerland, of which I am also to speak. I regret that space and time fail me, to speak worthily of a Church which owes, it is true, Calvin and Farel to France, but to which we owe our revival of 1830, and many other blessings besides. The remarks I have made on the progress of infidelity in France, and also on the progress of faith, are applicable generally to French Switzerland, but with important distinctions arising from the great difference of national character in the two countries.

To study them we must divide our subject, for it is impossible to include in the same formula the three great religious centres of this country, *Geneva, Lausanne, and Neuchâtel*. What these three little cantons, which have played so important a part in the history of the Reformation, have in common is, *faith*: and here, if compared with France, the advantage will certainly be on the side of Switzerland, that country of ancient Protestantism where true Christians are certainly more numerous than in our own country. Doubtless the National Swiss Church, like ours, is often petrified by formalism, or injured by infidelity; but like ours also, the example of the Free Church has moved it to jealousy, and Christians who are truly worthy of that name in the two Churches, strive together with zeal to advance the kingdom of God in the hearts of men.

Let us distinguish in order to be precise. We will commence with *Geneva*, and in Geneva with the National Church as the most ancient. What strikes us first in this Church, ravaged by scepticism and infidelity, is a nucleus of active and devoted Christians, laymen as well as pastors, who shrink from no sacrifice to sustain Christian works. In Geneva as in Paris, more intimate and fraternal relations between the Christians, and especially the pastors of the two Churches might perhaps be desired. But between Geneva and France there is a great difference. The struggle which has arisen amongst us with so much violence has not as yet begun in Geneva, and is smouldering beneath half-extinguished ashes. The most doubting pastor would not dare to attack from his pulpit the fundamental doctrines of the faith. The old rationalism which occupied the throne for so long, dispossessed by the happy revival of 1820 of a part of its empire, has interfered only little by little lest it should lose the whole. Perhaps also on their side, the faithful pastors of the National Church have purchased peace by too many concessions, and have shown too decided a resolution to maintain it at all costs. That is at least one's feeling, when leaving the atmosphere of Paris feverish with religious passion, one finds in Geneva an air less charged with electricity, but an unreal peace, the duration of which could scarcely indeed be wished for. Between the two portions of the National Church, the rationalistic and the orthodox parties, the balance is nearly equal as to numbers; but as to talent, zeal, and influence, it inclines decidedly to the side of the faithful pastors. Since the flock has been called to nominate its pastors, several good elections have taken place in the country parishes.

Unfortunately, affairs are very different in the National College of Theology; there the majority of the professors belong decidedly to the school of free thought. The fruits of such teaching are such as might be expected. In spite of the efforts of some of the professors, as pious as they are zealous, in spite of the decided Christianity of some of the students, almost all of them Genevese, the general tone which pervades that school is anything rather than Christian, and the rationalistic pastors of the south of France send their sons there to keep up the traditions of their fathers.

The Free Church of Geneva has existed longer than ours, and is there especially sustained by the higher classes of society. This does not, however prevent its addressing itself to the people. Its position has gained in strength and freedom. Its pastors, all real Christians, form a little phalanx, united, active and devoted. The Evangelical Society, founded by it in 1831, spends more than half its income in evangelising France, the rest is devoted to Geneva and the Theological College.

In short, the Christians of Geneva, whether Free or National, are

ready to aid without distinction of church, every foreign work, especially every French work, which can show any real claim on its sympathy. He who speaks to you knows something of this, and he is happy to give this public testimony to Geneva as well as to Holland, both so sympathising in all our labours. The Free School of Theology, founded in 1831 by some eminent Christians, as Gaussen, Tronchin, Pillet, and Merle D'Aubigné, is prospering. I do not mean by this that, notwithstanding the strict orthodoxy of its teaching, all the students leave it as established Christians. To say that, one must know little of the human heart and of theological colleges. But, taken as a whole, the results are satisfactory. The Free Church of Belgium has proceeded almost entirely from this school, as well as a great many pastors in Switzerland and in France. It has numbered as many as seventy pupils; and perhaps it might be desired, in seeing that number, that the terms of admission were a little more strict with regard to aptitude as well as faith.

Let us pass to the *Canton de Vaud*. Here affairs are in a better position than in Geneva; parties are much less antagonistic, and the peace which reigns there is neither troubled by strife nor purchased by concessions. To speak truly, religious parties do not exist here; the differences which separate the pastors of the two Churches, National and Free, consist more in their manner of regarding the Christian life than in opposed theological views. The Independent pastors insist more on the necessity of personal faith, and an active evangelization, even beyond the limits of the Church; the others allowed themselves to be carried along by the current of tradition, and profess an almost superstitious reverence for established forms. In general, there are no sceptics amongst the national pastors of the Canton de Vaud. None of them preach rationalism openly, none of them attack in their pulpit, or in their books, the divinity of Christ. Some even, especially among the youngest, profess the strictest orthodoxy. At Lausanne, the negative German criticism and the new theology inaugurated by it are studied; but the tendency is not in that direction, and candidates for the ministry frequent for the most part the universities of Germany, which are renowned for the piety of their professors—a piety which is well known not to exclude talent.

The Free Church of the Canton de Vaud took its rise in 1846 from the tyranny of the State, which from malevolence finally passed to persecution. It now peacefully pursues a course which at its commencement was beset with many difficulties. The reproach of Christ has ceased to weigh on it. That Church has lately lost one whom you have mourned with me, the eminent man who gave it—(I may be allowed to say it now that he is no more)—its most active impulse, the lamented Bridel, whose place is vacant here, and whose loss is especially felt in the Free College. The Free Church is flourishing at

Lausanne, but it cannot be said to be increasing in the Canton. It is indeed stationary, with a slight increase in the towns, but not in the country. All its pastors are believers, I need scarcely say ; but orthodoxy, even the most rigid, may come from the intellect ; life comes from the heart, renewed by grace from above. The relations of the two Churches, free and established, are friendly in the towns without being intimate. In the country, the separation is more decided, and comes from the congregations more than from the pastors. I have found in some free Churches in the mountains a highly developed religious life, the work of faithful pastors, beloved by their flocks.

I have no remark to make on the National College of *Lausanne*, which reflects the state of the Church to which it belongs. The Free College is very flourishing and well directed, and it numbers sixty students—Swiss, Belgians, and French ; these last somewhat numerous. The instruction, in which science and talent are allied to piety, is highly appreciated by the students. If some of the theses occasionally bear the impress of the new theology, they are rectified in the public discussion by the wisdom of the professors and the good sense of the students. In short, the direction of the minds of the latter may be deemed satisfactory.

What I have said of the Canton de Vaud is applicable to the *Canton de Neuchatel*, but with perhaps these important differences : that the Free Church of the latter Canton, although it has existed more than thirty years, possesses only one Church in *Neuchatel*, one in *Chaux de Fonds*, and two or three others scattered in the country, and that unlike *Lausanne*, life is especially to be found in the National Church, which does not, however, imply that it is absent from the Free Church. Out of sixty pastors, one only preaches and teaches contrary to the Gospel. A body of pastors, united, and almost all believing, presents to infidelity a formidable bulwark, which rejoices the heart of the Christian. The National College (there is no other at *Neuchatel*), is but small ; but the students whom I have visited, like those at *Lausanne* and the two Colleges of *Geneva*, are preserved from rationalism by the piety and talent of their professors ; and their small number renders the task easier. They also, like those of *Lausanne*, generally continue their studies in the universities of *Göttingen*, *Heidelberg*, *Tübingen*, and *Berlin*, where faith is the basis of the theological instruction. May God preserve all these dear young people, whom I know and love, and keep them from the entanglements of science, not less dangerous perhaps than those of the world and of life.

REPORT ON GERMANY AND GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

BY REV. A. THOLUCK, D.D.,

PROFESSOR AT HALLE.

I HAVE to address you, my honoured friends, in the limited space of three quarters of an hour, on the state of Theology and of the Church in Germany and German Switzerland. If what I have to say should appear unsatisfactory, be assured that I have myself already felt that. To have to produce thought, and, at the same time, to count your words, does not make a good speaker.

I am to speak of Theology and of the Church. There are many who believe that the theology of a Church is always the reflection of the condition of that Church. I remark, therefore, at the outset, that this is not true under all circumstances. There are some transition periods when the movements of theology are in advance of the Church, and seek to draw it on; as may be said at present of German Switzerland, and, perhaps, also of Holland; and other periods when, for some time at least, theology lingers behind the Church. This was the case, for instance, in Germany about the years 1820 and 1830, when, in consequence of the war with Napoleon, the life of faith was awakened amongst a part of the people, while Rationalism continued to rule the professors and pastors. No such distinction can be made between the theological and ecclesiastical condition of the present German theology. It is the image of the tendencies and opposing views which rule the present generation.

I refer, in the first place, to the orthodox tendency in theology and in the Church. It may be said that, even up to the present time, German theology is influenced by the religious impulses which, since the war with Napoleon, have been given to the princes and a part of the people by the oppression and subsequent freedom of Germany, and which then, through Schleiermacher and Neander particularly, were planted in the minds of the youth of Germany. From the most northern frontier of Germany, from Dorpat to Basle, no university can be pointed out whose teachers were not, in a greater or less number, subject to these influences, and who did not in general follow a scripturally orthodox tendency. In connection with this tendency the conviction has been felt that this scriptural orthodoxy, in order to be vigorous and healthy, needed to be embodied in a Church; especially since the festival of the Reformation in 1817, there has been

awakened a feeling of veneration for the Reformers of the Church, whose writings till then had been forgotten. The scriptural theology leaned more and more towards the Lutheran Church. The revolution in 1848 contributed its waters to this Lutheran current. The religious united itself to the conservative interest in politics, and sought to base itself on the ground of an historical authority. Following this track, the orthodox theology assumed partly the character of a return to the old confessions. Lutheran professorships were founded at Rostock and Erlangen, subordinating themselves, more or less decidedly, to the authority of the Lutheran formularies. Round the pastors who came under the power of this revival of the old creeds, churches gathered themselves, who, in order to escape the restrictions which they were called at first to submit to in Prussia, proved the reality of their faith by leaving their own country; but, under King Frederick William IV., obtained an independent Church constitution under a Lutheran Consistory in Breslau. They number at present about 50,000; but, of late years, they have again split up into parties. In the originally pure Lutheran countries—Bavaria, Mecklenburg, Hanover, and Saxony—the greater part of the more earnest Evangelical clergy have been drawn into this current, whilst in Prussia, since the origin of the United National Church in 1817, these views have been confined within narrow limits; yet are they increasing, and their adherents have been excited to more vigorous opposition against the United Church Constitution by the most recently annexed Lutheran National Churches in Hanover, Holstein, and, to some extent, Hesse.

We have thus described the state of the orthodox Church in the universities and in pulpits; but we shall now be assailed by the cry, with scorn on the one side and grief on the other: "A Church of believing pastors, yet without congregations following them." And, in fact, while positive faith has come to be so powerful in the universities and the pulpits that, in far the greater part of Germany decidedly Rationalistic professors of theology and pastors form the exception; it may be said that, looking at the great majority, believing Churches form the exception likewise. Nay more, it cannot be denied that not only in towns, but here and there at least, even in the country, the attendance on Divine worship is continually decreasing. Sunday desecration becomes more and more common; labour on Sunday morning has, in many places, become almost the rule; morning and evening prayer, grace before meat, and so forth, are becoming less and less frequent. Except in as far as they are affected by special Christian influences, newspapers and popular books are carried along by the current of unbelief; scarcely anywhere is there the warm utterance even of any religious feeling at all. And if we look back at about the year 1830, we shall find that matters have become worse in all these respects.

But there is always a faithful Church, which is even now increasing, though it be in a less degree, and there are pastors, each one of whom is at the head of one Church at all events, even though it may not be an important one. We will not refer to those Lutheran Churches which forsook their fatherland for their faith, nor to the churches which may be seen here and there—the Irvingites, the Methodists, the Baptists, in which one cannot fail to recognize the fruits of the Christian life of faith, nor will we remark on the spread of old nor the rise of new societies for the foreign mission, but only on the workings of the Home mission and Christian benevolence. There have been opened 96 Houses of Refuge in Germany, 5 Institutions for Deacons and 11 for Deaconesses, 16 Christian Hospitals, 3 Female Servants' Homes, 8 Magdalen Asylums, 10 Institutions for Liberated Convicts, 8 Young Men's Associations, with 160 Auxiliary Associations; and when has any other age of the Evangelical Church seen such marks of Christian benevolence on the fields of battle as we have witnessed! and the thousands who are brought up for these Institutions have not gone forth from the pastors; shall they not be a proof that these pastors have still a part of the Church following them?

Yet if we look more closely at the world of believing theologians, into how many *fractions* is it split up! Even in Prussia have we seen the rise of various sects since the so-called "Decree of Toleration;" yet, as has been stated, it is not the worst out of our congregations whom the founders of these sects have drawn to themselves, but frequently the most earnest. Without exaggeration there is only *one* great division in the believing Church: that between the so-called Evangelists on the one hand, and those who follow the old Confessions on the other. Yet even here the opposition is by no means so deep-seated as it might appear to be. If we look at the controversial literature of these two parties, we perceive that it relates more to Ecclesiastical questions than to doctrine and practice. It resembles less the early contests on points of doctrine in the Lutheran Church, than the contests on ecclesiastical questions in the Scotch Church. It is not the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which is a most prominent subject of controversy, but the desire after a close Church with unity in teaching and government. Is there a more evident proof of this, than the fact that the Lutheran brethren are more friendly towards the members of the Reformed Church than towards those of the United Churches whose doctrine is less fixed? Even though a great part of those who belong to the Lutheran Confession still attach a high importance to the Lutheran idea of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, there is also a considerable number of their theologians who do not conceal from themselves the difficulties of the "specific" doctrine on this point, who do not know how to justify exegetically the communication of the *glorified* body of Christ

at the first celebration of the Supper, and who close their eyes to these difficulties for this reason only, that they cannot feel they must belong to a Church which has a fixed system of doctrine. The entire spirit of this adherence to the Lutheran confessions, is no longer that of the seventeenth century. The majority of its followers do not bind themselves by the words of the late Dr. Stahl, "Let us not forget that we are Lutherans, whom the Lord has brought out through Pietism, in order that we may receive the fruits of it in ourselves." If there are some Lutheran pulpits where the letter is preached more than the life-giving spirit, in general the same saving Gospel is made known from these pulpits as in those of the believing clergy of the United Church, and the Christian interests of society at the present time are cared for, though it be through special organizations: the Home and Foreign Missions, Refuges, Deacon's Institutions, and so on. If the Churches form still two divided camps, yet at the present time they take their stand under one commander in the presence of the foe.

Let us now look on the anti-Christian current which flows side by side with this Christian one, and with it deepens and widens, showing itself most clearly, rather amongst the masses than amongst theologians. That which was said fifty years ago by Jean Paul, is no longer true, "Formerly there was religion in war, now there is not even war in religion." The decreasing attendance at Church which we speak of, is connected with the declension of the masses, especially of the trading and industrial classes, not only from Christianity, but from religion altogether.

Many of the adherents of the vulgar Rationalism have known how to hide it from the people, so that under the ministry of many Rationalistic preachers, the old faith has wintered through into a more favourable theological spring-time; the common Rationalism had coldly enough, in general, but here and there even with warmth, preached a Christian Deism, Providence, hearing of prayer, and final retribution.

In the most widely circulated periodicals, such as the *Gartenlaube*, by the most popular authors, as *Freitag* and *Auerbach*, Pantheism is preached as the gospel of the latest civilization. The Free Churches—at first attached to the old Rationalism—have now gone over to Pantheism, and in their periodicals treat the doctrines of a self-revealed God, and of future retribution, as open questions. Since their political spirit of opposition has found another scene of action, they have shrunk up as communities, but their principles have forced their way into the artisans' schools, and into their clubs. It is the excessive growth of trade and industry which, in connection with the newly awakened interest taken by the people in politics, has in their case absorbed that sympathy which formerly was bestowed on higher interests, "for where

the treasure is, there will the heart be also." These causes have indeed in other countries also brought about the same results, and even from those lands in which Church customs have been most firmly rooted, even from Scotland, we hear the complaint of the attendance on Divine worship diminishing among the lower classes in manufacturing districts.

With the industrial efforts of the working classes, the study of the exact sciences goes hand in hand, while discoveries and inventions have opened up new and unexpected paths for commerce and industry.

It may easily be conceived that a study which moves in the sphere of inquiries after details, where the connection of cause and effect must be usually subordinated to faith, compels the inquirer (be it in the sphere of morals or religion), to recognize a supernatural causality which lies outside of the ordinary connection of causes; hence,—especially amongst the representatives of the exact sciences, natural philosophy, medicine, mathematics—the declension from the truths, not only of Christian, but even of natural religion. At the same time, we cannot but admire the religious spirit of Germany, which offers still a vigorous resistance to all these materialistic tendencies of the age. Great as was the sensation which such bold materialistic writings as those of *C. Vogt* and *Büchner* excited, all the less, however, was the reception which they found among the representatives of science, all the greater the number of those who, from the most differing schools, contended against them. Acute replies appeared from philosophers like *Schaller*; nay, even on the ground of the atomic theory, on which materialism has built its system, one of the most eminent doctors and natural philosophers, *Lötze*, in his *Mikrokosmos*, has with holy earnestness founded a system on a religious basis. Yet recently, in a work by the philosopher *Ulrici*, entitled "God and Nature," which has been universally well received, the proof has been drawn from the exact sciences themselves, that we are bound to receive the doctrine of a self-revealed God, and even of specifically Christian doctrine. We have already remarked that the theological professors and the clergy, with but few exceptions, throughout the whole of Germany, stand in close array to oppose the radical unbelief of the masses.

This "narrow-minded bigotry" of the German clergy, to adopt the term of reproach used by the so-called Freethinkers, against the course of events, which is, so far, more rightly judged by the French, Dutch, and Swiss clergy, but which has so clearly come to light in the numerous protests against *Schenkel* is a striking fact. Is not Germany the country from which, at the end of the last century, the light of illumination penetrated into the other Protestant Churches? The contracted stand-point of the Prussian ecclesiastical authorities which, for forty years, has closed the way to the chairs of theological professors to all but the orthodox, is brought forward by the "Free-

thinkers" as the ground of their accusation—not unjustly, and yet without sufficient reason. For, first, is that orthodox party of pastors to be sought for only in Prussia, and not as well in Bavaria—under Catholic rule—in Hanover, Saxony, Hesse, and Holstein? Do these arrangements belong only to the reigns of Frederick William the Third and Fourth, the decided professors of the Gospel, or not also to King William? Is it only the German professors of theology who show resistance to the anti-religious spirit of the age, or not also a great number of philosophers not merely of the school of *Hegel* but also those of *Herbart* and others? We may mention *Heinrich Ritter*, *Lotze*, *Peiss*, in *Göttingen*; *Immanuel Fichte*, formerly in *Tübingen*; *Fischer*, in *Erlangen*; *Weizenborn*, in *Marburg*; *Steffensen*, in *Basle*, &c. Yet it is right that we should ascribe an important share in bringing about these results to the fact of the filling up of the Prussian professorships with conservative theologians, and their influence on the theological students. But who can be surprised if, in opposition to the anti-Christian spirit of the times amongst the masses, to which so many things contribute, whilst the State puts hardly any restraint upon it, the orthodox German clergy have been unable to make a more successful resistance? The prevailing spirits of various ages, the good as well as the bad, must live out their time before they perish.

Yet, though in a limited degree, modern Rationalism has also found its representatives in German theology. It has them in the Protestant Association, founded under the ægis of *Rothe*, and the impulse given by *Shenkel*, which has proselytized in several towns, and has lately held its second Assembly in Neustadt au der Hardt, but which is as yet, however, supported only by the Faculty at Heidelberg, and by few and very dissimilar foreign adherents.

It has taken from *Rothe*, as its motto: *Reconciliation of Christianity with the Civilization of the present time*. Who would not regard the realization of this object as a praiseworthy aim, provided that Christianity, as has ever been its work, should become the salt of the moral corruption of the present civilization, and not civilization be the salt to consume away what has become effete in Christianity? But, in the mouth of teachers of that school, the latter is the meaning of the motto. The elevating and purifying of Christianity through accommodation to the ruling spirit of the age is, in truth, no new thought. "Let us be ever throwing away the old stock of doctrines." This was the advice which the old theologian, *Marezoll*, gave in 1780 to the "enlightened" preachers who complained that their churches were less and less frequented.

If these Protestants, at the same time that they engage in controversy against that which is antiquated in doctrine and in Church management, were to strive with holy earnestness against the sins of

the age—secularised industrialism, alienation from higher interests, laxity in morals—we should be pleased with that controversy of theirs, and should seek to appropriate to ourselves every grain of truth contained in it. But we hear nothing about this as yet, at all events; they only court the applause of the masses by controversy against the old orthodoxy.

The modern theology of German Switzerland makes more decided advances in the path of progress. Its principal seat is in *Zurich*, and it is represented in the *Zeitstimmen*, well edited by a Wurtemberg pastor named *Lang*, at *Meilen*. Its groundwork is the theology of *Baur*, and the modern science and philosophy based upon it. It is this which is to form the standard of religious truth, more particularly of that which is permanent in Christianity. This principle of criticism makes this its business all the more readily, as it is generally the ecclesiastical system of doctrines of the 17th century, against which the attacks are directed, whilst at the same time they are also directed against the representations of Scripture itself, and the stand-point of the so-called "*vermittlungstheologie*," i.e., of those who, with true inward faith in the Lord and His Apostles, are yet convinced that the systems of science founded on this faith need a continuous purification and development.

It is worthy of remark, in connection with this school of modern theology, that it seeks to bring about in reality that which the German Protestant Association has hitherto only purposed to do, namely, to awaken in the already secularized lay-world the need for religion, and to accommodate doctrinal Christianity to this state of civilization—in connection with which form of Christianity thus made to agree with the demands of the masses, that first element above all is wanting without which no religion can be a saving haven for mankind—the right doctrine of sin.

As far as concerns the theological and scientific point of view of this school; it pays over deference to the master of their criticism in historical questions, and regards the results of *Baur's* criticism as the unassailable result of science; in questions of doctrine its relations to the principle of criticism of this modern Rationalism, "the modern mode of viewing nature," are the same as to that of its predecessor, "sound human understanding." As this "sound human understanding" of the "enlightenment" of the preceding century was only the overthrow of the preceding philosophical systems, partly that of *Wolff* partly that of *Kant*, combined with the results of the historical inquiry of that time, so this modern philosophy is only the overthrow partly of the young Hegelian Pantheism, partly of the natural sciences on the stand-point of the present. The Biblical philosophy of the

orthodox theology is thus condemned to death ; but as to the permanent element in Christianity which is to take its place, there are at present only different opinions. The cardinal questions of all religion—the self-revealed personal God, the personal continued existence of the soul, the efficacy of prayer, &c., these are open questions, which are subjects of discussion not without earnestness of heart, yet with varying results.

That no Church can be founded on such a theology, and that one that has been founded can be barely maintained on it, is not unknown to the adherents of this school ; hence their earnest endeavour to keep up the bond of union with the believing clergy of the Church of their country, and to prevent a separation between themselves and the orthodox. They know well who would then remain to them as members of their Church—the mass of those who are wholly indifferent, and a small majority of the “enlightened,” who would soon learn to dispense with public worship. So it is now in Zurich—the churches of the farthest advanced preachers are for the most part empty, while those of the one orthodox preacher are always filled. They are, moreover, aware of the victory which they are gradually but steadily gaining in the Established Church, and they rejoice in the evident progress their principles are making among the younger clergy in all the German cantons, with the exception of Basle. What then may we expect when this new religion, without creed and without doctrine, has gained the victory among the clergy ? That of which most have a foreboding—the separation of the Established Churches into believing sects, in the presence of the masses, who feel no more need for any religion or any Church.

Such being the condition of the Churches of Germany, with what feelings should the believer look forward to the future ? My friends, for forty years I have been Professor at the same University, which, ever since the time when the Pietists of Halle flourished, since about 1730, has had a larger number of theological students than any other in Germany. When I entered upon my post, I was the sole representative of an orthodox Theology, and the vulgar Rationalism swayed the sceptre. I have seen this latter blossom, I have seen it flourish, but I have seen it afterwards decay ; in the middle of the thirty years, the place of this vulgar Rationalism was taken by the philosophical Rationalism of the Hegelian school, which captivated the hearts of the young students of Theology. I have seen this also bloom, and then decay. He who has lived through this, can, when he looks at the last phase of Rationalism, exclaim with the old Elector, “I have already seen many such leaves rustle and fall.” Theological systems, not only the heterodox, but also the orthodox, will century by century pass away. That is the law of the developments of time ; but though heaven and earth shall pass away, the Word of Christ shall not pass away. Amen.

RUSSIA.

THE STATE OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH.

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THE Church of the Reformation came early into contact with the Russian Empire. Czar Wasilji (1505—1534), and, after him, his son, John Wasiliewitsch, called Groznii, or the Terrible (1534—1584), had summoned mechanics, skilled workmen, and learned men, particularly physicians, from Germany, to their own chief town, Moscow. There arose, thus, a small German community in the City of the Czars, which received a considerable accession through a number of Esthonians and Livonians, mostly Lutherans, who were conveyed hither by the last-mentioned czar, after a victory gained over the *Schwertbrüder*, in the districts on the Baltic. In 1602 there were 4,000 Germans in Moscow.

Members of the Reformed Church also entered Russia from another direction. As early as the middle of the 16th century, England had received permission from the Russian ruler to trade with Russia. A number of English merchants, who had been joined by some Dutchmen, founded a colony on the White Sea, from which the city of Archangel afterwards arose. From this place many English and Dutch journeyed to Moscow for the purpose of trading.

The Evangelical Church in Moscow has continued from that time up to the present day. The Lutherans, about 8,000 in number, form two congregations. One of these, that of Petri-Paul, re-built its church a few years ago, and, on that occasion, its patron, the King of Prussia, most graciously presented two bells. With respect to the Reformed Church, in consequence of the execution of Charles I. the English were banished from Russia by Czar Alexei Michailowitsch; while the Dutch increased so much in number that, at the close of the 17th century, they required two preachers instead of one. When, however, the new capital of Russia, St. Petersburg, was founded, many of the Dutch went thither, so that in the Reformed Church of Moscow the Germans and Swiss exceeded the Dutch both in number and in importance. In consequence of this change the services, which were formerly conducted in the Dutch language, were then held in

German, and for the sake of the French-Swiss, in French, so that one minister proclaimed the truths of the Cross in both languages. This arrangement is still in force. At the end of the last century the Reformed Church in Moscow numbered 528 souls; but it has now increased to 1,200. In other towns in the Empire, we find also, at the time when the Thirty Years' War raged in Germany, little Protestant communities, with their churches, in full and undisturbed enjoyment of liberty of worship: ten Lutheran churches in Trela and Kasan; Reformed Churches in Archangel, Wologda, Nischnii, Novogorod. At that time there was also a German school in the German quarter in Moscow.

A new epoch for the Evangelical Church in Russia commenced with the regeneration of the nation, through the creative genius of Peter I. On the 16th April, 1702, this great ruler issued the famous "Edict of Toleration," in which "the free exercise of their religion" was solemnly guaranteed "to all other Christian sects, even to those which do not agree with our Church." He adduces as his motive, anticipating the celebrated saying of another great ruler: "That, with the power entrusted to us by the Most High, we claim no authority over the consciences of men, and willingly allow that every Christian should take upon himself, on his own responsibility, the care for the salvation of his own soul." This assurance was repeated in 1723 by a second imperial edict, in which it was specially mentioned that "the members of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in all parts of the Russian Empire are allowed to build churches and schools, and also, that, to meet the expenses, a grant of money should be made to them."

These principles found their first application in the case of the Evangelical Church at the founding of the city of St. Petersburg in 1704. When the fortress of that city was to be constructed, Peter the Great summoned thither the vice-admiral, Cornelius Cruys, who was born in Norway, but was the son of a Dutchman, and brought up in Holland, and who had rendered most important services in founding the naval power of Russia. He had brought with him an able theologian, named Tolle, from Gottingen, as his chaplain, and had divine service conducted by him—at first in his own room, and then in a wooden church built on his own premises for the small Evangelical congregation. This at first consisted almost entirely of German artisans and sailors, and of the Dutch and English members of the Reformed Church. From this small community, especially through the influence of the celebrated Field-Marshal Count von Munch, the originator of the organisation of the Russian army, the present Lutheran Church of St. Peter arose, with its beautiful edifice situated on the Newskyschen Perspective, one of the best parts of the town, which will hold about 5,000 persons.

Soon after this two other very large and important German Lutheran Churches were formed, those of St. Ann and St. Katherine. Afterwards some other small churches were added to them, which were gathered by the clergyman appointed as religious teacher to the Imperial Cadet Corps. In these churches twelve German ministers officiated.

At the time of the founding of the city, Lutheran congregations speaking the Finnish and Swedish languages were formed in St. Petersburg; in later times an Esthonian and a Lithuanian Church were now added, having each a preacher, and some of them assistant ministers.

The ecclesiastical relations of the Reformed Church were developed in like manner. As early as 1717 the Dutch separated themselves from the mixed church, which had been formed originally by Cruys. They were much favoured by Peter I., and soon gained, through their industry and habits of business, a position of great importance in comparison with their small number. They obtained a site near the German Lutheran Church of St. Peter's, on the Newskyschen Perspective, where, in 1741, they erected a stone church. This has now given place to the beautiful palatial building which encloses the church, and which was consecrated in the presence of His Majesty King William II., at that time Prince of Orange, and his eldest son, the present King William III. The church numbers 250 persons, under one pastor, who, in consideration of the many Germans who are connected by marriage with the members of the congregation, and do not understand Dutch, preaches in German during the winter.

The English who separated in 1719 from the original mother-church, and formed one of their own, at first held their services in a private house, until the year 1723, when, through the English Factory, they obtained a site on the English Quay, where they now assemble in their large and beautiful church. Their pastor also cares for the religious interests of the English workmen and officials who reside in the suburbs.

Through the influential friend and favourite of Peter the Great, Lefort, many French were also induced to settle in St. Petersburg, some of whom received important appointments in the army. They obtained, by subscription, a site not far from the Newskyschen Perspective, opposite to the church of St. Peter's, on which they first built a wooden, and then a stone church. The German Reformed Church joined them, and from 1746, they united to form the German-French Reformed Church. At first they had only one minister, who preached in both languages, after that, one for each language. In 1858 the two churches separated. The French Church remained on the old spot, and number about 520 persons; the German Reformed Church has, by great sacrifices, and praiseworthy zealous efforts,

erected for itself a beautiful building with a parsonage, on a site presented by Government, in one of the finest streets opposite to the Post-office, to which his Majesty the King of Prussia has granted a sum of money for two bells. This church was consecrated at the Reformation Festival in 1865. The German Reformed number over 3,000 souls.

Beside all these various Lutheran and Reformed Churches, we must mention that of the Moravian Brethren, with whom many of the pious Evangelical inhabitants of the place assemble every Sunday; and also the so-called American Congregational Chapel, which has been in existence for several years.

We see, then, that the Evangelical Confession is represented in the capital of the Russian Empire by 10 Lutheran, 4 Reformed Churches, and 2 Churches belonging to other Evangelical denominations, and composed of persons of various nations, with more than 40,000 Germans, and 30,000 of other nations—thus, on the whole, about 70,000 souls, and the Gospel is preached each Sunday in eight different languages—the German, Dutch, English, French, Finnish, Swedish, Esthonian, and Lithuanian.

These Churches owe much of the outward means of their rise and progress to the generosity of the Russian Government, inasmuch as it has presented them with almost all the sites for building; and besides, particularly of late years, the money for building has been advanced by the Crown under very favourable conditions; and also in many cases, the members of the Royal Family have nobly presented them with considerable sums of money. Next to this the zeal and liberality of the members of the Churches, deserves to be specially recognized; and the prosperity which the Russian Evangelical Churches now for the most part enjoy, must be principally ascribed to repeated gifts and charities bestowed by separate individuals.

One indispensable condition of the continuance of a Christian Church, is the foundation of schools, in which its own views are promulgated. Nor does the Evangelical Church in Russia fail in this respect. There are many German so-called church-schools, founded and maintained by the Churches at their own expense, and on which the Government has conferred some very important privileges, and has raised them to the rank of colleges. These schools not only educate children belonging to Evangelical Churches, but as they contain no small number of Russian youths, they disseminate Evangelical religious teaching throughout the entire Russian empire. The oldest among them is the St. Peter's school, which celebrated its centenary in 1862. It contains from 600 to 700 pupils, and about 40 teachers. A few years ago a charity-school was opened near it, which has been very successful, and now equals the former in importance and size. Quite recently, schools belonging to the United

Dutch, German, and French Reformed Churches have obtained similar privileges from the Government.

II.—EXTENSION.

Hitherto we have considered the Evangelical Church as it appeared as a guest, who has been kindly received and hospitably treated, in the young Russian Empire, which was eagerly striving to rise to power and importance in Europe. With the growth of the empire, however, the relations of the Evangelical Church with respect to it were altered. It now became a child at home; at the end of the war with Sweden, through the treaty of Nystadt, August 30, 1721, an entire Lutheran country was incorporated with the empire, namely, the Baltic provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, to which, in 1795, Courland was also added. The principles of toleration which were applicable to foreign Christians who did not belong to the orthodox Greek Church, came into operation also in the case of these newly-acquired territories. It was stipulated in this treaty, that in these Baltic provinces recently acquired from the crown of Sweden, "no restraint of conscience should be imposed, but rather that the Evangelical religion, churches and schools, and all connected with them should be left and preserved on the same footing on which they had been under the late Swedish Government, but that in the same country the Greek religion likewise could and might be freely and uninterruptedly exercised."

Through the close ties which now united the Baltic provinces with the empire, not only were a large number of Evangelicals from these regions drawn to the capital and interior of the empire by political and other civil engagements, but also the stream of private immigrants, artificers, artists, and learned men, who easily found employment and success in Russia, has flowed on uninterruptedly from that time to the present, so that members of the Evangelical Church amongst whom are especially large numbers of Germans, are now met with in all the provinces of this mighty empire.

But in another way also German adherents of the Evangelical Church entered Russia in larger masses; at different times, under the Empress Catherine II. and Alexander I., German colonies principally from Wurtemberg and the Rhenish Provinces, of the Lutheran and the Reformed Church, as well a number of Mennonites from East and West Russia, were planted under favourable circumstances, on the Volga at Saratow, then on the Dnieper in Bessarabia, and Grusien, and some also in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg; these, with their own language and habits, preserved also their own religion, and attained on the whole to great prosperity.

With the conquest of the kingdom of Poland, a considerable portion

of whose inhabitants belong to the Evangelical Church, and Finland, which is a thoroughly Evangelical country, the Empire of Russia became possessed of new Evangelical provinces.

Thus the Evangelical Church in Russia presents a very manifold appearance. If we look away from the kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Finland, which are up to this time under a government of their own, the provinces on the Baltic next meet us with a dense Evangelical population of more than a million and a half, with a complete Church organization. Next to these are to be found in other parts of Russia, with their numerous Evangelical Churches, and especially in St. Petersburg, with its suburb Ingermannland, a population of Finnish Lutherans, contained in about thirty Churches, which resides in the midst of Russia, and the Government towns which have many Churches with at least a few hundred members. Further on we meet with the Colonies, with their own Church organizations. More distant still, our glance falls on a number of our solitary fellow-believers, who, as military or civil officers, tutors, and governesses, physicians or doctors, stewards and farmers, scattered over the immense plains of the Russian Empire, form a numerous *Diaspora*—and on the exiles in Siberia, who sometimes expiate their crimes in the mines, sometimes, having settled down as free people, are united into larger or smaller communities. Lastly, we have to mention an extension of the Evangelical Church, which has been brought about by the recent addition of from 300 to 400 Armenians, who have lately gone over to it with the consent of the Government; on the whole, a numerous band of our fellow-believers who claim our warmest sympathy.

III.—CONSTITUTION.

With regard to the constitution of this Church, at first, before the Peace of Nystadt, the Evangelical Churches were quite independent, inasmuch as the State interfered in no way in their internal concerns. Far from this, the Churches managed their own affairs, such as the appointment and dismissal of ministers, marriages, and so forth, and did so through their own Church-Synods or Conventions, chosen by themselves and under the presidency of their ministers. Nor were they united amongst themselves by any closer ties, as may be easily conceived from the great distances which separated them from one another. Not till 1711 was a sort of Ecclesiastical Court formed. Peter the Great, in order to arrange difficulties which might arise, or to avoid disorders, appointed a superintendent over all the Evangelical Churches in Russia, in the person of the oldest Evangelical minister in Russia, Berthold Vagetiŭs, Master of the Holy Scripture. At a later period also, a Superintendent was

appointed for the Churches at St. Petersburg, who had his seat at Harva.

In the Baltic provinces, ecclesiastical matters were, by the terms of the Peace of Rystadt, to be arranged according to the former Swedish form of Church government. In order to represent the supreme authority of the State in these matters, a Court was instituted at St. Petersburg, the *Reichs-Justiz-Collegium*, to which, through a ukase of the Empress Anna Joannowna (1734), all the Foreign Confessions, as they were called, were subordinated.

For the Evangelical Confessions the St. Petersburg Consistorial Sessions was established, in connection with this court, which consisted of the lay members of the court and of the Evangelical ministers, who were selected for the special case in hand. This Consistory, at first, decided only in matters relating to marriages, but afterwards went further, exercising jurisdiction over ministers in their work. The Reformed Churches were only subject to this Court in canonical affairs. In all others they preserved their independence.

In the course of time, as the Evangelical Church increased, the need of forming a powerful organization, as a defence against disorders, became apparent.

There arose, in 1810, a "Supreme Administration for the Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions;" and, in 1819, the Church government was wholly separated from the *Justiz-Collegium*, and, under the direction of a "General Evangelical Consistory" at St. Petersburg, made over to "the Minister of Spiritual Affairs, and of the Enlightenment of the People."

The work of organization received its finishing stroke through the "Law for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia," in the year 1832. For the carrying out of this work the Emperor Nicholas had appointed a commission, to which, not only representatives of the separate Evangelical Churches and districts of the interior belonged, but also the Prussian Bishop of Pomerania, Dr. Ritschl, recommended by the King of Prussia. Through this law, not only was the relation of the Evangelical Church to the State fixed in a more express and definite manner, and a united organization formed in the Church, but also—and this was mainly the work of Bishop Ritschl—a new Ritual was introduced, on the model of the Prussian.

Beside the Kingdom of Poland, which is under the Consistory in Warsaw, and the Grand Duchy of Finland, which is governed by the Chapter of the Borgo Cathedral, the following are not subject to this law: the Evangelical Moravian Brethren, whose existence rests upon special arrangements with the Government; the United Church, in Archangel; the Separatist, or Pietist Churches, in South Russia; the Mennonite Colonies, in different provinces of South and West Russia; the German Colonies, in Grusien, which stand directly under the

Minister of the Interior, outside of the National Church; a congregation of the Free Scotch Church; and a Colony in the Province of Sevastopol, which is self-governing.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church, in the rest of Russia, is divided according to this law, into eight Consistorial Circuits, of very unequal size and extent; six are in the Baltic Provinces, of which two are confined to the towns of Riga and Revel only; four of them, however, embrace whole provinces, *i.e.*, Courland, Livonia, Esthonia, and the Island of Oesal. The two remaining contain the rest of Russia: St. Petersburg, the whole of South-western Russia from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea, with Odessa and the Crimea; and Moscow, the whole of North-eastern Russia from Saratow to Siberia, and the district of the Amour.

The Consistories have a lay president and a ministerial vice-president, who is always the superintendent of the district, with the title of superintendent-general, or superintendent, and always two lay and ministerial assessors. To them belongs, beside purely ecclesiastical matters, the first decision in affairs of marriage. According to their extent, the Consistorial Circuits are divided into more or less Provostships. The provosts, chosen from the preachers of their circuit, are the representatives of the superintendent or superintendent general, as the nearest advisers of the preachers. They have to hold the parochial visitations in their districts, and are presidents of the District Synods. These eight consistories are under a General Consistory, which has its seat at St. Petersburg. It consists, likewise, of a lay president and ministerial vice-president, who generally has the title of bishop, in consequence of more special nomination from his majesty, and two lay as well as two ministerial members, who are elected only for three years. A procureur is appointed to the court as law member. The president and vice-president are appointed by His Majesty the Emperor. All the consistories nominate candidates to the office of ministerial assessors, and, after obtaining the opinions of the General Consistory, the minister brings these nominations, with his own opinion, before the Emperor. In matters of administration the General Consistory is subordinated to the Minister of the Interior, who superintends ecclesiastical affairs through the so-called "Department of Foreign Consistories;" in judicial matters, however, it is under the Senate.

As the Church thus formed has, on the whole, a united organization, care is also taken by the preachers to promote fuller intercourse with one another by the appointment of Annual Conferences in each Consistorial Circuit, in which the preachers of that circuit take part. Discussions on the right conducting of the spiritual office, communications on ministerial life, scientific conferences, and so forth, form the subjects of consultation. Such so-called Yearly Synods have the

right of submitting proposals to the Consistories, and have borne much wholesome fruit for the Church and its development.

The choice of preachers belongs, except where the right of patronage exists, to the Churches, each one of which can choose its own way of election, either through the voting of the assembled male members of the Church who are of age, or by a number of special elective deputies. In many cases the Consistory nominates the candidates, out of whom the Church has to choose one. The preachers receive their support from the churches, except in the case of those who have appointments from the Crown or Military authorities. In the country it consists of the produce of glebe-lands, fees regulated by law, and a fixed salary; in towns of a fixed salary, and unrestricted freewill offerings.

The Churches possess the right of managing their Church property, to which the protection and privileges of State property are extended. They receive this superintendence through Church Councils chosen by themselves, with the exception of certain cases in the Baltic provinces, where the Church property has always been managed by the town authorities. The town churches, favoured by other circumstances, generally possess a fair and, in some places, a considerable amount of property. Other churches, especially in the country, have a more or less meagre income; some are extremely poor.

The Reformed Church is not affected by this law for the Evangelical Church of Russia. It is governed in Lithuania by a Reformed Collegium in Wilna and a Synod, which consists of a lay and ministerial members. The Reformed Churches in other parts are under so-called Reformed Sessions, which are entirely independent of one another, and are annexed to the Evangelical Lutheran Consistories, particularly those in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, and Mitau. These Sessions have the lay-president and two lay-members in common with the Evangelical Lutheran Consistory. The remaining members consist of the ministers of the place, with an elder from each church. Both of these, the Court at Wilna and the Reformed Sessions, are under the Minister of the Interior in the Department for Foreign Confessions.

The English and Dutch Churches at St. Petersburg enjoy the rights of Ambassadorial Churches, and are quite unconnected with the Russian Government, under the oversight of their own respective Governments.

The advantages which this law has brought to the Evangelical Church are undeniable. It has freed it from divisions and disputes, and helped it to attain to a more vigorous consciousness of its inner unity. The new Ritual particularly, has formed a strong bond of union among the Churches. Individual peculiarities are respected and spared; and unity in the Church is secured, together with that diversity which is essential to living progress in the Church.

IV.—RELATION TO THE CONFESSIONS.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks, that the Evangelical Church in Russia is divided into a Lutheran and a Reformed Confession, which have nothing in common, except that they are both under the oversight of the State.

According to the constitution of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church, it is founded on the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and all the other standards, including the Concordien-Formel. Since the era of Rationalism passed away, this Confession is maintained generally, both by preachers and Churches with great decision.

The Evangelical Church is so completely a branch of the German Mother-Church, that it is inevitable that the spiritual condition of the latter should be reproduced in the former. Through the Theological Faculty of Dorpat, which belongs confessedly to the Erlanger School, and in which the Theologians of the Reformed Evangelical Church are educated, a strict adherence to the Confession is by far the most prevalent amongst the preachers. Yet combined with this there are many different shades of opinion.

There has not been, however, a formal union between the two Evangelical Sister-Confessions in Russia, as there has been in Prussia. An attempt at this was made in 1817, at the General Festival of the Reformation. A preacher of the Reformed Church preached a sermon full of peace in the Lutheran Church of St. Peter's, and afterwards the Lutheran and Reformed ministers held a united Communion Service. This festival, which made the deepest impression, was regarded by many as the accomplishment of a formal union, although it was not called so by those who took part in it. The President of the *Justiz-Collegium*, Baron von Kapf, informed his Majesty of the proceeding, and expressed the wish that "from this time forth the various Protestant Confessions might be named the "Evangelical Church." His Majesty expressed by a document of his minister for spiritual affairs, Prince Galizin, the pleasure he felt at this spirit of love and union, and commanded the assembled Consistories of the Russian Empire to deliberate on the matter. On the part of the Consistories, however, the Livonian especially, an earnest protest was raised against this plan. The main objection brought against it was, that through the use of this new, and, to the country people, quite unknown word *Evangelical* (for which there is no equivalent in the Livonian and Esthonian languages), the impression might be given that a change of Confession had taken place. Although the Spiritual Department did not fail to point out that this fear was quite without foundation, yet from the prevailing opposition that was manifested, the matter was allowed to drop. Only the Church at Archangel

made use of the Imperial permission, and ventured to call itself simply by the name "Evangelical," and up to the present time this is the only formally United Church in Russia. A later project, also, which proposed that the two Churches should be united under one form of Church government, while each retained its own peculiar Confession, was frustrated by universal opposition.

Although the Evangelical Church in Russia appears so much opposed to a formal union, the people, on the whole, are not bigoted in their attachment to the Confessions. Further still, the consciousness of a difference of confession between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches has almost disappeared. For example, by marriage, persons change from one Church to the other without regarding it as a change of confessions. Also, in the Liturgy, the use of the United Historical Offertory Service is freely allowed at the Lord's Supper.

In many circles, however, there is a more strict adherence to the Confession to be met with, which causes, here and there, lamentable strife. It is thus in South Russia, in the colonies, in Bessarabia, of mixed Reformed and Lutherans. Rigid confessionalism had almost disappeared in other places. People were quite satisfied to see the title of Reformed or Lutheran added to their names. Only at the Communion this difference remained, that the Lutherans received wafers, while the Reformed received broken bread and wine in the hand. In other respects there was no difference of teaching. It was thus until recently, when the students from the University of Dorpat came among them as preachers, and declared that, on the ground of conscience, they could not tolerate the Heidelberg Catechism, nor administer the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Reformed Church. By this means confessional fanaticism was aroused, which led to lamentable excesses on both sides, and ended in the Reformed separating themselves from the Lutherans, and forming a Church of their own.

Lately, Baptist movements have commenced in Courland, and some places on the Volga. We trust the conflicts which have hence arisen with the National Church will disappear, as soon as the relations of the Baptists to the Church have been definitely fixed by law.

V.—THE INNER LIFE AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF THE CHURCH.

The inner life of the Evangelical Church in Russia varies according to the character of the separate dioceses, and is therefore very diverse. In the Baltic provinces especially it is influenced partly by the Church customs and discipline, which have continued from the time of the Swedes, partly by the political condition of the inhabitants, the Esthonians and Livonians, who, strictly speaking, only the wreck

of nations, know no other form of public life but the ecclesiastical. The Finnish portions of the Evangelical Church present us with peculiar characteristics, as well as the churches in the colonies, which hold fast to their German life and customs with the utmost fidelity. I must not allow myself to enter upon these special manifestations, and can only touch on the one which is to be recognised in the Church in general.

It is only in the nature of things that our Church should be essentially influenced in its minor life by the Greek Church in the midst of which it is placed.

We must therefore take a survey of the religious character of the orthodox Greek Church in Russia. There is a deep religious tendency amongst its adherents, and this keeps them faithful to the Church, its institutions, and customs. It is the natural result of the peculiar character of this Church that the original disposition of the people to Christian piety is not developed in a corresponding degree. It is well known that the Greek Church in Russia considers its chief duty to lie in the preservation, as far as possible without change, and the promulgation of the fixed dogmas handed down to it from the Irumean Church, and an equally faithful and conscientious attention to the ritual of that Church. It has constantly rejected an investigation and development of dogma in accordance with the progress of thought, and in its isolation has remained almost untouched by the later developments of the Christian Church in general in the course of centuries. In later times indeed, more is being done for the scientific education of the clergy; a sort of theological literature has also been commenced, but it remains still too much in an undeveloped state, and confines itself more to a simple representation such as an apologetic and polemic defence, instead of being an independent reproduction of traditional dogma. Although in towns one often meets clergymen of really scientific education and views, yet the country clergy in general justify still too much the low opinions which people in Western Europe are accustomed to form of the intellectual and moral character of the Russian Greek clergy.

As public worship is almost entirely deficient in the didactic element (the sermon being only an exceptional thing), and is calculated only to excite religious feeling through its symbols, the Slavonian Church language, not being fully understood by the people, it follows that in the country all popular education, religious included, has been hitherto neglected. Not until quite lately have energetic steps been taken for the introduction of school-instruction into the country, and where, as in towns, we do find schools and religious education, it is confined merely to learning the formulas by rote: and the explanation of religious truth is rather avoided than encouraged. Therefore, in spite of all their pious feeling, which is so worthy of note,

the people as a whole are wanting in knowledge. Their religiousness is only sentimental, unreasoning, mechanical. Their Christianity confines itself to the practice of the prescribed rites, particularly devotion to pictures, and fastings. By far the greater number of the educated are dissatisfied not only with their own Church, but with Christianity in general, and practice Church-rites simply from conformity to the prevailing custom. Others turn to the Evangelical Church, for many find their religious need is satisfied there. And a part can receive and apprehend the spirit only in the letter, the substance in the picture, and are united to their Church from conviction, which often amounts to fanaticism.

The impression which the rigid piety of the Greek Church makes upon the Evangelicals in general is that they learn to recognise and value so much the more the preciousness of their faith, and become more earnest adherents of their Church. Instances of persons going over to the Greek Church are very rare, even where there is so great a want of Evangelical fellowship as in the "Diaspora." The Churches are full and people make good use of the various opportunities presented for edification. Participation in works of a Christian character is active. Unbelief and materialism have penetrated, it is true, into many circles, but public opinion does not tolerate the open expression or public display of them. The importance and dignity of the clerical profession is thoroughly recognised. Institutions of all kinds in connection with the Christian Church are in a flourishing condition.

It is true much has not yet been accomplished. It is true the whole lump has not yet been penetrated by the leaven of the Gospel. Those who have been really touched by the spirit of Christ are still only the exceptions, but they are numerous, and their work of faith and love has been richly blest. The soil of the Evangelical Church in Russia is, in many places, an untilled, but it is a fertile soil. Where the seed of the Divine Word, is sown in faithfulness, as a rule, it falls on good ground.

The main agents in this work of faith are the preachers, who, taken as a whole, are as firm in the faith as they are able. The ministers of the Word are also the counsellors of individuals in their private affairs, the friends of the poor, and helpers in all need. We seldom meet with any mere mercenary feeling, or the error which, placing science and piety in a false position, as excluding one another, fails to recognise the healthful working of the former on the Evangelical clergy.

The difficulties of the ministers, whose duties we thus see are always heavy, even in large churches which are near each other, are still greater in the case of those of the "Diaspora." The preachers who are appointed for the church members scattered throughout the great Russian Empire are accustomed to make every year one or two

pastoral circuits, often through several provinces. They give information beforehand of the places which they intend to visit. At these, as far as possible, all the Evangelicals in the neighbourhood assemble themselves. During the few days of his stay public services are held—the Lord's Supper administered—the children born since his last visit baptized—the youth awaiting confirmation are prepared and confirmed, &c. The districts which many preachers have to visit include an area which exceeds that of an entire kingdom. The preacher in Tula, on one occasion, in the course of a year, travelled about 12,572 wersts, or about 7,600 miles.

The preacher in Irkutsk has a diocese which is larger than the whole of the rest of Europe put together. It extends over an area of 177,000 square miles, in which only 1,086 Evangelicals are found. He has to travel yearly about 14,000 wersts, and this by dangerous roads; and, what is worst of all, while the preacher is travelling at a distance, his own church at home is famishing for God's Word. Nay, more; the spiritual Superintendent in his visitation now and again discovers entire Evangelical communities, whose existence till then was wholly unknown to the Church authorities.

Another difficulty is caused by the diversity of the languages spoken in the Evangelical Church in Russia. In the Baltic provinces the Gospel is preached in the German, Livonian, Esthonian, Swedish, Lithuanian, and Polish languages; in Ingermannland and the province of St. Petersburg, in Finnish. Often, moreover, people belonging to several nations are found in one Church. For example, German churches in Ingermannland have Finnish villages connected with them, or Finnish preachers have to preach in German to some of their parishioners. The preacher at Cronstadt, where there is a standing garrison, has Esthonian, Livonian, and Finnish soldiers, and Swedish Church members to care for spiritually. The preacher at Irkutsk has to do with representatives of all these Evangelical nations. He must, therefore, possess the gifts of a Polyglott, or have the services of an assistant for some languages, unless he helps himself with the Russian vernacular, which is so generally understood by all.

Many Germans have also been met with in the interior of the Empire, for instance in the army, who have entirely forgotten their mother-tongue, and only understand Russian. These have had the Lutheran catechism in Russian given to them, and have been instructed in Christian truth by means of that language. They have had to do entirely without preaching, which is nowhere in the Evangelical Church carried on in the language of the country, and so are deprived of full Church fellowship.

Recently, a few young Evangelical preachers have begun to prepare themselves to preach the Word in the Russian tongue also. It is yet to be seen whether this effort will succeed.

In order under these circumstances to bring the resources of Christian faith to bear upon all parts of the body of the Evangelical Church, two noteworthy institutions have been founded in its midst: the "Bible Society," and "The Sustentation Fund for the Evangelical Church of Russia."

In relation to the first of these, a mighty impulse was given to it in a remarkable way from the Greek Church itself. Under Alexander I., as it is known, a "General Bible Society," for the Greek and Evangelical Churches at St. Petersburg, was founded in 1812. The Greek Metropolitan and the Senior of the Evangelical Clergy, with many laymen remarkable for their piety and deep Christian feeling of both Confessions sat on one and the same Committee. The effect produced by this Society was immense—the Bible was translated into many languages of the nations which are incorporated in the great Russian Empire. A mighty enthusiasm for this blessed work passed through the whole Empire. Suddenly, this "General Bible Society," was dissolved in 1826. It can scarcely be denied that the mighty effects of this Bible Society are to be attributed to the charm of the Imperial name, and the Imperial protection in which it rejoiced, and as the matter did not grow out of the spirit of the Church, so it could not have been of long continuance.

Meanwhile, the Evangelical branch of the Society proceeded uninterruptedly with its work, supported by the Emperor himself, and recognised by a special Statute, and distributed the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in the languages spoken by all the various Protestants in the Empire. The Evangelical Bible Society, under a Central Committee at St. Petersburg, has 20 Sections and 277 Auxiliary Committees. While the Russian translation of the New Testament was formerly prohibited, a new translation of the New Testament prepared under the auspices of the Synod has been printed, and its distribution permitted. It is sought for, and used by the Russian people with great avidity.

The other institution is the "Sustentation Fund for the Evangelical Church of Russia," which was established in 1859. Its purpose, like that of the "Gustav-Adolf Verein" in Germany, is to find the means for the continuance of the Evangelical Church by contributions. This union is organized through the whole country in the following way: the central committee is at St. Petersburg, at the Sessions of the Consistory; in other large cities there are district committees, and under these again, auxilliary committees. There are at present more than twenty districts, and over 100 auxiliary committees. It gives assistance in building churches and chapels, supporting ministers and founding new churches, sending preachers into the "Diaspora," and supporting superannuated and aged preachers. One particular object of this union is to attend to schools. With the exception of the

Baltic provinces, where the system of education throughout the country is well organised, schools have been much neglected, in the other districts of the Evangelical Church. Until a short time ago there was not a school in Ingermannland. The instruction of the children in the Catechism and Christian truth was, according to the Swedish plan, made the duty of the parents, and the preachers in their house to house visitations, were to inquire whether this duty had been properly performed. In the colonies it was very difficult to find capable teachers, and in the "Diaspora" the difficulty was insurmountable, as, on account of the distance between their dwellings, it was quite impossible to gather a number of children into one school. In all these different ways the sustentation fund has been productive of great good, especially lately in founding a normal school in Ingermannland to meet the pressing necessities of the case.

That the Evangelical Church in Russia under such circumstances not only stands its ground, but in some places is in a flourishing condition, is, under God's blessing, to be attributed to the self-sacrificing faithfulness of the ministers.

Within the separate churches the work of Home Missions is carried on with great zeal. For about twenty years every church of any size has organized a society for the care of the poor. Houses for the poor and for widows, refuges, and magdalen asylums, have been erected, associations for supplying the wants of the sick, and visitation of prisoners have also been attended to. Christian love in individuals has been strengthened by these efforts, and the outward means for carrying on these works of benevolence are always generously supplied by the churches.

The Evangelical Church of Russia has of late years put forth many earnest efforts for foreign missions also. In most churches missionary meetings are held. The law allows Evangelical preachers in the National Church to instruct and baptize Jews, Mohammedans, or heathen only, who apply for admission into the Church, and it is forbidden to send out missionaries within the extent of the Russian empire, since the last missionaries from Basle have been obliged to discontinue their operations in Armenia. But the Evangelical communities in Russia give assistance to English foreign missionaries. The missionary societies in Basle and now in Liepzig, have received considerable contributions from Russia. Young men in the Baltic provinces are being trained for mission work in connection with the Leipzig mission. In Finland also there is a flourishing missionary society, which has even founded a missionary institute of its own.

VI.—SECTS.

The colony churches amongst the Evangelicals in Russia present the least satisfactory aspect. Where the remembrance of an earnest Christian life remains in any community, as for example in the case of the colonists from Wurtemberg, errors appear all the more readily, in proportion to the greater isolation of such communities, and to the less intercourse they have with larger Christian churches, which would either enlighten or deaden them. Thus in the German colonies in South Russia errors, sometimes separatist, sometimes Millenarian (Chiliastic), which often cause great commotions, are not uncommon. In a few churches also, powerful awakenings like the American revivals have recently taken place without showing any lasting work resulting from them.

One peculiar form of error, however, has been promulgated for a long time amongst the Fins of Ingermannland by a number of people called "*springers*," by whom the same ecstatic motions are practised as by the American Jumpers, or Shakers. Very lately a few from this sect have joined themselves to a Russian-Greek sect, the "*Versch-nittenen*," who carry the mortification of the flesh to the utmost extreme. Members of this sect are so fanatical that they have offered the most obstinate opposition to the long-continued efforts of the preacher for their instruction, and he has not yet succeeded in uprooting this abominable error.

A mighty movement commenced some years ago in Esthonia. An Esthonian, named John Leinberg, who had previously lived a very wicked life, gave himself and his wife out for a prophet, like Moses or John the Baptist, whom God had endowed with the power of working miracles, and who was to lead the people of God who should cleave to him through a river as through the Red Sea. Possessed of remarkable natural talents and great popular eloquence, he obtained about five hundred followers. His enthusiastic proposition was certain to win great applause for him among a people, who indeed were no longer to be called a people, and who longed with the whole strength of their soul to be freed from their oppressed state of dependence on the German landowners. His adherents, deaf to all advice, followed their pretended prophet to the sought-for promised land in the interior of the Empire, where they were soon plunged into the deepest misery, and it was fortunate for them in the end if they could beg their way home again.

VII.—RELATION TO THE GREEK CHURCH.

It is a mistake which we often meet with, that Peter the Great united to the Crown of the Czars the dignity and power which he had

taken from the Patriarch. The truth rather is, that the power of the Church Government which rested in the Patriarchate, has been transferred to the Holy Synod, a College which unites in itself a number of the highest dignitaries of the Church, and that the Emperor exercises no other influence upon it than that the choice of the highest dignitaries, particularly the Metropolitan, belongs to him by law. Virtually, however, the monarch can exercise an influence on this College, from the fact that he appoints a member of the Holy Synod in the person of a lay *Ober-procureur*, who is the President, and can exercise a proportionate influence on the decisions of the College.

The Greek Church, however, does not professedly derive its authority from that of a single apostle received immediately from the hand of Christ, but from the fellowship of the united, undivided, œcumenical Christendom, in whose decisions it recognizes the true and unadulterated mind of the Founder of the Church of Christ and His Apostles. On this acknowledgment, and on its obedience to these œcumenical decisions it founds its claim to orthodoxy, which it claims for itself as contrasted not only with the sects within its own Church, but also with other Christian Confessions.

The idea, therefore, of one only saving Church, out of which there is no salvation, is unknown in the Greek Creed, and the bigoted spirit of persecution which springs from this idea is foreign to the Russians. Peter the Great, by his motto, which we have already mentioned, "that each individual should take upon himself the responsibility of caring for his own soul's salvation," showed himself to be a true son of his Church. No Christian has reason to fear any injury to himself on account of his belief differing from that of the National Church, and no ecclesiastical stain will adhere to him on account of it. For instance, if a member of the Evangelical Church dies at a place where there is no minister of his own Confession, no priest of the Greek Church would have the slightest scruple in burying him with all the accustomed rites and blessings of the Greek Church.

It was in the spirit of such toleration that at the same time when in Spain under Philip II., Protestant heretics were being burnt at the Auto-da-fe, or the horrors of St. Bartholomew's Day were prepared for the Huguenots in France, at Moscow, the Grand Duke John Wasiliewitsch the Terrible, admitted to a friendly audience John Rokeyfa, a preacher of the Bohemian Brethren, and conversed on the doctrines which distinguish the various Christian confessions. And the execution of the unhappy fanatic Quirinus Kuhlmann at Moscow, who was burnt alive on 4th October, 1689, at the instance of the Patriarch Joakim, is to be attributed no less to lamentable Lutheran fanaticism than to Greek orthodoxy.

This toleration, as we have stated above, is still exercised. The people treat Evangelical public worship and the preachers with respect. In matters of faith and ecclesiastical affairs, the preachers are under no other control or authority than that of their own ecclesiastical superiors. Public worship is unhindered. Every church is allowed to build a place of worship with as much ornamentation as they please, provided they possess a part of the money required for it, although it was generally the case until recently that the Evangelical churches built during the Russian rule had no bells; it is not so now, and public ceremonies, such as funerals, laying the foundation-stone, and the consecration of churches, &c., are now celebrated according to the rites and usages of the Evangelical confession. Evangelical Church-schools may be founded at the cost of the churches, and teachers appointed to them without hindrance; only the teachers must possess the legal qualifications, and the school-books must be approved of by the censorship of the press.

The state of the case, however, is not so favourable in another respect; there is found in the Russian empire an essentially Byzantian feeling regarding the connection of the Church and State. Conformably to this, religion is an entirely political idea. The people recognize the bond which unites them together more almost in their common faith, "orthodoxy," in their sense of the word, than in their common stock and political institutions. In accordance with this, the test of a full-blooded Russian is, that he belongs to the Greek Church. His native country is so dear to a Russian, because to him it is the "*Holy Russia*," the Czar as representative of the nation, and symbol of its political union is therefore the symbol of its Ecclesiastical unity also. He is invested with a still higher dignity than that which he possesses as "ruler by God's grace," so that in the mind of a Russian, the ideas of God and the emperor are closely united. Hence the current saying amongst the people when they wish to express the idea there is no responsibility to fear for something or other: "Heaven is high, and the Czar is far."

It is obvious what effect this must have upon their relation to other confessions, the Evangelical among the rest. Although it is no longer regarded as a visitor in Russia, but those who profess it have become in whole districts an integral part of the Russian empire, yet all the confessions not conforming to the Greek creed, viz., the Roman Catholic, Evangelical, Armenian, with the Jewish and Mahomedan religions also, are included under the term of the strange or "foreign confessions."

It is therefore a natural consequence of this, that the Russian Empire has hitherto constantly denied an equality of confessions. The orthodox Church must rather take the position of a ruling one, above the other confessions; and however much it may acknowledge

and respect their internal and historical rights, and therefore allow them to continue in full exercise, yet really it must, strictly speaking, deny the right of their existence in the Russian empire, and must therefore have the tendency to limit their retention—nay, if possible, to absorb them altogether.

Hence have arisen the decisions which have gradually become laws of the Empire, and also an essential element in the ecclesiastical law of the Evangelical Church, namely: I. That no Orthodox Christian, under penalty of banishment to Siberia and confiscation of his property, may leave the ruling Church for any other Church whatever; II. That in mixed marriages, one party of which belongs to the Orthodox Church, all the children must belong to the same Church (only in the case of foreigners by special permission, an exception is sometimes graciously granted); and III. That a person having outwardly received any sacrament whatever of the Orthodox Church, *eo ipso*, must belong to that Church. The last case occurs not unfrequently, when parents, for lack of an Evangelical minister, allow a child to be baptized by a priest of the Greek Church, or a person dangerously ill under the same circumstances, receives the Sacrament from a Greek priest.

It needs no explanation to show how hard these decrees are for us Evangelicals. With regard to the first point, however painful it may be to see an extension of Evangelical faith thus hindered, still this might be borne with. But both the other two—independently of the fact that they deprive the Evangelical Church of her members in some cases—sink deep into the inmost heart and life of faith, and may bring unspeakable misery upon the soul.

At no period were these principles more resolutely acted upon than under the Emperor Nicholas, when it was attempted to carry them fully into practice. That deeply painful event is well-known when twenty years ago about 60,000 Livonians and Esthonians in Livonia—that is nearly the twenty-fifth part of the population of the country—were brought into the ruling Church, not by instruction and conversion, but through deceit and cunning. It is true that the heart-felt sorrow which at that time pierced the Evangelical Church in Russia has brought a blessing to it. It has awakened the slumbering, aroused the lukewarm, and brought many for the first time to the consciousness of what treasures of salvation we possess in the Evangelical Church. An earnest spirit of inquiry into the subjects of faith penetrated Evangelical Christians. The number of theological students at Dorpat has since then considerably increased. Notwithstanding this, the numerical loss of our Church is so considerable that if we look at the power of the law with respect to mixed marriages only, the future existence of the Evangelical Confession in Livonia appears to be seriously threatened. In late years the

nobility of the Baltic provinces have repeatedly entreated for the abrogation of this law, for these provinces at least, and in consequence, in some cases, dispensation from it has been obtained on special application. There is also a reaction on the part of the unhappy converts, who after having seen their error, desire to return with their children to the faith of their fathers. In consequence of this, the ministers have been informed by the Governor-General of the Baltic provinces, that the priests of the Greek Church are instructed not to require at the marriage of persons of different Confessions the customary promise, that the children of the marriage are to be brought up in the Greek Church. The connivance which is permitted by this regulation, cannot, however, by any means satisfy the just wishes of the Evangelicals. It is, therefore, easy to be conceived that this dissatisfaction calls for a more thorough settlement of the evil. But it thinks too lightly of the difficulties on the other side of the question. Requiring the Government suddenly to disavow principles which have lasted through nearly a century, is not the greatest of them. More difficult to deal with still, is the ecclesiastico-political sentiment deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people, and which would be opposed to such a change. One thing is certain, that this regulation of connivance shows a favourable feeling on the part of the Government. And in this respect we may well trust it. The pure will and the strong arm which have brought about the glorious work of emancipation will also know how to overcome the difficulties which yet stand in the way of the removal of the heavy oppression of conscience; and that all the more as the reforms which are now being introduced into the Russian Empire must necessarily bring about an approximation to the views on ecclesiastical and political subjects which are current in Western Europe. Then we hope that by the Lord's help, the Evangelical Church of Russia will show itself more and more a flourishing branch of the General Evangelical Church, and without any secondary views, will cherish in itself the spirit of pure faith and genuine love to the salvation of its members.

SWEDEN.

A SHORT SKETCH.

BY PASTOR RUDIN, OF STOCKHOLM.

It will scarcely be disputed by any one who is intimately acquainted with Sweden, that the country may now, through the grace of God, be numbered among the most favoured in Christendom. Not only has it the almost undivided enjoyment of the blessings of Protestantism, (the Romish and Greek Churches having found a footing in Stockholm only, and there almost exclusively among foreigners) which from one end of the country to the other is the dominant religion, but it possesses now also political and religious freedom, not merely on paper, but in reality, in the fullest measure, so that the Christian life may develop itself unchecked in all directions. Almost all the Swedes belong to the Lutheran State Church, but Dissenters have the royal permission to form churches (which they have not, however, as yet done*), though they are not eligible for all civil offices. Ready as we are to respect the rights and liberties of all Christian denominations, we do felicitate ourselves on the fact that we have not in Sweden religious divisions at all to the same extent as in many other countries; for many-coloured party sections in a church called one holy Church, cannot but be regarded as an evil. There are indeed in Sweden many points of diversity in religious opinion, which are not without contests, but they are not generally embodied in separate communities, a step by which a permanent wall of division is raised. Now although this external oneness comes far short of the true and full unity of the spirit, it would be very unjust to characterize it as a dead uniformity.

Sweden is also in another respect a favoured land, in that it has been visited especially in the last twenty years with mighty revivals. These have stirred all classes in all parts of the country, from Lapland to Sköne, but especially the body of the people from which a wide-spread lay preaching has gone forth, which is justified and explained by the extent of the spiritual necessities of the land, the dearth of

* The Baptists are an exception to this remark. They have organized churches in many parts of Sweden. The Rev. A. Wiberg, formerly a pastor in the Lutheran State Church, is now pastor of the Baptist Church in Stockholm, which has recently built a large handsome place of worship in that city.—EDITOR.

faithful preachers, and not less by peculiar local conditions, the wide distance between places of importance, the long-enjoyed freedom of the people, and so on. Hundreds of small missionary societies sustain this sort of home-mission work, but these are almost all held together by and in connection with the great Society for the home mission, which embraces the whole country, the Evangelical Fatherland Institution at Stockholm, which, besides its many colporteurs, carries on a very large distribution of the Scriptures.

This Home Mission, however, is in connection with the Church, and adheres to its Confession, seeking only to infuse new life into it. But there is also much life among the official agents of the Church, many true, loving preachers, especially among the younger men; and among the bishops also are men who manifest much sympathy with the needs of the Church. In the Universities there are several professors, whose aim is to impart not theological knowledge alone, but the true knowledge of the Lord Jesus. Religious and theological life in Sweden, has received many impulses from Germany, England, and Scotland, as well as from Denmark and Switzerland. The names and writings not only of the Reformers and earlier Divines as Bengel, Roos, Baxter, Pontoffidan, but also of Hengstenberg, Thomasius, Delitzsch, Harms, Beek, Lobstein, Hamilton, Ryle, Bonar, Richegaard, and others, are familiar there; and yet the spiritual life in Sweden has a very marked individuality of form, and a tender emotional northern colouring. After long deliberation, something has been done of late also for the Foreign Mission, not only indirectly through the union of the old Swedish Missionary Society with the Leipsic Mission in India, but also by an independent Swedish Mission promoted by the same Evangelical Fatherland Institution before mentioned, whose first five missionaries are now labouring among the hitherto almost unknown Kanama people, in the north of Abyssinia.

All this is God's gracious gift to us. If, however, we are asked what are the *fruits* of all these blessings in our life as a nation, we must freely confess, God has many things against us; a life of levity and immorality in the towns, drunkenness among the populace, a fearful profanity which must be almost without its equal in the world; these are spots and cankers which eat deep into the life of a people. Infidelity, too, casting itself off from every higher good, is not a stranger in Sweden. Means are found to introduce by translations all works of this tendency (such as Renan's) published in other countries, and infidelity has here also its indigenous and new productions (so far as any such are possible Eccles. i. 9) in which the Journal-literature of the day takes more and more unblushingly the lead. There is also much merely nominal Christianity, and cold ecclesiasticism at enmity with the truth, much worldliness and boundless luxury, as well as superstition and witchcraft, here and there among

the common people. And when we yet further confess that even in religious movements there is much lack of depth, of moderation, and of clearness, of lofty and steadfast character, of spiritual comprehension of divine truth, much of the useless activity of Martha, without the calm teachableness of Mary, and at the same time, much boastfulness and self-complacency, it may well be asked, how will all this endure the day of temptation, or if the Bridegroom delay his coming, will not slothfulness sink again into spiritual sleep? Ah! we know ourselves so little, but we must not be unmindful of the judgment of the Lord. Only this we know, "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal—The Lord knoweth them that are His." All else, the straw, hay and stubble, will be consumed in the fire of judgment which shall soon spread throughout the whole of old corrupt Christendom, when the great day of the Lord comes. May we then not be found wanting when weighed in the Lord's balances.

DENMARK.

REPORT CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE CHURCH
AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

BY REV. C. H. A. KALKAR, D.D., FROM COPENHAGEN.

I.

SINCE the days of the Reformation till within a very short time, the Evangelical Lutheran Church was the only dominant one in Denmark. The Reformed, the Catholics, and Jews were, it is true, tolerated, but without sharing in the civil rights of the other inhabitants.

But in 1849 a great change occurred. Instead of the State Church with its most stringent laws, perfect liberty was proclaimed; but the consequences of this change have been productive of much good, and of much evil. The Church was now called the National Church, was strengthened by many new elements, and many restrictions of a most oppressive nature were all at once done away with.

Already, at an earlier period, a general tendency towards a return to the Faith had been perceptible, but it is chiefly due to such men as *Mynster*, *Grundtvig*, and *Martensen*, that a fresh impetus was given to the greater development of life in the Church. *Mynster* finished his course upon earth as Bishop of Zeeland; *Grundtvig* was a poet of great parts, and an eminent historian; and *Martensen* was a professor, who by his life-inspiring lectures on dogmatics and ethics, instilled into the minds of students more correct notions concerning the truth of the Gospel. However different the spiritual views of these men were, still they formed disciples, who, in unity of spirit, proclaimed the Word of Truth to the people. A great number of gifted preachers, actuated by true faith, are now busily employed in preaching Christianity in all its purity, simplicity and truth, through the length and breadth of the country. But if, on the one hand, we have great cause of gratitude to God for what these men, as well as others (as *Pauli*, *Blaedel*, *Frimodt*, the *two Fengers*, *Fog*, *Birkedal*, and the *two Rordams*) have done; if we allow fresh life has been introduced into the Church, we cannot, on the other hand, overlook that others have abused this religious liberty, in giving free scope to a spirit of licentiousness, the consequence of which is that a great number of sects have arisen, and although each sect may as yet

number but few adherents, they are more conspicuous for the clamour they raise, than for the beneficial results of their labours.

In reality, the Danish people are not susceptible of lively religious emotions. It is true, the majority of the people evince great attachment to the National, that is, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, but this attachment has for the greater part its origin in mere formal and hereditary custom. Nevertheless, every impartial observer will gladly acknowledge that in many parts of the country the number of those whose ears and hearts seem inclined to listen to the proclamation of the Gospel, is far greater than it has been before.

The Danish Church possesses a peculiar treasure of great value in an excellent collection of psalms and hymns, expressing great and glowing faith. They greatly tend to the edification of believers when they meet together, especially after the somewhat slow and monotonous melodies have been changed for livelier and more animating tunes.

A contest that has now been occupying the Danish Church during many years, and that has been the cause of great commotion, is the contest between the so-called "*Church theologians*" and "*Scripture theologians*," as they are styled by their opponents. This movement deserves in a high degree the attention of believing Christians, but great impartiality is required to form a right judgment on this matter, as we shall be very liable to err, if we listen to the unjust and even foolish accusations which one party brings against the other.

Some forty years ago, when the contest against Rationalism ran high, the above-mentioned Bishop *Grundtvig* found that it was of little use to combat his opponents by citations from the Holy Scriptures, because they explained the Word of God in their own way. He was of opinion that Christianity could not stand or fall with those books whose contents were always a source of dispute, and which were so differently understood. He therefore adopted, as a foundation of the truth, the Apostolic Symbol, or the Articles of Faith, thinking to find in them sufficient grounds for that which from the earliest times had been considered the substance of the Christian Faith.

At the ministration of public baptism the child is asked, "Dost thou believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" whereupon the words of the Apostolic Symbol are pronounced. These words, according to *Grundtvig's* opinion, were delivered by the Lord himself to his disciples. On the other hand, it was maintained that this assertion could not be proved, but that, on the contrary, historical facts went to show that it was only later, in the course of time, the *Symbolum Apostolicum* adopted the form now known to us.

This argument, which, however, could not be contradicted from historical evidence, was always refuted with the invariable assertion that the thing *could not* be otherwise, if any certainty at all existed for the reality of Christianity, which is older than the New Testament.

This contention, leading to many useless articles in the daily papers, has also given rise to many productions of sterling worth, like those of *Zeuthen*, *Martensen*, *Kirkegaard*, *Birkedal*, in Denmark, and of *Casparis* and *Ingers* in Norway. Christian theology has been much enriched by the writings of these men.

Although the rise of *Grundtvigism* has a peculiar signification for the Danish Church, still there is something else that existed before it and which has often shown itself in different forms in the history of the Christian Church, which may be considered as its foundation; namely, the question whether Christianity is a doctrine pre-eminently dependent on the Canonical writings of the Holy Scriptures, or a life which does not require the Scriptures as a medium, but has its foundation in the consciousness of the Christian community.

The learned *Rudelbach*, who died a few years ago, and who in his early years had stood side to side with *Grundtvig* in his struggle against unbelief, separated himself from his former friend, on his return from Germany, where he had received a call to Denmark, and he then opposed the doctrine of *Grundtvig* as being very dangerous to the Church; in his defence, however, of the principle of the Scriptures, he was led to theories still more arbitrary than those of his opponent.

In the midst of this contest it has been too often overlooked, and this the *Scripture theologians* in Denmark in no wise deny, that Christianity must be life, and is positively life, as the *Grundtvigians* maintain, but it must also be a doctrine of truth concerning divine things: these, however, lay greater stress on the former, those on the latter. It is clear that both parties will miss their aim if they leave the ground where both ought to meet, namely, that the crucified and risen Lord not only has lived and established a new kingdom in his community or church, but that He hath sent His Spirit, that is God's Spirit, who in reality is the source and preserver of all Christian Faith. From this point of view the Holy Scriptures are a Record given to the Church of the divine facts, whereon she has been founded; and the Confession of Faith is then the oldest and most incontestible testimony of the Church concerning those things which from the earliest times have been considered the chief articles of the Christian Faith.

As soon, however, as this ground, where all the different parties could meet, is abandoned, the doctrine of *Grundtvig* runs the risk of losing itself in a labyrinth of errors, by most arbitrarily maintaining that certain parts of the Scriptures have been delivered by the Lord himself, and thus handed down by the Church from the earliest time to the present day; on the other hand, the *Scripture Theologians*, run the danger of becoming too dependent on the various systems of theology, so continually changing, and on the uncertainty of exegetical explanations.

Alas, the Church of Denmark shows but too many an instance of exaggeration on both sides.

The conviction that the faith of the Church is sustained, strengthened, and continued by the Holy Ghost, and by the institutions of Christ must seek its basis in something higher, namely, in the direct communication of Divine life by Christ. This would put a stop to a dispute which merely serves to estrange, instead of uniting the hearts of Christian believers.

For the present there is little prospect that this difference, which has lasted so many years, will find a speedy termination. On the contrary, the chasm seems to have been becoming wider, as the opinions prevailing in the Church—such as concerning the relation existing between pastor and flock—divide her, as it were, into two great armies. Some few theologians take up a position between the two parties, endeavouring to adopt what is good in the one, and to avoid what is bad or evil in the other. Again, others endeavouring to please both parties, reap the reward generally met with in such cases.

It is not to be denied that the party which goes by the name of the *Grundtvigian* party, has largely contributed to that spirit of liberty which now predominates in doctrinal matters, and has thereby been productive certainly of very much good. Although it often happens that a Church in her endeavours to obtain more liberty transgresses those limits which a settled community regards as the utmost to which she may go, and even succeeds in doing away with many oppressive restraints, so that she well-nigh ceases to be a National Church, but rather resembles an independent society—a state of things the writer of this article no wise coincides with,—on the other hand it must not be forgotten that this more liberal tendency in the life of the Church has produced great and excellent results which could by no means be expected from a Church whose inward unity is only kept up by outward regulations.

As, however, the servants of the Church in Denmark are also at the same time servants of the State, their appointment merely depends from Government, and it occurs that a preacher is dismissed only and alone from political motives. This was the case with a very zealous and talented preacher named *Birkedal*, who was dismissed the service of the Church for having used certain expressions in the Assembly of Deputies, of which he was a member. The members of his Church, both male and female, remained faithful to him, even after he had received his dismissal, and resolved to keep him as their pastor. They built a small church or chapel, to which they gave the name of *Nazareth Chapel*. This community desires to be acknowledged as belonging to the National Church, as it has retained the same faith and the same rites. The party of *Grundtvig* has petitioned

the Assembly of Deputies concerning this matter, maintaining very strenuously the right of people to build their own church when twenty families have agreed to call a preacher of their own, without thereby however forfeiting the right of belonging to the National Church.

This matter has excited fresh commotion among the different parties; whether it is probable that the deputies will adopt a law with such a tendency was not clear when this report was being written, but that such a movement, favoured by the Representatives of the people, must lead to a complete dissolution of the National Church is a matter beyond doubt, for if Individualism and Unbelief place themselves on one line with Faith and Authority the consequences must be unavoidable; for it is the highest degree of inconsistency to allow a free community within the pale of the existing National Church.

The thing mostly to be deplored in this matter, is that the National Assembly, without confessing to any creed, should make laws and regulations which enter so deeply into the life of the Church, without the clergy or the community being allowed to exercise any influence in the matter.

This is, on the whole, the weak side of the National Church. She has no government of her own, which deficiency is peculiarly felt after perfect liberty of religion was introduced. All efforts of the Church to obtain the government of her own affairs, by the appointment of a synod, has been opposed by all parties, with the exception of a few, to whom the writer of this report belongs.

The consequence of this is that the National Church, although she has retained Episcopal dignity, is dependent on the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, who is a civil officer of a merely political character.

The very frequent ministerial changes, that have lately occurred, have not been productive of joy to the Church; as little does she derive any advantage from the administration of ecclesiastical affairs being lodged in the hands of the National Assembly, whose members need not belong to any community whatever, and among whom are some who are not even Christians at all.

Lately, however, the National Assembly, whereof the greater part of the members are believing Lutheran Christians, has entirely met the wishes of the preachers of the National Church, by not tolerating a Free Church within the one already established.

II.

After having thus spoken of the interior state of the Church, we are gratified to be able to report very happy results attending her labours, and especially her great activity in reference to Missions, both at home and abroad, for which increased interest has been

shown. We cannot, unhappily, say that the whole nation participates in this movement, but fresh life is thereby imparted to the minds of the people.

Inner mission among us is confined to religious meetings, and to colportage. A young preacher, the *Rev. Beck*, from the North of Zealand, is the real pioneer in this work. By his lively eloquence he has awakened many from their spiritual torpor.

At *Copenhagen* he met with powerful co-operation. The *Rev. Frimodt*, pastor of a lately established community, in an edifice just erected in one of the suburbs, draws by his very attractive address a vast concourse of people, so that the roomy church is often not large enough to contain the multitude. Every evening of the week, meetings and Bible lectures are also held, supplying the long felt want of meeting in the name and spirit of the Lord, in all simplicity, as the primitive Christians did, free from all doctrinal and ecclesiastical restraint.

At first the mission had many friends who were followers of *Grundtvig*, later however they withdrew, and there are indeed some among those who now oppose it. Nevertheless very great interest in the cause of the mission has during the last years been shown by the people, which circumstance must be attributed to the increasing interest in religious life. In different places, on the *Islands*, and in *Jutland*, meetings are held of believing Christians. In these meetings interesting reports and biographies are read by the clergy and other members of the Church.

Additional interest has been awakened by the fact that Denmark has opened a new missionary field in East India, and by a new missionary school being established. Moreover, it is well known that Denmark was one of the first countries that showed great interest in the missionary work, and, the names of *Hans Egede*, *Ziegenbalg*, and *Schwarz*, are not unknown in the missionary cause.

The Mission in Greenland rapidly degenerated by the form it adopted, strictly that of the State Church, and by preachers being sent out to the Island, who received no call at home. Nor did the Committee of the Missionary Society sufficiently take into consideration the peculiarities of this nomadic people; in short, all they who evince interest in the Mission have to confess that the manifold disappointments met with, have been chiefly brought about by themselves.

Government appoints ministers in North Greenland, at *Upernivik*, *Jacobshaven*, and *Egedesminde*, and in South Greenland at *Holstenburg*, *Goedhoop*, *Frederikshoop*, and *Julianehoop*. The Missionary Society of Denmark maintains a lively correspondence, and stands in intimate relation with the missionary teachers of Greenland. Her aim is to form native teachers, as the acquiring of the language offers well-nigh insurmountable difficulties to Europeans. Moreover, a

proper accent in preaching the Word of God to the heathens of Greenland appears to be of far greater importance than it would seem at first sight. The *Moravian* Brethren, or *Hernhutters*, have five stations in South Greenland.

Formerly Denmark had at Tranquebar, in East India, a missionary station, which gave no more honour than we desired. In 1845, this station passed into the hands of the Leipzig Missionary Society. A very short time ago a new missionary field was opened to us at *Put-tambankam*, near *Oudapore*, in East India; two missionaries were sent out to this place in 1865 and 1866. On the 3rd February, 1865, it was a thousand years since the Apostle of the North, *Ansgarius* died, and his memory was gratefully celebrated throughout the country. In the present year the feast of the Epiphany fell on a Sunday, and, in consequence, the mission feast of the oldest Church was celebrated with much solemnity: this, in no little measure, increasing the interest in the extension of Christianity. The author of this report has the honour to be president of that Missionary Union. The *Danish Bible Society* was established in 1814, and thus, in 1864, celebrated its jubilee of 50 years. Throughout the whole country branch societies have been formed, which, however, are often perfectly independent of the mother society.

In the beginning the Bible Society enjoyed the support of the English Bible Society; but when the Lutheran Church refused to print Bibles without the Apocrypha, the English Bible Society withdrew its assistance. This society that has an agency at Copenhagen, has addressed a petition to the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, in which it requests the liberty to sell Bibles without the Apocrypha; the result of this petition is not yet known.

During the 58 years that the Danish Bible Society has been active, it has distributed 292,340 Bibles and religious works; in 1867 not less than 3,689 Bibles and 28,401 New Testaments: this number is so great in consequence of its strenuous efforts to supply the troops in the Field with the Word of God. The precious Word of the Gospel was sought and valued as the best source of strength and consolation in the time of war and need; and many a ball fired by the enemy has penetrated, not only the hearts of our faithful defenders, but has gone through the precious book they carried about with them, and often next to their hearts.

Very soon after the Reformation, some of the books of the Old Testament were translated into the Danish language; and in 1550 the first translation of the whole Bible appeared: an excellent work, and generally known as the translation of Christian III. In the year 1607, another, but very literal, translation of the Bible, from the Hebrew and Greek, by Bishop *Paulsen Resen*, appeared; but the style is very stiff, and in some parts, quite incomprehensible. Pro-

fessor *Hans Swane* made many alterations in this work, without, however, making any decided improvements. After this edition had been completed in 1647, it was adopted as the authorized version for the whole country. In 1819, a revised edition appeared. The Old Testament retained its former defective form, so little attractive to the unlearned. Such loud complaints have, however, arisen, that the reporter, *C. Rothe*, and *Dr. C. W. Kalkar*, were commissioned to make the necessary alterations and improvements.

As many endeavours proved inefficacious to procure a good translation of the Old Testament, many private individuals have attempted the same work, and these translations have met with great success. The deceased preacher *Lindberg*, undertook the task too, and his work has gone through a second edition. It bears testimony to much learning, and considerable acquaintance with the ancient languages, without its being therefore quite faultless. In the year 1847, your Reporter in co-operation with other theological friends, published a Bible with explanatory notes, of which 5,000 copies were sold within a short time. This clearly proves the great desire there exists for becoming better acquainted with the Old Testament, which formerly was laid aside, and only known from extracts.

It is especially at these Bible readings, which the ministers hold in their churches during the long winter nights, that the want of a better translation is more particularly felt.

Besides the Danish, there exists an Icelandic translation by the Bishop of *Holum*, *Gulbraid Thorlaksen* (*Thorlacius*), published by himself in 1584, this Bishop also having a printing-office of his own.

In 1815, *Dr. Henderson* travelled on account of the English Bible Society, through Iceland, and spent there three summers. He founded a Bible Society in the island; and later this society provided a revised translation of the Old and New Testament. In the same measure that the inhabitants of Iceland are attached to a Bible in their mother-tongue, as little do the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands, not very far distant from Iceland, like to have a translation of the Bible in their own idiom, as they are of opinion the Bible is disparaged by its being read in the usual language of daily life. The inhabitants of these islands also speak the Danish language.

The language of Greenland, which is spoken only on the shores of Baffin's Bay, and which bears no similarity whatever to any other language, possesses already a New Testament since the time of *Egedes* (1766), which, however praiseworthy it may be, is still very far from perfect. Some books of the Old Testament have been translated by the Rev. *Kragh* into the language of Greenland, but the Missionaries *Jorgensen* and *Kleinsmidt* have been occupied during some years at another translation of the *whole* Bible, which it is generally anticipated will be a work of considerable merit.

In the West Indian Islands the negroes spoke the Creole language, and in 1781 great zeal was evinced in procuring a translation of the New Testament into that language; a second edition was even called for. But since that time a great change has taken place, as the negroes now speak for the greater part English. The Creole language has nearly disappeared, and the old translation is now nearly useless. Much also has been done to awaken among the people a desire for reading religious works. The Rev. *Vahl*, at *Aarhuis*, *Rector Rothe*, and the compiler of this report, has endeavoured to follow the example of England and America, especially among the lower classes. In Norway, too, Tract societies have been established. Tracts and other religious writings have been read with great avidity by the soldiers in our last war, and by the sick and wounded in the hospitals. A great number of other societies have been formed, all of them with the view of assisting, though in different ways, the suffering and neglected part of society, such as Infant Schools, Infirmaries, Deaconess establishments; there is also a society for visiting prisoners. Her Majesty *Queen Caroline Amelia* is a zealous patroness of the infant schools, which are entirely supported by voluntary gifts. The societies for the relief of the sick, in imitation of the one of *Amelia Sieveking*, at Hamburg, administers spiritual as well as temporal help. The societies for visiting prisoners do not confine their labours within the prison walls alone, but extend them to those who are released from prison, by assisting them to gain an honest livelihood, which is only possible by those prisoners not being entirely left to themselves, but by keeping a certain control over them.

The Asylum *Holsteenminde* on Zeeland, founded many years ago by *Count Holsteen*, of *Holsteenburg*, is designed for destitute and neglected orphans.

Flakkeberg is another asylum for the same object, and also productive of the most beneficial results. Both establishments are supported on the voluntary principle. For idiot children, and for those suffering from epilepsy there exists an asylum called the *Old Heuvelhuis*. The reports concerning the treatment of the sufferers are, from a physiological point of view, exceedingly interesting. In the year 1843, a society for the assistance of young girls who had only just become members of the Church, was formed. The object of this society was to give advice and support to young servant girls who were about to leave their paternal homes, and enter upon the world. Where it was found expedient and necessary, they were supplied with funds, by way of loan, in order to provide themselves with the necessary clothing. The establishment of deaconesses is founded more or less after the model of the one at *Kaizerswerth*, but with a somewhat more extensive object. This establishment receives and tends those who are sick and cannot afford to pay for attendance at the hospitals.

Sisters of charity are also sent out to visit the sick, whenever this is desired. This work of charity is only done by believing Christian sisters, whose aim it is to afford Christian consolation and relief at the same time.

In Denmark it is especially the well-to-do middle class, conspicuous for their moral strength and activity, that exercise great liberality.

Private individuals possessing more extensive means, have had blocks of houses built in healthy positions; these are divided into separate dwellings, let at a very moderate rate, and afford to hundreds of the poor commodious abodes. To each abode a garden is attached. In the year 1850, an Hospital for sick children was established, which has likewise proved to be a very great blessing. The poor, though for the greater part taught by hard necessity to eke out their little, often feel a great want of medical treatment for their suffering children, but the rich also too often require advice and direction how to treat their sick children. It is impossible to mention here all the charitable institutions existing in Denmark, all based on Christian love, and in the knowledge of God, who, through His son Jesus Christ, "worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure."

According to the fundamental law of 1849, the Lutheran Church is the Danish National Church, and is supported by Government. The *Government of the Church* is to be regulated by a law, but it has already been mentioned that the various parties have hitherto opposed the framing of such a constitution.

The communities are divided into districts, each having its own church and pastor. According to a law of the 4th April, 1855, the inhabitants of one district are free to join a church situated in another district or parish, according to their option. They who succeeded in obtaining this liberty, are now endeavouring to get a law introduced, whereby it will be permitted for one minister to preach in the district of another; it is also desired that members of the Lutheran Church shall have the liberty of choosing other ministers to do service in their district, *beside* those appointed by the Government. In order to acquire this liberty—which cannot but be disadvantageous to the life in the Church—the Grundtvigians have joined a minority that is inimical to the National Church.

The Clergy—in comparison with other countries—are well remunerated. Subsidies are also granted them by the members of the Church in case their salaries do not suffice. These subsidies are called "offerings." Tithes are still taken by the Clergy; a parsonage is provided rent free, and free disposal too of the grounds round about the dwelling.

The rectors are charged with superintending the ordinary ministers, and with transacting such business as would too much

impair the spiritual duties of the ministers. We therefore rejoice the more that the dignity of Bishop has been retained; the Bishops visit the different communities, and keep a vigilant eye on the schools and public instruction; they also propose to, and afterwards ordain, the preachers appointed by the king. Denmark has at present only a population of 1,600,000 souls, whereof the greater part belong to the Lutheran Church. The *Reformed*, the *Methodist*, the *Roman Catholics*, and the *Jews*, are acknowledged by Government. On the other hand the *Baptists* (not to be confounded with the Menonites), constitute a number of persons, who from motives of mere discontent* have left the other Churches, and are not acknowledged as a free Church; they are, however, allowed to worship at liberty. Taken all in all, there are scarcely *ten thousand* souls who do not belong to the Lutheran church. The Roman Catholics do not make any proselytes among the Danes. The members of this Church generally come from Germany. For a Dane to become a Roman Catholic is the same as if he ceased to be a Dane, and were to acknowledge another sovereign.

Missionaries from the Mormons in America have enticed many a Dane to leave his native country, and to go to the State of *Utah*, for they who become Mormons find the public opinion is so strong against them, that they feel themselves obliged to leave their country, and to become subjects of other States.

Public instruction is carefully watched over by Government, for nobody is allowed to neglect sending his children to one of the public schools. Although instruction is compulsory, still great leniency is observed in this matter.

In consequence of the great degree of liberty now enjoyed, an increasing want for higher instruction is being daily felt. In many places, therefore, gymnasiums have been established through the munificence of private individuals. Thus the sons of farmers enjoy the privilege of becoming acquainted with the higher branches of education, not to be had in the usual schools for the people. Young candidates of theology stand at the head of these schools, and for the greater part incline towards *Grundtvigism*. The schoolmasters for schools in rural districts are formed in seminaries, and are better paid than in many other countries. These institutions stand under the supervision of the State; there is, however, another seminary perfectly free. There are from three to four thousand schoolmasters, who for the greater part are religious men, which formerly was not the case. At the University of *Copenhagen*—at present the only one in Denmark—students study theology. This faculty has five professors, among whom the students are distributed. The present pro-

* Might not the excellent Reporter have left some room for the action of conscience in the case of these Baptists?—EDITOR.

fessors are *Clausen*, *Scharling*, *Hermansen*, *Borneman*, and *Hammerich*; they are at the same time examiners.

In connection with this faculty there exists a seminary for preachers, but a separate building in which the students reside must not be understood thereby. It is a building where lectures are held on theology, homiletics, catechetics, and canonical rights. These lectures are held by clergymen especially appointed thereto by the Government, and they are assisted by members of the Bar. Complaints have often been made about the long time required for study and the increasing demands made of young students, and especially that the professors themselves are at the same time examiners. To meet these just complaints, Government has appointed a committee to examine candidates. The author of this report had the honour to be one of those examiners. This commission formed an entirely new plan for study and examination, but the war which broke out, and the very frequent ministerial changes have prevented the plan from being carried out till now. Many most useful ameliorations have been retarded in their progress by these changes of ministry.

Theological literature has not flourished during the last years; edifying and polemical works constitute the greater part. Bishop *Martensen* is the author of a very clear, original, and excellent defence against *Grundtvigism*, in which he demonstrates the hollowness of *Grundtvig's* theories. Little is heard from the faculty in regard to literary productions. The oldest professor, has, however, in addition to some exegetical works, published a highly important work in which he most ably sketches the present and future condition of the Church. The youngest professor, *Hammerich*, has given sketches of the most eminent ecclesiastical persons, as *Brigitte*, *Suessen*, *Master Mathias*. These sketches are founded on the study of historical resources. Another work of great merit is "The Clergy in the Early Centuries," written by a young clergyman called *Holm*. This work displays deep research, and spreads much light on the relation between Church and State during the first centuries. The "Dutch Theology of the New School," is an important book by *H. Scharling*, and gives an account of the movements which have so seriously disturbed the Church of Holland. *Dr. Helweg*, a minister at *Odense*, has written a work that deserves to be mentioned. "The History of the Church of Denmark since the Reformation." It was published in 1851. At present he has published "History of the Church in Denmark till the Reformation;" this, however, is written in a spirit of *Grundtvigism*.

There are also many important writers on Church history. Some of these have united to publish an anthology of Danish Church history, abounding in most interesting particulars. *Dr. Rordaan* has written a book, "The Church and Cloisters of Copenhagen in 869."

Dr. Kalkar has written the "History of the Evangelical and Roman Catholic Missions."

The theological writings of foreign countries are brought to our knowledge through the medium of a publication which has been edited during many years by Professor *Clausen*. Formerly it contained many translations from the German, but later, more in particular from the French. Among the theological publications may be mentioned the *Missionary Journal for Foreign and Home Missions*, and the weekly paper of the *Danish National Church*. The licentiate, *H. Scharling*, directs this publication, which, moreover, is a violent opponent of the Danish Church paper. A son of the above-mentioned translator of the Bible, *Luidberg*, is editor of that paper, which advocates the tendency of *Grundtvig*, and in consequence is often at variance with the weekly paper. In Jutland a religious newspaper appears, published by *Dr. Vahl*, containing for the greater part accounts from England, and the labours of English missionaries. *Dr. Vahl* is a great admirer of England and English institutions, and is a great champion for the intercommunion of the Church of the entire north with the Anglican Church. The condition made by the English Church is, that the Apostolic succession which she considers as interrupted in the Danish Church, should be restored in the Danish Church by an English bishop ordaining a Danish bishop. For the present it does not seem to have found favour among the Danish Clergy, although they do not deny the Anglican Church has much that is good.

The different religious sects have also their journals and papers, although the number sold is exceedingly limited. The people are attached to the National Church of the Lutheran Confession. Moreover, it is a matter of course, that in a country so little extensive as Denmark, limited like Holland, to a language only spoken within its own limits, has not a very considerable number of readers, but taking this into consideration, it may be safely said, and without exaggeration, that literature and the book trade are in a most flourishing condition. In later times, more attention has been paid to keeping the buildings of the Church in proper condition, and to adorn them with the products of art, without however transgressing against an Evangelical Protestant taste.

When, in conclusion, we look back on the religious condition of Denmark, we must indeed confess that there is yet many an imperfection to deplore, and much that is good still to be desired. There is much sloth and routine, and a want of warmth and animation. But there is progress too, and we should have to be taxed with feigned humility and unmindfulness of God's grace, if we did not testify with joyful gratitude that new life has entered into the Church of God, chiefly owing to the great liberty we at present enjoy. The Pro-

testant Church of the North may look to the future with bright anticipations, if she remains faithful to her calling, and if false brethren do not mar the work she has begun.

[NOTE.—This time the Reporter passes over Schleswyk in perfect silence in order most probably not to open old wounds. God grant that when we again have occasion to speak concerning that part of Denmark we may be able to say ample compensation has been done for past injustice.]

ITALY.

NOTES ON THE CONDITION OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY THE REV. J. P. MEILLE, TURIN.

WHAT was the condition of Protestantism in Italy, before 1848, in the Provinces constituting the ancient Kingdom of Sardinia; before 1859 and 1860, in Lombardy, Tuscany, Emilia, Romagna, and the Kingdom of the two Sicilies; and before 1866, of Venetia? What has it become in each of these Provinces since those dates? What are the motives for apprehension, and the grounds of hope to be deduced from their present circumstances? These are the three questions to which I address myself.

I.

I will state in as few words as possible what was the condition of Protestantism in certain parts of Italy before 1848, in other parts before 1859 and 1860, and in others before 1866.

In the former *Kingdom of Sardinia*, the ancient Vaudois Church, reduced by persecutions to a population of about 20,000 souls, was divided into fifteen parishes, and united by a common synod and a common administration.

Abreast of, but not connected with this Church, there were five small congregations; one at *Turin*, consisting of some hundreds of persons of different nations, meeting sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, but always and compulsorily in the hotel of an ambassador; two at *Genoa*, one English, the other Swiss, celebrating their worship in the same place, and as privately as possible; two at *Nice*, one English, the older of the two and tolerably numerous in the winter—the other French, much more restricted, and subjected from its very commencement to incredible annoyances.

In the *Lombardo Venetian Kingdom*, were four congregations; of which two were at *Venice*, one English, and very recent, the other German, since 1858, and served since that time by a succession of twenty pastors, all from Germany; a third French-German at *Bergamo*, the existence of which dates from 1806, and the fourth also French-German, at *Milan*, existing in a regular manner, but privately, since 1852.

Nothing in the *Duchies*, nothing in *Romagna* and *Umbria*, subject to the Sovereign Pontiff. At Rome were two congregations; one English, since 1816, and meeting, if I am not mistaken, outside the *Porta del Popolo*, the other Prussian, founded in 1819 by the celebrated Bunsen, ambassador of Prussia to Rome, and meeting in the capitol.

In *Naples*, the only place in the *Kingdom of the two Sicilies* where Protestant worship was celebrated, there were two congregations; one English, meeting under the shadow of the British Legation, and the other French-German, meeting under that of the Prussian.

In *Tuscany* there were six congregations; one English, and one Swiss-German, in *Florence*, one also English, meeting at *Pisa*, in the winter, and at the *Baths of Lucca*, in the summer, and three others, one English, one Scotch, and one German-Swiss, at *Leghorn*.

Thus, besides the Vaudois Church, systematically and hermetically shut up in the mountains, there were nineteen congregations composed of foreigners; eight English, one Scotch, and ten of different nations; and to this condition Protestantism in Italy was reduced before 1848.

Of these nineteen congregations, only six had places of worship, the rest met as they were able and privately in halls, for the most part in the hotels of ambassadors, that is in fact on foreign ground; the French congregation, for example, at *Nice*, which, although under the protection of Prussia, and although they met in a house situated in a garden enclosed with walls, and thus entirely secluded from public view, were not allowed to assemble without the police being stationed at the gate to prevent the entrance of any person not known to be a Protestant, and on condition that a key of the place, which was also the chamber of the pastor, should be deposited with the police.

As to the language in which they celebrated their worship, it was in every way foreign; the Vaudois Church itself, although composed of natives, formed no exception; and because at *Nice* French had some better chance of being understood by the people, the government, in order to prevent the great danger which might result from this circumstance to the integrity and safety of the Catholic Faith, could think of nothing better than to oblige the congregation to renounce their own language and conduct their service in German.

The vexations of every kind, and the innumerable civil and political incapacities to which natives and foreigners, but especially the former, were subjected on account of their religion, are too well known in this noble country, where the sufferings of the Vaudois Church have already awakened a lively sympathy, to need that I should recount them here.

That which is less known, although equally real, was the terror occasioned to the authorities, both civil and political, who were entirely devoted to the clergy, by every kind of Protestant publication,

from the smallest journal to the Holy Scriptures. It would not be credited, if the fact were not palpable, that nothing less than the high protection of the Prussian Ambassador was sufficient to procure the introduction into the ancient kingdom of Sardinia, of two copies of a journal like the "Semeur," which was anything but of a subversive character, and not at all popular.

Similar to what was thus the state of things in Piedmont was the state of things in all the other provinces of the Peninsula. Will it be believed that the only means by which the members of the Vaudois Church could procure the liberty they needed was, that every time they made a purchase, a written engagement was given by the moderator of the Church, containing an absolute promise that a single copy should neither be sold, nor given, nor lent to a Roman Catholic.

How, under such circumstances, could any kind of propaganda be thought of, whatever might be its form or name? How could one give a reason of one's faith to those who asked it, or defend it when it was unjustly attacked, when this was deemed a crime which rendered the offender liable to imprisonment, and when the giving of a religious tract to a person who had earnestly asked for one, exposed the donor, as was actually the case with a respectable citizen of the Canton de Vaud, to pass months and months in prison with the worst of criminals?

Such was the exterior condition of Protestantism in the whole of Italy before 1848, and in most of the provinces composing it before 1860.

II.

Let us see what is its present condition.

Commencing with those congregations which are principally composed of foreigners, and whose worship is conducted in a foreign language, I have to observe that they are considerably increased in number. They were in 1858, as we have seen, 19; now including those at *Nice* (and we include them because in 1860, when this province was annexed to France, the Protestant Churches which it contains now were already there), there are 30; of these 11 are English, 7 Free Church of Scotland, 1 American, and 11 German or French; and five of them (*viz.*) the French-German Church at *Milan*, that at *Leghorn*, and the English, Free Presbyterian, and French-German Churches at *Naples*, have, during the same period, built for themselves large places for public worship.

The Vaudois Churches, Italian by the nationality of their members, but restricted to the use of a foreign language in their public worship, and deriving no other advantages from their nationality than that of

being subjected to annoyances from which foreigners were often free, experienced a thorough change in their condition by the publication of the edict of 17th February, 1848, which conferred on them the same civil and political rights, in fact, perfect equality with their fellow subjects.

The edict, it is true, left certain restrictions as to the place in which the worship and the schools of the Vandois were conducted, reminding us too much of former times, and which, in the hands of adversaries, might easily infringe the liberty of conscience. But the new spirit which breathed over the country, and the liberal interpretation which the great CAVOUR first of all, and those who afterwards followed his political programme, gave to the first article of the statute, soon reduced these restrictions to a dead letter. The Church, left to be her own mistress, was able soon to reorganize herself conformably with her principles; and her faith reorganized, she promptly set herself to work for which she had been evidently, as by a miracle, preserved,—the evangelization of Italy.

Powerfully encouraged and sustained in all the first steps of this work by the illustrious General BECKWITH, a man led by Providence to devote his whole being to it; aided by the effectual sympathy of Christians in all parts of the world, more especially in England, Scotland, and America, who provided,—the second country above all—with a truly Christian liberality, what was necessary in order to undertake and carry on this work; blest, moreover, beyond her expectation, by Him who had made it her duty, she desires to say, not to her own praise, but entirely and alone to the praise of her divine and glorious Head, that her labour has not been in vain. And in what follows will be seen, as far as figures can represent it, the actual state of this work, which was not commenced in the earliest of the Stations before 1861.

Labourers at the present time engaged in the work (exclusive of those in the Church and the Stations of Nice and Marseilles) 64; of whom 19 are ministers of the gospel, 10 lay evangelists, and 35 schoolmasters and mistresses, all engaged in preaching or teaching in the Italian language.

Evangelization Stations, 24, stretching from north to south, from *Courmayeur*, at the foot of Mont Blanc, to *Catania* at the foot of Etna, where one of our best and most valued labourers laid down his life, carried off in a few hours by an attack of cholera, at the age of twenty-eight years; and from west to east, from *Pignerol*, at the entrance of the Vaudois valleys, to *Venice*, and providing for the preaching of the gospel in 37 places: 13 in *Piedmont*, 6 in *Lombardy*, 2 in *Venetia*, 4 in *Liguria*, 1 in the *Duchies*, 1 in *Romagna*, 5 in *Tuscany*, 3 in *Naples*, and 2 in *Sicily*.

In these different Stations there are about 3,000 hearers, 1,384 communicants, 1,227 day scholars, and 754 Sunday scholars.

The Vaudois Church, moreover, reckons the following institutions as more or less directly designed to assist in this work:—(1.) A gymnasium and lyceum, designed to prepare young men for the university, with about 80 students. (2.) A normal school for the training of schoolmasters, with from 20 to 25 students. (3.) A superior school for the education of young women as schoolmistresses for the country, and as governesses for foreigners. These three establishments are at *Latour*, in the interior of the valleys. (4.) A theological school at Florence, from which 2, 3, and sometimes 4 labourers are sent out every year, well prepared for their work. (5.) A printing office—the *Claudianæ*—for spreading through Italy, as largely as possible, evangelical publications.

The chapels built, or places acquired for public worship by the Vaudois Church beyond the valleys in the same period of time, amount (including the chapel at *Nice* erected while this town was yet Italian) to 11.

But the Vaudois Church is not the only labourer in this vast field. The Churches which take the appellation of “Free,” perhaps because they have no ecclesiastical organization, and the Wesleyan Methodists of England work by their side. The work of the former is very imperfectly known to us for want of a common administration and a common centre, from which we might obtain the information that concerns them. We believe, however, that we shall not be far from the truth in supposing that from 2,000 to 2,500 persons attend every Sunday, and indeed oftener, on the preaching of their evangelists, who are all laymen, but amongst whom are some men of undoubted ability; perhaps 1,000 children frequent their day schools, and some hundreds their Sunday schools; and although there are many things in the manner in which these churches pursue their labours which we should deem defective and even to be regretted, we sincerely believe that by their instrumentality many souls have been brought out of darkness into the pure light of the gospel, and many stones gathered together towards building the future house of God in Italy.

On the work of the Wesleyan Church, (thanks to the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Pigott, who has kindly communicated it to us), we are able to lay before you precise information.

At the present time they have 38 labourers in the field. Of these, 12 (among whom are some ex-priests) preach, 21 are schoolmasters and 5 colporteurs. They have 16 Stations: 4 in Lombardy, 1 in Venetia, 1 in Liguria, 1 in Piedmont, 2 in Tuscany, 2 in the Duchies, and 4 in Naples; about 1,000 hearers, 420 communicants, and 630 children in day schools.

To the preceding statements it must be added there are a few other Stations founded by other denominations, particularly the Baptists of

America and of England, and the partizans of the High Church school of the latter.

When still further we mention the 5 or 600,000 copies of the Sacred Scriptures circulated by different societies, but especially by the British and Foreign Bible Society; the 520,000 copies of 232 other works published since 1862, at the Claudian Press, belonging to the Vaudois Church; the 80 or 100,000 copies issued from the same press before that date; all the other Evangelical publications proceeding from other sources, and which in like manner amount to a large number; the 50,000 copies, at least, which are annually sold of the excellent almanac "*l'Amico de Casa*," published by Dr. De Sanctis; the three journals "*l'Eco della Veneta*," "*Il Museo Chistiano*," and "*la Scuiola della Domenica*;" the first being the principal organ of the Vaudois Mission; the second published by the Wesleyans at Padua; the third, as its name indicates, designed for Sunday schools, and for which we are especially indebted to our American brethren;—when we add the charitable Institutions of every kind,—for relief, for savings, hospitals, orphanages, which in more than one instance have followed soon after the formation of Churches; moreover, that the fact, much more important than appears at first, is never lost sight of, that everywhere now, contrary to the practise of former times, an honourable sepulture is secured by law in the common cemeteries, for all Protestants when they die; that all the changes implied in what has now been stated, and which constitute by no means a small transformation, have been accomplished, in some provinces in the course of fifteen years, in others in seven, in six, and even in a single year;—when one thinks of the colossal influence which the clergy have always exercised over the Italian people, and which, religiously speaking, is by no means so diminished as at a distance might be imagined; of the unheard of mass of secular prejudices which spread their roots into the very heart of the population, and to reach which they must necessarily be attacked;—that one can never lose sight in this appreciation, on the one hand, of the excessive ignorance in which a country was plunged, notwithstanding all the efforts already made, and all the valuable results already obtained for the development of primary instruction, which reckoned in 1865, seventeen millions of untaught people, in a population of twenty-two millions; and on the other, of the leprosy of scepticism, on the side of which it may be truthfully affirmed that the greater part of the nation that thought and reflected, is ranged; when one takes an exact account of all these circumstances combined, one is obliged to own, I think, that however modest, at the present time, may be the condition of Protestantism in Italy, compared with what it was only a few years ago, it is sufficient to fill with joy, and gratitude, and hope, the hearts of all those whose work it is to call men to the know-

ledge and love of the Saviour, and who are carrying on the most indispensable, the most blessed, and the grandest design in the world.

III.

And now what are the grounds of fear and of hope in relation to the future, resulting from what is taking place under our eyes?

To begin with the reasons for fear, they may be found to exist to a great extent in the disposition of a certain number of our political men, to effect a reconciliation with Rome at any price. This disposition circumscribed at first, and almost latent, as it gains ground becomes positive and determined; and if it cannot yet display itself in actual facts, it is owing to the obstinacy of the Papacy, which absolutely refuses to make any concession. But will this obstinacy last? And when the party of reconciliation are increased in numbers, and, having overcome the opposition which at present it excites, will be in a position to make more advantageous propositions to the Vatican than it could hitherto make, will it not then finish by accepting them? And what will happen then? Between people who endeavour to reconcile concession and liberalities, reciprocities are exact! But the first concession, as we may be certain, which Rome will demand from our politicians, will be the sacrifice of religious liberty. And since, unhappily, the assembly from which this sacrifice will be demanded, is composed, as to the great majority, of sceptics—of men that is, who are morally incapable of comprehending the inestimable value of this liberty, and its influence upon all our other liberties—it is not difficult to foretell what reception the demand will meet with!

A second cause of fear, intimately connected with the preceding, appears to me to be contained in what took place at Rome some weeks ago, and in what ought to follow as a probable consequence of the great and certainly imposing assembly in the Eternal City of the most distinguished Catholic clergy from all parts of the world. It is evident to everyone who is not arrested by illusions, that this centenary jubilee has been as a review on the eve of a battle already resolved on. The *Syllabus*, which sets at defiance, in the most insolent and cynical manner, all those great principles which, it might have been supposed, were definitely admitted, and the wide diffusion of which is one of the noblest and purest glories of our times, the syllabus, I say, will not be in time to come, what with just propriety it may be called now—the expression of the sentiment more or less personal of a man speaking, it is true, from a high station—but the flag of the Church of which this man is the head, the flag under which we must range ourselves under pain of being excluded from the ranks of the faithful. Intolerance will then be no longer a mere opinion more or less diffused, a passion more or less ardent and ferocious; but a veritable dogma, and as

such will influence even those whose personal inclinations and views are altogether at variance with it. And that the state of things, if this should be realised, as seems but too likely, would be fraught with dangers, not only to the evangelisation of Italy but to the Evangelical Church, wherever it is in a minority, is what everybody can understand.

A third ground of fear more serious as I think, than the others, I see in that fretting moth of which our Protestantism has unhappily not yet succeeded in ridding itself; I mean its divisions and sects.

I know all that has been, or can be, said on this subject, whether to diminish the gravity of the evil, or explain and excuse it by those who would see in it a ground of glorying. But are they sincere; if all these divisions, and the strifes they engender, could be avoided without injury to the truth and the Christian life, should we not all regard the change as a great advantage? And will it be denied that the spectacle of these divisions, arising almost as soon as the Churches, themselves are formed, if they do not even precede their formation, does not produce the most disastrous effect upon the popular mind, for which the idea of *unity* has such attractions, and that it has been, and still is, one of the most powerful hindrances to the development of evangelising work in Italy? Oh, would not the Evangelical Alliance accomplish a work not only useful and blessed, but glorious, if it could succeed in bringing the different denominations gradually to transform into an actual reality, the principle so often proclaimed by true Christians of the different communities, that the things in which they agree are far more important than those in which they differ; and that when they have the happiness to be united in essentials, it is more than folly, it is a sin, a real sin, not to act upon it; but on the contrary, to bite and devour one another on account of mere secondary matters.

As for the reasons for hope, independently of the Divine government and the promises connected with it, and which constitute the chief, I gather great encouragement from the three following facts:—

1. In the supreme defiance, and as absolute as possible, which Rome has already in part manifested, and for the manifestation of which, in still further degrees, in a short time she is preparing herself, to the generous and legitimate aspiration of the present generation. This audacity which I have already referred to as one of our strongest reasons for fear, constitutes, in my opinion, a still stronger ground of hope. In fact, if one of the results of this tentative audacity will be an increase of intolerance in all those adherents of Rome who blindly execute her bidding, and never call it in question; another result equally, perhaps, even still more certain, will be to detach from her those who are retained in her bosom, only by the illusions they still cherish.

Let us hope that Italians who want but this lesson to convince them, will, like all other people, arrive at the profound conviction—efficacious it may be hoped this time—that between Rome and true liberty, between Papal infallibility and the legitimate aspirations of the human heart there is an impassable gulph! And is it an illusion to cherish the hope that a considerable number of persons, the best, those who feel their need of religion should at length decide to seek in a Church founded on the Gospel, that which for a long time they have persisted, though in vain, to demand of that in which they were born, and which from the force of a sentiment easily understood, they have not been able to withdraw!

2. A second fact in which I see a reason to augur well of the future for the Protestantism of Italy, is the latent, but real work, and rich in promise, which for a long time has been carried on in many minds by the side of that apparent work, already embodied in facts, of which we have given a sketch. It is not my opinion only, but that of many beside, who are best acquainted with the state of religion in Italy, that what appears to the eye is far from being the most real or the most extended. On all the steps of the social ladder, and with various degrees of intellectual culture, how many are there already in the bottom of their hearts separated from Rome, who quench their thirst at other waters than those of her corrupt doctrines, and who only want an occasion openly to manifest what at present is the secret of their conscience.

3. Lastly, what seems to me still more to inspire hope for the future than both the considerations I have already adduced, is the gratifying fact that the great generality of those who preach the Gospel in Italy are thoroughly Protestant, preaching with power the grand constituent truths of Divine Revelation. The inspiration and authority of the Sacred Scripture, the fall of man, the absolute necessity of redemption, and that by the blood of Jesus the incarnate Son of God, salvation by grace through faith in his name, and the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit—these, let us thank God, are the doctrines which (with three or four exceptions, and those of foreigners), form the substance of Evangelical preaching on the part of all the ministers and preachers in Italy, of every name and denomination; and which gather around them with humble confidence a large number of simple and upright souls, in whom they exert a powerful and beneficial influence.

But this Protestantism is that alone, notwithstanding what its detractors say, which has an abiding life, that alone which persecution cannot extirpate from the soil in which it has once taken root, which alone possesses an irresistible force of expansion; which alone, lastly, is able to provide for hungry and thirsty souls, for hearts broken and contrite, the aliment and the consolation they need.

And now one word more and I conclude. You will have learned, as I flatter myself from what I have said, the strength and the weakness of the work of God in Italy. May this knowledge not remain unfruitful in the hearts of those who have acquired it! This information more or less exact, this estimate more or less just, respecting this work will not aid its progress, will neither confirm its strength nor heal its weakness. That which it wants, and to which I feel that it has a right, from those who give to *salvation* its grand and glorious signification, is a profound, constant, and effectual interest, in their incessant and fervent prayers. The spirit of God, supplicated with sighs and tears, as well for those to whom the Gospel is preached, as for those who preach, or who are preparing to preach it; this, dear brethren, is the co-operation which before everything else, your Italian brethren ask from you sympathy. In proportion as we receive this co-operation, we are sure that material aid, which also has its value, will not be wanting to us. It only remains that we render thanks to God, who has given us such friends, and to those friends themselves for the comfort and encouragement they have afforded us.

SPAIN :

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF ITS RELIGIOUS LIFE.

ON the 7th of September, 1861, the Evangelical Alliance, then assembled in the city of Geneva, listened to a motion made by Professor MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, on behalf of certain Spaniards imprisoned in their own country. He said :—" We have all been grieved to hear that from thirty to forty Spanish Evangelical Christians have been arrested and sent to prison in Barcelona, Granada, Malaga, and other places in Spain, solely for having read the Word of God. I propose that we solemnly express the deep sympathy and affection we feel for these brethren, and that we unitedly supplicate our Lord Jesus Christ to be their consolation and joy in their imprisonment." Whereupon M. ADRIEN NAVILLE proposed the following resolution, which the Conference unanimously adopted :—" The Conference has heard with the deepest sympathy of the movements in favour of those Spanish Christians who are suffering imprisonment for their testimony for Christ. It embraces this opportunity to protest before Christian Europe against these persecutions, which are as contrary to the spirit of the age as they are to the spirit of the Gospel. Christians of every country are invited to pray without ceasing for their Spanish brethren ; but, at the same time, the Conference rejoices to learn that active measures will be taken to obtain the liberty of these persecuted brethren. The various Committees of the Evangelical Alliance will come to an understanding as to what measures should be adopted. The Conference commits to them full powers for this purpose."

It is my duty, before everything else, to convey to this Conference the grateful thanks of their lately-imprisoned Spanish brethren for all that God has so graciously accomplished in their favour by your means. The Lord has answered your prayers. He chose you to be the instrument of their deliverance, and they present to you by my voice their profound gratitude.

It would have delighted us all to have seen our dear friend and brother MATAMORAS discharging this debt of thankfulness, and fulfilling his promise, for his name was first inscribed in your programme to report on Spain. Truly it was proper that he should have spoken in the name of his fellow Spaniards, whom he loved so much, but God has otherwise determined. He has not enjoyed the privilege of pre-

sending himself among us ; God has given him the greater privilege of presenting himself before Him, which is far better.

With humility, then, and not pretending to fill his place, I proceed to lay before you a Report on the Religious Condition of Spain.

Spain is no longer what she was in preceding ages. Her religious unity is more apparent than real. Vast numbers of Spaniards have ceased to believe the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, while the faith they have lost has not been replaced by any other. Absorbed in politics, they have parted with religion. The aspirations of their soul, which craves a life in God, remain unsatisfied, and by degrees there ensues a silence in their conscience and a void in their heart.

Spain is deeply sensible of this decay of her ancient faith. A nation cannot be great, the majority of whose citizens are sceptics. Scepticism is something more than a mere state of the intellect ; it is an infirmity of the will ; and weak wills do not know how to be devoted. In order to self-sacrifice, it is necessary to have faith. Strong religious convictions make great men and a great people. It is better that a country should have a bad religion than none at all. Religion is the star that directs the progress of civilization. Without it, the arts and sciences disappear. It diminishes the contradictions of knowledge, and softens the strifes of the heart. It is the light of all thought, the guarantee of all liberty, the sanction of morality ; and this is the reason why we bitterly regret that the majority of the Spanish people have ceased to believe in a religion which made them do foolish things, it is true, but the sublimity of which often surpassed the folly. Ah ! if Jesus Christ could take the place which Rome has left vacant how should we rejoice ! But it is not so. Some hate Romanism, and are always disposed to range themselves amongst those who fight against it, whether they are the highest spiritualists or the grossest materialists : others stifle the voice of conscience, no longer fulfilling any duty towards God, and pass their lives without having lived.

Of others, again, it must finally be said that, retaining no longer any respect for the religion of their fathers, they do not the less attend to the ordinances of the Church. They render a worship which is not the expression of their sentiments, but the result of habit. They attend at mass as they would go to a theatre ; they often leave the church to go to the bull-fight, and are conscious of no difference between the two spectacles.

It is not without sorrow that I represent to you so sad a picture. One thought, however, sustains and comforts me. The indifference of which I speak is not that scornful scepticism which is always ready to laugh at the cries of conscience, and to rail against all serious thought. It is not the scepticism of men who have known the truth, and did not like it. No ; the scepticism of multitudes of Spaniards is the scept-

ticism of those who, perceiving the errors taught by the Church of Rome, have never been directed where to find the truth.

Let us hope that some strong grasp will snatch these unhappy people from their religious apathy. A faithfully-preached Gospel; Jesus Christ in the place of the Church; this is what is needed in order that these frozen and lifeless hearts may become the living temples of the Holy Ghost.

When this transformation shall have taken place, these men will have a just title to stand forward as the representatives of the Spanish character, which they are not. Spaniards have often become fanatical, but never lukewarm. Even now they are not all indifferent. What has been said applies, no doubt, to the majority, but it would be an unfounded opinion which should describe Spain as entirely buried in the *debris* of her ancient faith. A long residence in the country and contact with the different classes of society would modify such a judgment. Quit the great towns, the centres of impiety and corruption, and you will not be long in finding pious Catholics with whom religion has lost neither its influence nor its beauty. We have met with many such in the country, both among the clergy, and others. The same motto is theirs as was their fathers—*Religion and Country*. These two words admirably paint the Spanish character, such as history describes it.

In fact, if we follow history, Spaniards have always stood up for their faith and their country. They it was who wrote with the point of the sword, and with blood, the immortal poem begun by Pelagius in the mountains of Asturias, and finished by Don Juan of Austria, nine centuries afterwards, in the gulph of Lepanto. They it was who, not content with arresting Protestantism on the summit of the Pyrenees, sallied forth from Spain to fight against it in every part of Europe. They it was who shed the blood of Christians; they who burnt their countrymen and ruined their country—horrors which it is impossible to approve, but which, nevertheless, we dare not too much condemn: for these men were sincere, and their cruelty only made their piety so much the more conspicuous.

For ourselves, although we have so much cause to speak, since they have persecuted our religion, and have abased the country we love, we are more disposed to pity than to reprove them. Ah! if they had known the Gospel, and tasted unmixed the sharp bitterness of the cross, would they have been such men?

Well, we repeat the race is not extinct: they have their successors. Unhappily they are not so numerous as might be wished. Like their ancestors, they possess the same strength of character, and the same love of religion, but nobody knows how to use these powerful levers. The Inquisition, which used them for its own purposes, exists no more. The people themselves abolished it, and no king would incur the hazard

of re-establishing this odious tribunal, lest the flames of revolution should devour him and his throne.

The religious orders are gone to rejoin the Inquisition. Thirty years have passed away since the monks were expelled by the people, and with the exception of a few persons who, like the birds of night delight in darkness, nobody wishes to see them filling again the convents in Spain.

The Romish clergy have lost much of their authority. A breath of freedom has passed over the country, and nearly all the ancient idols have been shaken. In this way the change that has taken place in the minds of men within the last twenty years is explained. It now begins to be understood that a man may be a good Christian without being the slave of Rome. Things spiritual are no longer confounded with things temporal: it is perceived that toleration and liberty do not necessarily exclude religious zeal and the constancy of conviction. These large and Christian doctrines find among their adherents Romanists of all political parties except the Ultramontanes. A progress has thus been made in the region of ideas, although it has not yet come down into the domain of facts.

Should we refer to facts only, it will be found that the Spain of 1867 is behind the Spain of 1854, and this again of 1837, and even of 1812. We are full of reaction. The influence of the clergy is great, and increasing every day. But this influence is felt in the higher classes, not among the people. The views of the latter are not faithfully represented by the existing Government. There is a contradiction between the course pursued by men in power and the aspirations of the country.

In order to form a correct judgment of the progress of opinion in Spain, the debates which took place in the Cortes in 1854 must not be forgotten. This proposition was then discussed:—"The nation undertakes to maintain and to protect the worship of the ministers of the Catholic religion professed by Spaniards; but it will tolerate and respect the worship of any other religion which shall be celebrated with becoming propriety, without allowing any person to be persecuted or molested on religious grounds, provided that each respects that of others, and that no offence be committed against public morals." After a calm and profound discussion for twenty-seven days, the proposition was rejected by 103 votes against 99. Five votes more, and liberty of worship would have taken root in Spain.

This is an eloquent fact. In truth the defeat was a triumph. Could the question only be discussed again, and to a certainty, the victory would be achieved for toleration.

Whoever reads the Report of this discussion given to the public under the title of "The Spanish Assembly of 1854 and the Religious Question," will perceive that for a long time the deputies, regardless of politics, accepted their election in order to defend the cause of

religious liberty. And let it not be supposed that these tolerant principles have been professed, as in the last century, by irreligious men, they are maintained by upright minds which have a religion and glory in it.

To judge of the religious state of great numbers of Spaniards it is necessary to know how the lectures of EMILIO CASTELAR, at the Athenæum in Madrid (at the present time away from Spain under sentence of death), were followed, applauded, and commented upon. The young orator gave a long series of five lectures on the state of civilisation in the first five Christian centuries. On one occasion he thus addressed his audience: "Far from God, lost on earth, the slave of sin . . . man under the law looks forward with trembling to the day of his death. The greatness of his sin, and the righteousness of God fill his heart with dread. Hence the lamentations of the prophets, the tears of so many generations; hence the fastings, the macerations, the self-denials; hence the books of Job and of Jeremiah written with sobs, and which are like an everlasting groan from the human spirit, striving in its chains to appease Heaven become as brass, and to bring down a new revelation, a new life to the earth. The new revelation comes with the Gospel, the new life with faith. Faith regenerates the soul, transforms and beautifies the whole man. The tears and the blood of the Saviour falling on the soul cleanses it from its pollution. Man is raised again from the dust by the power of faith; by sin he is dead in Adam, by faith he is quickened in Christ. Apart from the redemption of Christ, man never can be regenerated. He was a slave, and, to save the creature, whom he loved, God offered himself a sacrifice. Henceforth the yoke is broken, reconciliation is accomplished, the work of redemption is sealed with the blood of God himself. The promises of redemption are entrusted to the Church, and the Church consists of all who have received divine truth with their understanding and their heart." On another occasion he spoke as follows: "The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are the life, the light, and the love of the world. Let us not forget this. As for me, it seems as if I were listening again to Jesus preaching on the mount a morality which never entered into the hearts of philosophers, the echo of his words still fills the air in which I breathe, for every day my mother taught me to repeat the words of the sermon on the mount."

We see, then, that if the solar light of the Gospel does not shine so brightly on Spain, there are still in that country mothers who teach the words of Jesus Christ to their children; and these children, when they become men, expound them to their countrymen. These men are not Protestants, for they accept the essential dogmas of the Romish Church; but they are Christians, and, after their manner, they preach Christ, and, even though error should be mixed with the

truth, we say with the apostle, " Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice and will rejoice."

It is superfluous to add that the lecturer of whom we have spoken protested against the imprisonment of Matamoras and his friends.

To judge of the religious state of Spain, and of the steps taken in the path of toleration, it is necessary to consider lastly the attitude of the press during the recent violent persecution. All the democratic and *progressista* journals, which certainly represent the *élite* of the nation, warmly pleaded the cause of liberty of conscience. The Ultramontane journals did not really attack the persecuted, for the attacks came from the official journals, which may go for nothing. The duty of the ministerial press in Spain, as elsewhere, is on all occasions to approve of the conduct of the Government, be it what it may.

This attitude of the press is that of the public, especially in Andalusia. I have had the melancholy privilege of seeing some hundreds of country people in the prison at Malaga whom the Government sent to the galleys. Their crime consisted in assembling, to the number of some 14,000, under a Republican flag. Not a drop of blood was shed, nor was any man taken with arms in his hands. Notwithstanding, some were executed, and others sent to the galleys. From Malaga they were transported to the Balearic Isles and Fernando Po, where many died before the act of pardon was signed. These persons, out of all the provinces of Andalusia, represent, it may be safely affirmed, the opinion of the south of Spain. We know them all, and not one amongst them would approve that Spaniards, whose crime consisted less in an attempt to destroy the established religion than to make Christ known to their countrymen, should be cast into prison. And this humble, but joyful protestation was made by men in general pious, and much attached to Catholicism.

We cite still further a fact which must have a certain importance.

Those Christians whom the Queen exiled, lest their presence at the galleys should corrupt the rest (these were the words of the *Correspondencia*, an official journal), were incarcerated with criminals all the time that elapsed before their trial. Those Christians who were imprisoned in Granada, who were not mixed up with the other prisoners, maintained with them more or less friendly relations. Those criminals, whose ignorance or fanaticism might have been feared, far from being hostile to the Christians, often lavished on them the most touching marks of respect and sympathy. But this benevolent conduct of the people was assuredly not that of the multitude, either of the last three centuries, or of the beginning of our own. It proves that toleration does not necessitate the shipwreck of faith. True, to profess the doctrine of toleration is no consequence, flowing from the spirit of Rome, but it is an approach to the Gospel to place a line of

demarcation between religion and politics. And if we remember that these two spheres, so distinct in themselves, have always been confounded in Spain, and that this has been the source of incalculable evils, we ought to rejoice at the thought that they are beginning to be clearly distinguished, that each may take its proper place.

Having spoken of unbelievers, and of those who are indifferent, of whom there is a large number, in spite of the mask of religious unity which has made Spain so proud and even so fatal to her, and having also spoken of believing Catholics, among whom Rome may count upon as many enemies as adherents, we have now to speak of them who have made Christ, as revealed in the scriptures, all their religion.

You understand why on this part of the subject we must be prudent. The eagle no longer hovers in the sky. He cowers on the ground, but he is still able to wound in his agony. Let us take care not to place the prey within his reach. In the present state of things it would be unwise to explain everything. There are, however, some things which we need not fear to report, for neither the government nor the clergy are ignorant of them. The civil authorities have documents in their possession which prove the existence of little Protestant Churches. They know that certain Christians have formed themselves into a society for preaching the gospel to their countrymen. They know that the direction of the Society is placed in the hands of a Committee, the members of which ought, according to its rules, to be patterns of morality and Christian faithfulness. They know that the association increases rapidly, that its influence is felt, that its funds afford assistance to poor brethren whom sickness disables, and that by this means many sick persons and bereaved families obtained support, while the terrible plague of cholera everywhere spread trouble and alarm. The Government knows this, and you know it also. We need not therefore go into details.

This Christian movement appears to us to be a continuation of that which began in Spain in the 16th century. Three hundred years of oppression, during which the Holy Office was supreme alike in the palace and the cottage, is enough to make one believe, with the illustrious historian Mr. PRÆSCOTT, "that persecution had not left in Spain so much as a germ for a future harvest." It is not, however, true. The Inquisition lopped off all the branches of the tree, and felled even the trunk, but the roots, that is to say, the Word of God, remained in the soil, and could not but flourish again. Watered with the blood of the glorious martyrs Nojas, Julianlilo, Isabella Bœna, and so many more, who are now with God must rejoice to see their countrymen follow in the path which they so gloriously pursued.

In the 17th and 18th centuries a few isolated voices protested

against the Inquisition, but their cries were stifled as soon as uttered, producing no apparent results.

At the beginning of the present century one of the redeemed of Jesus, DON MIGUEL SOLANO, perished in prison, a victim to his faithfulness.

By the side of these valiant champions, whose consciences compelled them to proclaim the gospel from the house-tops, there were others who laboured in silence to advance the triumph of truth. Amongst these last ought to be mentioned the generous but unknown person who secretly reprinted in Spain many volumes of the Spanish Reformers of the 16th century.

We delight to believe that the reading of these works or of the Bible, translated and published in this city of Amsterdam by the pious CIPRIANO DE VALERA at the beginning of the 17th century, was the means employed by God to bring to Himself DON FRANCISCO RUET, who afterwards became the instrument of the conversion of our dear brother MATAMORAS. Thus the Spanish Christians of our times are connected by an uninterrupted line with the confessors of Christ of the 16th century.

In reflecting on the fortunes of Protestantism in Spain, we may inquire how it is that the preaching of the truth has found so slight an echo to the present time in the hearts of Spaniards. Without pretending to have discovered the real cause, which God only knows, we may offer a suggestion. It is not as some say, because Southern nations are too much attached to forms to be penetrated by a religion of spirit and life. This miserable theory, which makes Christianity the religion of a race, and divests it of its universal character, we reject. Of heavenly origin it answers to the necessities of every man created in the image of God. The German and the Latin, the wise and the ignorant, are alike sinners, and alike stand in need of Jesus Christ. There is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we can be saved. If Spain delights in forms, she is not more idolatrous than Greece was, yet Greece preferred the cross to all the marbles of Phidias. The gospel has not taken root in Spain, because two things were wanting in every attempt to evangelize it. These two things are *popularity and the spirit of association*. Let me explain. In the 16th century the movement was magnificent. It had nevertheless a defect. The Gospel was not preached to the poor. The nobles, the educated, and high functionaries, embraced the Reformation, but they were not so numerous but that the Inquisition could count them and crush them. The Inquisition did it. Besides this every attempt has wanted the spirit of association. People were content to circulate Bibles without inquiring what became of them. They laboured, but without any certain method of following up the work of evangelization; but isolation is a cause of feebleness and death.

Popularity and the spirit of association are no longer wanting in the Spanish movement of our times. It is, moreover, well organized; and hence our little churches have not been paralysed by the persecution. They have made progress, and they make progress still. Two facts prove this. The first is the printing of the New Testament in Spain. Some details of the execution of this work are probably known to you, a work easier, perhaps, anywhere else than in my country. A brother worked eight months at the printing of it, shut up in a cellar, with only a few types, and a small wooden press, and having no other light than the glimmering of a lamp. He spat blood, and the Committee determined to suspend the work. When the devout workman was informed of this determination he refused to submit to it, saying: "If these 3,000 Testaments cause my death, I shall die with joy, having provided the bread of life for 3,000 souls. He came forth in the end from his unwholesome hiding-place, and presented to his friends 3,000 copies of the sacred book. They have been all or nearly all, sold. There have been also printed in Spain 6,000 copies of a Tract translated from the English, and 2,000 copies of another translated from the German.

Let me seize this occasion cordially to thank, in the name of my Spanish brethren, our Christian friends in Scotland and Holland, by whose aid this enterprise, so far beyond their own ability, has been successfully carried through.

The second fact is this. The Committee of ——— meditated long on the means by which Evangelizing might be carried on in the country. It was a project full of difficulty, seeing what was supposed to be the superstition of the peasantry, and their attachment to the past. Success, however, was destined to dissipate these fears. A brother was appointed to carry the Gospel to the inhabitants of farms and villages. The success of this enterprise was complete. These worthy people sighed after the Gospel; they wanted nothing so much as Jesus Christ. The Evangelist himself related what follows:—"Going to the farm of Q—— to visit some brethren who were there, I was happy in finding myself immediately surrounded by a great number of the country people earnestly desiring to glorify the Lord. My two daughters began singing some hymns, and it is impossible to describe the emotion of the assembly as they assisted, for the first time, in the praises of God. Transports of joy were visible in their faces, and they would not let me go away without leaving my daughters to teach them to sing. From that day the mistress of the farm has come to my house regularly once a week, for the purpose only of learning the hymns. Now they not only sing in their meetings for worship and in their houses, but the shepherd-boys repeat the song in the fields while tending their flocks.

It is evident that the peasantry are not hostile to the Gospel. A Christian appears among them—they listen. The Gospel is preached to them—they are filled with joy. They do not know, perhaps, that it was LUTHER who, after it had been hid for ages under a bushel made the light shine from the mountain-top ; but they feel themselves to be sinners, and they are willing to be saved by Jesus Christ ; and this is enough for them.

One question before I conclude, which is important, and upon which opinions are divided. I will be brief, for time presses.

Should the reformation in Spain be carried on by Spaniards, or by foreigners ? A national pastor, recently arrived in Spain, thinks that foreigners should do the whole, leaving merely a certain initiative to Spaniards.

A distinguished author* who has made our country the study of his life, expresses himself as follows at the close of three articles published in the *Revue Crétien* :—"Like Italy it (Spain) aspires to place on its religion the imprint of its nationality. Sisters in bondage as well as in faith, both peninsulas must work out their own reformation, instead of receiving it from the foreigner." Which of these two opinions is best ? The second, as I think. The national sentiment plays a distinguished part in the life of a Spaniard. Do not wound his patriotism if you wish him to listen to you. Do not let him suppose that the truth you present to him is a foreign importation, for he will not receive it, since he would thus impose silence on his conscience. It is a weakness, you say. It may be, but it is a weakness that ought to be respected, if you cannot otherwise win him to Christ. The Apostle Paul was weak with the weak ; he made himself all things to all men, that he might save some. If you are animated by the sentiments of the Gospel, be whom you may, to whatever nation you belong, Spain will hear you : labour in this vast field, and, with the blessing of Heaven, you will reap an abundant harvest for the Lord. But if his charity does not consume you, we earnestly beseech you not to come, and by your imprudent zeal destroy a work which, in spite of our inexperience and weakness, does not for a moment cease to make progress.

Spaniards do not pretend to do everything by themselves ; they are not able. They hope that Christians of all countries will come to their assistance and help them to undertake works which, like the printing of the 3,000 Testaments we have spoken of, will prove a blessing to Spain. They hope, and they will not be deceived in their expectation. All the countries represented in this assembly, and Holland in particular, have one revenge to take. Do not forget it,

* Professor Rosseuw St. Hiliare.

we beseech you. Spain has injured you all, she has done you wrong ; revenge yourselves like Christians, by returning good for evil. Spanish Christians wait in everything upon their brethren from without ; but in what concerns their personal evangelization, they are persuaded that this ought to be done by themselves. This idea differs from that of a great number of persons who interest themselves in Spain. Of this the schools at Geneva, Lausanne, and Pau, where young Spaniards are being educated to preach the Gospel in their own country, furnishes evident proof. We must say a few words respecting these schools.

There are five young men pursuing their preparatory theological studies in the Free College of Lausanne. In the *Oratoire* at Geneva, there is one whose studies are nearly finished, but before leaving, another will take his place. At Neuchatel they are also desirous to have some Spanish students, and we hope some will be sent.

The institution founded at Pau for the purpose of training boys to go to the Swiss Colleges, does not proceed as well as could be wished. Many children who had been sent there have returned to Spain. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the cause of this to speak of it. What we have grieved to learn is, that the establishment has been the cause of a division among our churches. God grant that the letters written by respectable persons, and respected by our brethren, may put an end to this painful state of things, occasioned not by any question affecting doctrine, but only of administration. Whatever it may be, we entreat the prayers of Christians that a reconciliation may be effected.

The establishment for young Spanish girls, conducted by the much-respected MISSES COLES with so much zeal, furnishes most happy results. These young sisters grow in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord. This institution, as well as those before named, is commended to the prayers and sympathies of Christians.

The work, it is thus evident, increases constantly. The Government thought to crush it by persecution, but like a tree that is pruned, it grows the more vigorously. Will it continue to grow ? Everybody believes that it will. As to her spiritual condition, Spain is in a state of transition. Rome no longer dominates over her as in times past. In fact, she belongs to nobody. She will soon be free to choose her own destiny. To whom will she yield herself, to Rome or to the Gospel ? The Government and the Spanish clergy strive to retain her captive in her chains, but they will not succeed. What obstacles will they create ? What barriers will they raise ? There are none so high, that the truth cannot scale them. Truth is eternal, and sooner

or later will conquer the world. We do not believe the time will be long before the victory is achieved in Spain. On the contrary, we believe it is at hand, and

“Du temple déjà l'aube blanchit le faite.”

May this assembly contribute to hasten the rising of the “Sun of Righteousness,” at length to shine on Spain, and fill it with Divine light.

ENGLAND.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. T. D. HARFORD BATTERSBY, M.A.,

HON. CANON OF CARLISLE, AND INCUMBENT OF ST. JOHN'S KESWICK.

THE task which our Committee has assigned me is one of no ordinary difficulty. To many it will seem to imply an excessive degree of rashness, to pretend to decide upon the religious condition of those who are of the same creed with oneself, and who are exposed to an equal or greater amount of trials and perplexities with oneself. It is, however, with no presumption of infallibility of judgment that I enter upon this task, but rather with a deep and abiding consciousness of my own very limited and imperfect acquaintance with so great a subject, and yet with the earnest hope that the facts which, after much investigation, I am enabled to bring forward, may contribute in some measure to the formation of a right judgment on the subject by the brethren who are here assembled, and whose indulgence I crave for the imperfection which must necessarily attach to this effort.

The point of view which, it is assumed, we take in the present inquiry is that of Evangelical Christians, who adhere to the great scriptural truths contended for by our Fathers of the Reformation. And it may be well to remind you at the outset, that the doctrinal articles of the Church of England are in essential harmony with the ancient confessions of all the other churches of the Reformation. In this respect we are all one. It is true, indeed, that we have no such compact body of divinity, to which we have set our hand, as that which is subscribed to by our neighbours of the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. Ours is a briefer, less elaborate scheme of doctrine, whether we regard that which is imposed upon the clergy at their ordination, or that which is appointed to be taught to our young people preparatory to their confirmation, and hence a greater latitude on certain points of doctrine than is possible, I should suppose, in the Scotch churches. I mention this to account, in part at least, for the great and grave differences of opinion and teaching which prevail amongst those who have subscribed to the same articles, or agreed to use the same formularies. These differences, it is well-known, have attracted of late, and still,

attract much attention throughout Christendom: we have the aspect at the present moment of a house divided within itself, of a kingdom from which the central authority has been dethroned, or in which, through the defects of its organization, and the imperfection of the methods by which the will of the ruling power is communicated to its subjects, the greatest uncertainty exists as to what the will and commands of the Sovereign are. It is not to be denied that there are serious grounds for such a view. The clergy do not speak the same thing. There is division and altercation where there ought to be peace and unity. We are striving against one another in too many instances, instead of striving together for the faith of the Gospel. It is an unseemly sight which is presented at this day by the Church to which I belong, in the sight of God and the world, and the Churches. Would to God that, as one man, our ministers and people might be brought to see the great danger we are in by our unhappy divisions, and cry earnestly to God for the healing remedy of His grace.

Bnt, my friends, it is not all dark with us, as some would have us believe; God has not given us up. He has led many to see and feel present evils, and earnestly to seek a remedy for them, and I cannot but think that the words of Manoah's wife, which were applied by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in October last, (when he preached before the Church Congress at York), to the present circumstances of our Church, are eminently suitable as thus applied. (Judg. xiii. 22.) "If the Lord were pleased to kill us, He would not have received a burnt offering, and a meat offering at our hands, neither would He have showed us all these things, nor would as at this time have told us such things as these;" for, as I hope to show, there are undoubted signs of the Lord's presence with us in the Church of which I am a member, so that with much that makes the hearts of God's children to faint within them in the prospect of the future, there is much, very much also to make them hope. In order to judge of the religious condition of a Church, it is necessary to observe not only *the forms of doctrine* which prevail in it, but also the *manifestations of religious life* which are to be found amongst its members.

I. As to the *doctrine* which prevails in the Church of England, there are two means of judging of this: (1.) The Church's *standards*; and (2.) The *actual current teaching* of the day.

1. The Church's *standards*.—It is a significant fact that no change has been made in them, even in such days as ours. The ancient faith of the Catholic Church, as expressed in the three early creeds, is still the acknowledged faith of the national Church of England. The name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is still confessed as of old, and every minister is bound by the most solemn vows to proclaim that name in all his

ministrations. By our subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, moreover, we own ourselves Protestants, and declare our belief in the authority of Holy Scripture as the ultimate standard of faith and practice.

An important change indeed was made two years ago in the terms of ministerial subscription; a change which, however it might seem to some to open the door to greater laxity of opinion and teaching in the clergy, was accepted by the great body of those interested in the matter, as an act of legislation, no less just and wholesome than imperatively demanded by the progress of public opinion. The former subscription was the cause, when first enacted, in 1662, of driving from the Church 2,000 of her best and most zealous ministers to swell the ranks of Nonconformity; it was most stringent and exacting in its form; by it we were bound to declare "our assent and consent to all and everything contained in the book of Common Prayer;" a declaration, the enforcing of which was simply a method of inflicting a refined kind of torture on sensitive consciences, and repelled from the service of the Church many who, but for this, would have willingly enrolled themselves as her ministers.

By the present modified subscription, we simply declare our assent to the doctrine contained in the Articles and formularies of the Church, taken as a whole, and promise to use the latter in our formal public ministrations. Thus the consciences of many have been relieved, whilst there has been no yielding of any point of doctrine on which the voice of the Church has been decisively heard.

2. But the actual teaching of the Church is to be gathered, not only from her formal standards and rites, but also from the contemporary *productions of the pulpit and press*.

Here we enter upon a wide subject, on which it is difficult to form an exact and impartial opinion. I think, however, it may be with confidence asserted (praise be to God), that the Gospel of the Grace of God is more widely and fully preached from the pulpits of the Church of England, at the present day, than in almost any former period of her history.

There was a time indeed, towards the end of the last century, or the beginning of this, when there were spiritual "giants in the land"—men whose stature in Christ, and whose boldness and labours in the Gospel, were indeed marvellous; but they were few and rare, and in their place are now to be found a multitude of lesser lights indeed, but whose united lustre sends forth a far more brilliant illumination than did those few solitary stars who preceded us. There are few parts of England now, whether town or country, in which there are not to be found some faithful evangelists and pastors, in communion with the national Church, whose earnest desire and aim it is, day by day, to set forth Christ, and Him crucified, and to win and train up souls for Him.

And in support of this statement I would appeal to the mass of literature yearly published by clerical and lay members of the National Church, from the charges of our Bishops, and the more solid theological treatises of our learned divines, to the multitude of cheap tracts and periodical works, which as in a perennial stream, flows forth year after year into the bosom of society.

In a vast number of these works you will find the truths of the Gospel simply, if not always powerfully stated; and even where the object is not distinctly the setting forth of Evangelical doctrine, that doctrine is taken for granted, as the ground on which all arguments for morality are exclusively based.

The works on the Holy Scriptures, proceeding from our leading divines, such as Dean Alford, Bishop Ellicott, Dr. Pusey, Archdeacon Wordsworth, Archbishop Trench, Mr. Ryle, and others, invariably show a great reverence for the Scriptures, as the word of God, and an earnest desire to discover the mind of the Spirit in that sacred book. The very presence of heresy amongst us has been the means of calling forth new and important theological works in which the authority of the Scriptures is vindicated, and the doctrines of the faith brought forth into clearer light. The two volumes of Mr. Birks, entitled "The Scriptures and Modern Thought," and "The Exodus of Israel," and the volume of Essays by various distinguished authors, entitled "Aids to Faith," may be mentioned amongst others, as important contributions to the store of apologetic divinity, which our times have produced. These are cheering signs.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that dark clouds hang over our horizon; and that clear, sound, evangelical doctrine is far from having that preponderance which it ought to have in the teaching of many of our clergy.

It will be sufficient to notice a few of the main paths of divergence from sound doctrine.

(1.) There is that which leads in the direction of *hierarchism* or *sacerdotalism*.

It is with this that we are so much occupied at the present time. In order to understand the modern movement amongst us which has resulted in what is now called "Ritualism," we must go back to its source, or revival, which took place at Oxford twenty-five years ago. It was then professedly a reaction against the principles of Liberalism in Church and State. Its principal leader, Dr. J. H. Newman, who found, in 1845, the proper goal for his subtle and quasi-learned theories, in the bosom of the Roman Church, has given us in his "Apologia," published three years ago, a very interesting history of his own entanglement in the web of hierarchical doctrine, as well as of the "Tractarian" movement, which may be said to have been its

offspring. He was aided in the gigantic work which he undertook, by various men of kindred sentiments, but chiefly by two whose names have attained great eminence in the English Church, Mr. J. Keble, the author of the "Christian Year," and Dr. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. The former died only last year. The latter still lives and exercises by his writings and personal character, a growing influence in the Church. The system of doctrine inaugurated and illustrated with so much genius, talent, consistency, and (it must I fear be said) with not a little subtlety and craft, by these distinguished men, and their aiders and abettors in the movement, has indeed ever and anon cropped up afresh in various stages of our Church's history, but never has it been carried so far, at any previous period, as we now see it at the present day. The secession of Mr. Newman, the two Mr. Wilberforces, and so many of those who had been indoctrinated by them in the sacerdotal doctrine gave a temporary check to the movement, but the leaven went on working, until now the more mature development of it, (in the churches of St. Alban's, Holborn, and others in the Metropolis, at Brighton and elsewhere) has so roused the attention of the Church, that a Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into their proceedings, and to advise the Legislature as to the course which it is expedient to pursue at such a crisis. The name gloried in by the friends of this movement is that of "Catholic." This is a "Catholic revival," say they, for which they are agitating, within the boundaries of the Anglican Church. The vestments, the incense, the postures, the peculiar devotional rites, are but the fitting mode, they tell us, of exhibiting and promoting Catholic doctrine, the doctrine which the Tractarians of twenty years ago were content to promote by writing and preaching. The frequent celebration of the sacrifice of the Mass, with all that can add importance in the way of ceremonial to that celebration, together with the practice of auricular confession and priestly absolution, these are the prominent objects they have in view; and it must be added, the boldness with which they have pressed these objects, and the success which they have achieved, testify to the earnestness and devotion, as well as ability with which they have pursued them.

The "reunion of Christendom" is another favourite scheme of this party: the union, however, which they contemplate is not that which we who are here desire to see. It is their vain hope and expectation to see the ancient Churches of the East and West reunited through the medium of the Anglican Church, which they conceive has peculiar claims to be a mediating Church, holding out the right hand of fellowship to the two great portions of mediæval Christendom upon the basis of a common apostolical succession of Bishops and clergy, and the common

maintenance (as they assume) of the same substantial doctrine on the subject of the sacraments.

This view has been advocated with great ingenuity and research in a remarkable book of Dr. Pusey's, published during the past year, on "The Truth and Office of the English Church," which is entitled an *Eirenikon*. In this volume he maintains the strange and monstrous proposition that it is possible to reconcile the teaching of the English Church in the Thirty-nine Articles, and that of the Roman Church as expressed in the decrees of the Council of Trent.

What the number of those may be, who are committed to the form of doctrine embodied in this so-called Ritualism, it is difficult to judge, but that their number is considerable we may gather from the fact that the "English Church Union," which is an organization established for the purpose of propagating and supporting their opinions, numbers at present more than 5,000 members, male and female.

There is something formidable to appearance in these numbers, and taking into account the ability, zeal, persistency, self-sacrifice, and power of organization which is displayed by their party, there is enough to make those who love the simple faith of God and the purity of His worship earnestly anxious in every way to expel the poison which is propagated through their doctrines, and to deliver the Church from its influence.

(2.) Another very serious divergence from the way of sound doctrine is found amongst us in the teaching and writings of those who seem to discard all authority but that of the human mind and conscience, and who consider it to be their mission to deliver us from the fetters by which they conceive that the Church has been bound in the past, by a too slavish adherence to scripture and tradition.

The movement in this direction has not attained as yet at all the same proportions which similar tendencies have attained in the Protestant churches on the continent. There can hardly be said to be any organized movement of the kind within the Church. The nearest approach to it was indicated in the appearance, seven years ago, of that volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," which excited so much attention when first published.

Two of the writers of this book, Mr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson, were brought to trial, for the opinions broached in their essays, before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, and narrowly escaped suspension from their cures. The decision of the judges, which was to the effect that the Church of England does not positively require her clergy to teach that Holy Scripture is (as well as contains) the Word of God, or that the punishment of the wicked will be eternal, caused great dissatisfaction amongst a large portion of the clergy; and a "Declaration," consisting of a plain avowal of the doctrines thus called in ques-

tion, and proceeding from a knot of men of different orthodox schools at Oxford, having been circulated through the country, shortly obtained the signatures of more than 11,000 out of the 20,000 clergy who hold orders in the Church. But a far more startling deviation from the standard teaching of the Church has been seen in the case of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, in South Africa. This writer, whose eminence as a mathematician is unquestioned, has endeavoured, in a series of volumes on the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, to demonstrate, by the method of his favourite science, that our belief in the authenticity or correctness of these ancient records is a mistake, and has since even gone so far as to maintain that the Divine Author of our salvation is not a fit object for our prayers, thus seeming to be advancing rapidly towards that consummation to which his scepticism undoubtedly tends, the denial of the Divine personality of our Glorious Redeemer.

No formal condemnation by a duly recognised Church Court of Dr. Colenso's opinions has as yet been obtained. Ancient bodies like the Church of England, fettered as it is by laws and precedents of a past age, move slowly, and hence there is still liberty given to this writer to diffuse his sentiments under the name of a Bishop of the Anglican Church; but never, I should imagine, has any teacher of strange doctrines received a more universal condemnation than this author has received at the hands of the Bishops and accredited teachers of the Church; and whilst his works have called forth a host of volumes and pamphlets in defence of the position which he has attacked, those works themselves find, I believe, but few readers.

And yet there are indications abroad of a silent growth of sceptical opinion amongst a certain portion at least of the laity of the Church which is sufficiently alarming. Of this it were easy to bring evidence from such works as those two very influential journals and reviews, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Saturday Review*. In the former of these papers, it was lately stated, that "the whole subject of religion is so beset with difficulties, that one may well be content to remain in a state of enforced ignorance on most of the great topics of religion." This sentiment was urged by the writer not as his own individual opinion merely, but as that of a large and increasing number of intelligent men in the upper classes.

It is another favourite dogma of persons of the same school of opinion, that the principles of common morality, founded on the united wisdom and conscience of mankind, form the only possible basis of mutual agreement amongst mankind.

To this must be added that a very loose and indefinite theology has become much in vogue of late, through the eminent talents and attractive writings of some who fill important positions in the Church, in which the doctrines of original sin, and

justification through the atoning blood, and regeneration by the Spirit are explained away to the serious detriment of a large class of readers.

(3.) Once more, whilst noticing the prevalent divergencies from sound doctrine I must not omit to notice a certain pointless, uncertain, neutral class of doctrine which is to be found even amongst those who are looked upon as orthodox.

What the number may be of those whose teaching is of this character, it is of course impossible to say: it is, I should believe, far less than at many former periods of our Church's history, and yet it is grievous to think how many congregations, through this aimless teaching, are deprived of the true light of the Gospel, and lulled to sleep in the notion of their acceptance with God, whilst they are walking in the way of their own hearts.

Such I believe to be a sufficiently accurate view of the main forms of departure from the pure standard of doctrine set before us in God's word.

What wonder, whilst such serious differences exist, that the minds of many are confused and unhinged, and the question of Pilate is asked again, and in the same hopeless spirit, "What is truth?"

II. I come now to speak of the condition of our Church, as regards the *religious life* of its members.

One may readily infer that where such diversity of doctrine prevails, even though the grand foundations be still preserved to us, there should be an abounding laxity of Christian practice. And so indeed we must to our sorrow confess. Multitudes of those who are professed members of the Church of England, are in fact members of Satan's kingdom, and are walking plainly and unequivocally in the broad road. Many scarcely, if ever, attend on the outward ordinances of religion; of those who do, a vastly large proportion are hearers only, attending the public ministrations of the Church because it is the fashion to do so, or from habit, or because they wish to have the appearance of being religious, but without any heartfelt love to Christ, or interest in His kingdom.

Even where a strictly evangelical creed is professed, there is, in too many instances, a notorious absence of Christian activity and zeal in good works; a torpor and spirit of slumber has come over many congregations, where pure Bible truth is given out Sunday by Sunday, and little if anything is done to bring in those who are without.

The statistics of population in most of our large towns, such as London, Liverpool, Birmingham, compared with those of church accommodation, tell a sad tale of deficiency in the latter, and that increasing in a fearful ratio year by year.

Very frequently again have we heard the complaint, and that too justly, of the coldness and suspicion with which any signs

of unusual fervour in members of our own communion have been regarded by persons in authority, and the earnest efforts of single-minded men to spread Christ's truth by word and deed, have been frowned upon and stifled, as irregular and dangerous.

Such things have been, and are ; and yet it must be confessed by all who know the state of things in our country, that a mighty stir has taken place for many years in the Established Church of England, and that it has been shaking itself from its slumbers, and girding itself, "as a giant refreshed with wine," to overtake the mass of work bequeathed to this generation through the neglect of past ages, so as to bring the Gospel of Christ within reach of the swarming masses who are living without God in the world.

The building and restoration of the outward fabrics where we worship God, is indeed no certain indication of a right religious condition in those who undertake it, but when the country from one end to the other is jotted with new or restored fabrics, which the voluntary zeal of the present age has dedicated to the worship of God, we may surely surmise that there are many of those who have consecrated their wealth to this object, who resemble that centurion of old, of whom the Jews testified, "He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue," and of whose faith the Lord himself uttered such high notes of praise.

In this description of work then, I shall be able to show that the members of our Church have been indeed forward in these latter days.

It was ascertained a few years ago from careful statistics, that £5,500,000 had been voluntarily subscribed by Churchmen, between 1831 and 1851, for new churches, besides what was contributed for the re-building and restoration of ancient buildings. It was further ascertained that within thirty years no less than 3,452 churches had been built. In the city of Manchester, the capital of the manufacturing district of Lancashire, the population at the beginning of the century was 102,000. For these numbers there were but twelve churches, *i.e.*, one for 8,500 of the population. Three years ago, in 1864, the population was 460,000, or four-and-a-half times as large ; but then there were eighty churches, or one to 5,750.

In the diocese of Ripon, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, another thriving centre of manufacturing industry, 145 new churches have been built during the last thirty years or so, being an increase of nearly fifty per cent. on the number existing previously.

Nor is it only in these districts, where wealth has so accumulated in the hands of enterprising manufacturers, that the sacrifice of a few thousands by such, upon the building or decoration of a house of prayer, may be deemed comparatively but a small thing ; in the diocese where my own lot has been cast for the

last eighteen years, amidst the valleys and fells of Cumberland and Westmoreland, a similar work has been going on, so that everywhere fresh houses of prayer, with parsonage houses for the clergy, have been rising up where none, or but most insufficient buildings for these purposes existed before; whilst in the chief city of the diocese, the cathedral town of Carlisle, with a population of about 38,000, whereas, ten years ago, there were but four churches, that number is now doubled, with the prospect of a still further increase in the coming year.

But this is but a small part of what may be said of the revived activity which is to be found so generally within the Church of England.

In regard to the diocese just mentioned—that of Carlisle—with which I am most familiar, it might be truly said, thirty years ago, of the average style of clergy then, in the language of the Hebrew prophet, Is. lvi. 10, 12—"The watchmen are blind: they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark: sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber—come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink." Thank God, through the gradual progress of a clearer light, and the energetic efforts of two successive Bishops of the diocese, who have faithfully striven to uphold Christ's truth, this reproach is now wiped away; and the number of these who are striving for the faith of the Gospel is increasing yearly.

But the work which claims most attention as an evidence of renewed religious life in the Church which I represent, is that of the London Diocesan Home Mission, taken in connection with the Fund through which that Mission mainly acts, which is called the Bishop of London's Fund.

The amazing dimensions of our great metropolis, and the numbers of the population which swarm in it, are such as almost to exceed belief when stated in figures. It is said that that population now exceeds 3,000,000, and that it has an increase in ten years of 500,000, equal to the population of Liverpool, the second commercial city of the empire. For about 1,000,000 of these, it was estimated in the Report of the Committee of the Bishop of London's Fund of 1863, that there was no provision made by the National Church. Under the direction, therefore, of this active prelate, it was determined to make a great and continuous effort to supply this deficiency, the result of this effort up to the present moment has been as follows:—The sum of nearly £200,000 has been raised in voluntary contributions; with this sum, in the space of three years, 75 mission stations have been established in the metropolis, furnished with a staff of 67 missionary clergy, besides parochial clergy, scripture readers, and parochial mission women. By the same means 9 parsonage houses, 25 schools, 30 mission buildings, and 47 new permanent churches have been built or assisted to

be built, besides much else. It is thus estimated that Christian influences have been brought to bear upon not less than 200,000 souls; and here (I may truly say without boasting) the Church of England has entered upon a field of labour, in which other bodies of Christians have laboured and been forced to retire. Such is the abject degradation in which the population of these districts lies, in which the mission stations have been planted, that on any other system than the "territorial," adopted by the Bishop of London and his fellow-workers, and where the funds for working the mission are gathered entirely apart from the population in which the work is carried on, it may be safely said, the work could not be done; but already, through the wholesale operation of these diocesan agencies, the most happy results have been achieved.

Hundreds have been thus brought in who were before wandering as sheep without a shepherd, and are now to be found not only hearing the word, but sitting down time after time at that table, where the sacred emblems of the Redeemer's sacrifice are displayed for the reception of the faithful.

Nor is this all: the work of education is being carried on simultaneously with the work of evangelization. Day schools, Sunday schools, evening schools, Bible classes are carried on, and libraries opened with periodical lectures of a popular kind—in short, all the apparatus of a well-organized parish have been brought to bear upon the ignorance and debasement in which the masses have been so long plunged, that, if it may be, through God's mercy souls may be saved, and jewels added to the Redeemer's crown.

The work which I have now been describing has mainly been effected by the agency of diocesan societies, but it would be an injustice to pass over the extensive and permanent good which has been effected throughout the entire country, by our older Home Missionary Societies, as the Church Pastoral Aid, and Additional Curates Societies. These societies have each of them existed for about thirty years. The former has an income of about £50,000, the latter of £30,000. By their united efforts the staff of clergy in populous places is augmented by near 1,000, besides 160 scripture readers, who are supported by the former of the two.

The movement sprang out of the urgent needs of the clergy, in our large towns, of assistance in carrying on their arduous ministrations. The funds are supplied by voluntary contributions; and it may, indeed, be said that the good done by them is incalculable.

As a practical illustration of the change which has been brought about in the factory districts of Lancashire by the home missions of the Church, may be specially mentioned the calm, patient, peaceful bearing of the mill-workers during the period

of the "cotton famine" in 1862 and 1863. How different from the conduct of the operatives of this and other districts during some former seasons of forced inaction. *Then* you heard of nothing but riot and insubordination; *now* all was submission and content: it told what years of school training and Gospel preaching and pastoral visitation had done. It was a sight never to be forgotten, which I had the privilege of seeing during the winter of 1862, when in the company of one of the earnest pastors of the church in the town of Blackburn, in Lancashire, I visited school after school, and building after building in that town, where men, women, and children were alike gathered together to receive instruction in religion, and in the elements of knowledge from voluntary teachers in connection with one or another of the different congregations of the church in this place. It was a blessed sight which made one "thank God and take courage."

Shall I add to the proofs already given of the interest taken by the Church of England, in this age, in the souls of the people amongst whom she is placed? I could tell you of the work of the Irish Church Mission amongst the Roman Catholics of Dublin and Connemara, and other parts of Ireland—a work which has been spoken of throughout the whole world. I could tell you of the mission to the seamen of our ports, established eleven years ago, by which it is endeavoured to carry the word of life to the thousands of our poor neglected sailors, who are exposed to so many perils, as they "do business upon great waters;" or of our London Scripture Readers' Society, or of our Army Scripture Readers' Society. Each of them is a fresh testimony to the life and energy living in the hearts of members of our Church, and of the earnest desire which is felt by them to fulfil the Lord's command to seek out the lost and gather them into His fold.

It is a further evidence of the renewed activity which at present pervades the Church of which I am a member, that 500 of its clergy have been found ready to enrol themselves as total abstainers from intoxicating liquors, for the purpose of coping the more effectually with that awful vice of intemperance with which, alas! our English name is so shamefully connected throughout the world.

If, again, we inquire into the interest felt by the same body of men in the cause of the education of the poor, we have the most unexceptionable evidence that seventy-six per cent. of the day schools in which the labouring population of the land are being trained are supported by the funds of members of our Church, with or without Government aid, and are mainly under the direction of the clergyman in each parish.

Such, very briefly, are the signs of our Church's activity in that department of labour, which must always claim the first

share of a Church's attention, the care of the millions on her own soil.

But our *Foreign Missions* deserve also notice, as an indication of the religious life which exists within our borders. These missions have assumed of late years very extraordinary dimensions. I do not say that we have done our duty as a Church, in this respect, but the mere statement of the amount contributed to our various missionary societies is enough to show that a great number of our members are awake to the solemn responsibility committed by CHRIST to His Church, of making known the way of life to those who sit in darkness.

The annual income of four of these societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church Missionary Society, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, amounts to more than £300,000.

Besides these larger and older societies, two others having a more limited sphere of action have sprung into existence in these last years. The one called "the Universities' Mission to Central Africa," was the fruit of the earnest appeals to our universities, made by that eminent African explorer, Dr. Livingstone, whose loss we have so recently been deploring; the other, the Patagonian Mission, is the product of the single-minded zeal of a Christian officer of the Navy, Capt. Gardiner.

From the history of both these youthful missions, as well as from the details of the labours of our missionaries elsewhere, we may assuredly gather that the spirit which produces martyrs has not left our Church. What but the most ardent zeal for Christ, and love for Him, could have prompted the heroic Gardiner, with his handful of brave companions, to hazard their lives amongst the degraded savages of Terra del Fuego, where they all died a lingering death from starvation, testifying to the very last, as their journals showed, to the peace and joy which was in their hearts? What but the very same spirit could have induced the noble-minded Bishop Mackenzie to expose his life, with three of his comrades, in the unwholesome marshes of the Zambesi, where he and the flower of the party, after a few short months, left their bodies as a hostage amongst the heathen. We may question the prudence and discretion shown by the one or the other of these devoted men in the course which they pursued for attaining their glorious end; but the spirit which animated them, who can question or deny? It is an honour to our Church to have nursed such men in her bosom, in an age when wealth and luxury have spread their snares so thickly in the way of Christ's confessors, to turn them, if it might be, from the path of duty, and lead them to deny Him who gave up His life for them; and I believe it may truly be added, "Their zeal hath provoked very many."

Looking back now at the various proofs which have been given of an active life of religion within our Church, it must be acknowledged, to the praise and glory of our God, that they are neither few nor unimportant, even though it must be admitted that a considerable portion of the stir and activity which exists at the present day cannot be set down to the pure evangelical spirit.

There are indeed ambitious spirits amongst us, whose leading idea seems to be the aggrandizement, if not of themselves, yet of that portion of the Church with which they are connected, at the expense of other portions of the Church of Christ, and whose policy it is to employ the zeal and energy of men, more single-minded but less crafty than themselves, for their own purposes.

There are, we have seen, dangerous elements at work amongst us. The zeal which has been so widely displayed of late in the lavish decoration of the material edifices where God is worshipped, the inordinate craving so largely manifested for a florid ritual, the exceeding importance attached to the possession of a first-rate musical choir, are symptoms which many of us cannot but regard with much suspicion; they do not indicate, I believe, in many instances a *more* carnal state of mind than theirs is, whose mode of worship is characterised by an utter absence of all that is beautiful to the eye, or attractive to the ear; but when they are found to absorb so much attention, and when a sort of merit is attributed to the performance of Divine service with these accessories, and when moreover they become, as it were, the symbols of divers and strange doctrines, then they are baneful in the extreme. Of all this we have indeed had enough of late years, in connection mostly with a theory of the Church and its ministers, which is quite unscriptural. Missions at home and abroad are being carried on upon these principles, in which it is perfectly clear that the Churches of Rome and of the East are the proposed model, rather than those of reformed Christendom. The increase of the Episcopate moreover, the proposed Pan-Anglican Synod, the revival of Convocation, the Church Congresses and Diocesan synods, each of which measure in itself would appear to be but a sign of reviving Church life, yet all taken together, may, if God avert not the evil, become increasingly the means of propagating a spurious Anglicanism in the place of the pure religion of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

In the presence of this danger, it is often very difficult for sincere disciples of Christ to see the course which it is their duty to pursue. It is easier to discern an evil, than to discover the remedy for it. Hence divided counsels, and consequent feebleness of action amongst those whose principles are essentially the same in regard to the main lines of Christian truth.

It is a peculiar feature of the present day, not less in the sphere of Church politics than in those of the State, that the distinctions of party are less marked than formerly, and that there is more independence of judgment, and variety in the shades of opinion which are to be found amongst public men. This fact is not to be regarded with regret, though for the present our difficulties are so much increased. The truth, it must be said, is not altogether with any party in the Church. There is no party from which we may not learn something. If there are those who in their over zeal for things secondary or in their imperfect conceptions of the ample proportions of Divine truth overstep the bounds of scriptural moderation, whilst we protest against their errors, we must not forget that Christ may be theirs, as well as ours. The great problem is so to combine mutual forbearance and brotherly love with zeal for God's truth, that we may sacrifice neither to the other, but as an Apostle has taught us, "Speak the truth in love."

We cannot but be conscious that we of the Church of England are at present passing through a great crisis. The eyes of men and of angels are upon us, and especially must the struggle have interest in the eyes of the other churches of the Reformation, whether in Europe or in America, from the greatness of the principles which are at stake, and the important position which the Church of England has ever held in respect to those churches.

Help us then with your prayers, my Christian brethren, that we may keep the precious treasure of Divine truth committed to us, whole and entire, that we may free ourselves from the entanglements and hindrances which obstruct the influence of that truth, and rise out of our present perplexities to fulfil with greater earnestness the mission which God has given us amongst the Churches; or, if it should please God that a period of disruption should be at hand to the national Church of England, He may so guide and stand by His faithful servants in it, that they may "see what He would have them to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same."

ENGLAND.

ON EVANGELICAL ENGLISH NONCONFORMITY.

BY THE REV. J. H. HINTON, M.A.

TAKING the word Nonconformist in its most general sense, there were Nonconformists in the Church of England—that is to say, persons who did not conform to her worship—from the time of the Reformation. In the year 1539 Injunctions were issued by King Henry the Eighth, denouncing for punishment “Sacramentarians and Anabaptists.” In the reign of Edward the Sixth, diversities, both of opinion and practice, were so numerous, that, in 1562, the New Service-book was confirmed by a statute—the first Act of Uniformity—and preaching was altogether prohibited. Notwithstanding this, however, so many sectaries sprang up, that a Commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury “to search after all Anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Common Prayer;” and hence resulted at least one martyrdom—that of Joan Boucher, a Baptist, commonly called Joan of Kent.

By the cruelties of the reign of Mary many Protestants were driven to the Continent, and of these a sufficient number settled at Frankfort-on-Main to form a congregation, of which the celebrated John Knox was for a time the minister. Within the bosom of this congregation arose earnest, and somewhat vehement, ecclesiastical discussions, the elements of which the exiles, on their return to England in 1555, scattered abroad. From this period may be dated the existence of the Puritan party.

During the reign of Elizabeth the Puritan clergy were treated with a severity which compelled them to deliberate on the propriety of holding separate meetings for worship; and, although the party was divided in opinion on this point, a considerable portion of them decided in the affirmative, and acted accordingly—meeting together in private houses, or in barns, woods, and fields.

A portion of the Puritans rejected Episcopacy, and adopted the Presbyterian form of church-government, with which they had become acquainted at Geneva. The leader of this section was Thomas Cartwright, of the university of Cambridge, a man of distinguished learning, and of undoubted piety. He was proceeded against, and banished from the University. His followers, however, in 1572, formed at Wandsworth, in the

neighbourhood of London, a Presbyterian church, or Presbytery; and, although this particular society was not suffered long to exist—it had the honour of being the first suppressed conventicle—other Presbyteries were constituted in most of the counties of England.

The theology of the Presbyterian body was in the first instance Evangelical and Calvinistic; early in the eighteenth century, however, not only Arminian, but Arian doctrines began to prevail, and Socinian views generally ensued upon these. The Evangelical Presbyterians now in England emanated at a later period from Scotland, and about forty congregations still retain their Scottish connection; a portion of them, however, after the disruption in 1843, formed themselves into an ecclesiastical body known as the English Presbyterian Church, and comprising about one hundred congregations.

The first prominent advocate of Congregational principles appeared in 1568, in the person of Robert Browne, a man of ancient family in Rutlandshire, and a relation of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. At Cambridge he imbibed the spirit of ecclesiastical innovation, and this he carried so far as to affirm every congregation of Christians to be a Church, competent and entitled to manage its own affairs. Being banished from Cambridge, Browne propagated his sentiments by itinerating. He resided three years in Zealand, where he formed an Independent Church, and then returned to England, where he again itinerated with considerable success. Having suffered thirty-two incarcerations in as many different prisons, he at length conformed to the Established Church, and died rector of Achurch, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire. His leading sentiment, however, which was the essential principle of the religious body commonly known as Independents (in those times called Brownists), did not die, but spread so rapidly that, in 1593, an Act of Parliament was directed especially against those who held it. For the maintenance of this principle Barrowe and Greenwood perished at the stake.

In 1602 John Robinson and his friends, who found that by holding separate religious meetings, they were exposing themselves to persecution, retired from the county of Norfolk to Amsterdam, where they formed themselves into an Independent Church. Mr. Robinson was a Brownist; but some writers claim him, rather than Browne, as the Father of the English Independents. In 1616, Henry Jacob, a member of Mr. Robinson's congregation, returned to London, and formed an Independent Church in that city, himself being chosen pastor.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century (*anno* 1606), there arose in a Brownist church at Amsterdam a controversy on Baptism. John Smyth, who had suffered severely in England as a Puritan, and had subsequently seen his way to Indepen-

dency as held by the Brownists, in the end found his way also to the rejection of infant baptism, and the assertion of immersion as the only scriptural mode. Although strongly opposed, and by no inconsiderable men—Johnson, Robinson, Clifton, and Ainsworth, were among them—his sentiments diffused themselves, and were shortly afterwards conveyed by some of his disciples into England. In 1612, the entire Baptist Church at Amsterdam formed by Mr. Smyth (now under the care of Mr. Helwysse, his successor) returned, from an opinion that they had erred in flying from persecution to a strange land; and, soon after their return, they published the admirable treatise—*“Persecution for Religion judged and condemned.”* The theological sentiments held by this congregation were Arminian, and with them originated the body of General, or Arminian, Baptists.

The General Baptist Churches were ecclesiastically compacted in the year 1654, after which period they held an Annual Assembly. Their orthodoxy, however, was not maintained. As early as 1697 a tendency to heretical views showed itself in this body, and, after a protracted conflict of opinions, the nucleus of an Evangelical secession was formed, chiefly by the labours of the Rev. Dan. Taylor. The General Baptist New Connexion held its first meeting, or Association, in 1770.

In 1633 the Independent Church formed by Mr. Henry Jacob dismissed some of its members, who were Baptists, for the purpose of forming a Baptist Church, of which the pastor was Mr. John Spilsbury. In theological sentiment these were Calvinists, and with them originated the body of Calvinistic, or Particular, Baptists.

In 1643 the two Houses of Parliament, by a joint resolution, abolished Episcopal Church-government. Having taken this step without any decision as to that which should succeed it, they constituted the body known as the Westminster Assembly of Divines, with the view of devising, and recommending to Parliament, an ecclesiastical system which might satisfy all parties, and become the basis of a comprehension. In this Assembly no Episcopal clergy (though a few were named in it) took an active share. It consisted, practically, of three parties—Presbyterians, Erastians (political religionists), and Moderate Independents*—the Independents numbering ten, and the bulk of the Assembly being Presbyterians. The aim of this last body was to establish a new ecclesiastical despotism—towards which they made some strenuous efforts by the imposition of the

* “Moderate Independents” is a phrase which I have used because the general body of the Independents was divided into two parties, the one affirming, and the other denying, the proper subjection of the church or churches, to the State. The former were known as the Moderate, and the latter as the Extreme, Independents. To the latter, the entire body of Baptists belonged, and hence none of them were included in the Assembly.

Solemn League and Covenant, binding the whole nation to the overthrow of Prelacy, and by the experimental formation of Presbyteries in some parts of the country—while the Independents vainly struggled for comprehension on terms of freedom : it seems certain, however, that, although they did not bring to bear their fondly-cherished scheme of a comprehension, the Independents did, by their incessant exposure of the tyrannical designs of their opponents, prevent the actual establishment of Presbyterianism. After sitting for six years the Assembly lost all its moral influence, and in 1649 it was formally dispensed with. We owe to this body the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, which are admirable summaries of the doctrines of Calvinism, and the Confession of Faith, which is a piece of masterly theological exposition.

The establishment of the Commonwealth formed an era in the religious liberty of England. The Declaration of the Council of State in 1653 provided “that none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavours be made to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation ;” and that “such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their part ; provided this liberty is not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to such as, under profession of Christianity, hold forth and practise licentiousness.”

These views, unquestionably in advance of those of the nation, were but feebly responded to even by the Independents, who, in 1658, held at the Savoy a Conference on their ecclesiastical affairs, at which two hundred ministers and delegates attended, and one hundred churches in various parts of the country were represented. When the declaration of this Conference—of which Owen, Goodwin, Caryl, and Nye were members—“that professing Christians, whose errors are purely spiritual and internal, and overthrow not civil society, are to be borne with,” was presented to Richard Cromwell on its behalf, Dr. Goodwin said, “We look at the magistrates as *custodes utriusque tabulæ*,* and so commit it [the Gospel] to your trust, as our chief magistrate, to countenance and propagate.” How far short was this of the thorough language of Vane, one of the greatest of the Independent statesmen, and one with whom many of the laity sympathised—“The province of the magistrate is this world, and man’s body ; not his conscience, or the concerns of eternity.”

After the failure of the effort for a comprehension by the West-

* “Guardian of both tables.”

minster Assembly, Cromwell made undoubtedly well-meant, and to a great degree successful, endeavours, to fill the pulpits of the now ecclesiastically shapeless Establishment with pious and able men, irrespectively of their ecclesiastical views. Hence it resulted that, at the close of the Protectorate, the clergy of the Establishment possessed, as a body, no unity, and its services no uniformity. Its livings were held by Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists—by these last inconsistently enough—promiscuously, and its services were conducted with a corresponding diversity.

With the reign of Charles the Second an entire change came over the scene. On his accession, Episcopacy, after lying in a state of collapse for eighteen years, at once revived, on the ground that the Resolution of the two Houses of Parliament abolishing it had never received the royal assent. The king made, at Breda, an explicit declaration that “no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom;” and a Conference of divines was speedily held at the Savoy, professedly for the revision of the Prayer Book. This, however, turned out to be a mere juggle; and almost immediately a series of measures was adopted for the restoration of the Episcopal Church to its former position, while the sequestered clergy swarmed back to their old places, and reclaimed their former livings. The process was consummated by means of the statute known as the Act of Uniformity.

By this statute it was enacted that “all ministers who had not received Episcopal ordination should be reordained by bishops;” and that “every minister should, on or before the 24th day of August following, being the feast of St. Bartholomew, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of being *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice.” Under this Act it was impossible for conscientious men who were not Episcopalians to retain their ecclesiastical position; and accordingly, on St. Bartholomew’s day, 1662, a large number of the clergy vacated their livings. It has been commonly stated that more than two thousand of the clergy did so on that day, but Mr. Stoughton, the latest authority on this subject, affirms that “this is incorrect;” he thinks, however, that, in relation to ministers compelled to leave the Church in 1662 and the previous two years, “the old statement of two thousand cannot be far from the truth.” *

From this day may be dated the existence of English Nonconformity as a fact of a new order; the ejected ministers not abandoning their functions as preachers of the Gospel, but applying themselves assiduously, and, to a large extent, success-

* “Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago.”

fully, to the formation of separate congregations. As a body, they are sketched by a competent writer, in the following terms:—

“I hesitate not to say,” says Dr. McCrie, “that a band of more worthy and excellent ministers never occupied the pulpits of the Church of England. Most of them men in the prime of life, of scholarly habits and liberal education, they were without exception men of faith and prayer, deeply imbued with the spirit of the Gospel which they preached, and earnest workers in the ministry which they adorned.”

What the men were, however, let the world judge from such names as follow—John Howe, Edmund Calamy, Matthew Pool, Matthew Mead, Lazarus Seaman, Samuel Annesley, Thomas Vincent, Thomas Manton, William Bates, Joseph Alleine, John Owen, Stephen Charnock, and Richard Baxter.

For the Free Churches of England the Act of Uniformity was the most happy event which could have occurred. Where Nonconformists could formerly have been counted by the score, they could now be counted by the thousand. Some hundreds of free churches date their origin from this period.

The Nonconformist ministers now pursued their laborious but faithful course amidst many manifestations of unbridled hostility. The insurrection in London of the Fifth Monarchy men gave occasion to a general attack on the Independent and Baptist meeting-houses, which were closed in all directions. Oppressive Acts of Parliament followed: in 1664 the Corporation Act, excluding Nonconformists from all places of office and preferment; and after this the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act—the former levying fines on “all who should be present at any assembly or conventicle, under colour and pretence of the exercise of religion in any other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England, where there were five persons, or more, besides those of the household;” and the latter levying fines and imprisonment on “every person who came within five miles of any town where he had formerly held a living.” In 1670 the Conventicle Act was extended, and in 1673 was added the Test Act, by which all employment under Government was denied to Nonconformists. These Acts were not a dead letter, but were carried out in a spirit of relentless persecution, so that the sufferings of the Nonconformists during this period were incalculable. A striking evidence of this is to be found in the contrivances adopted to elude spies and informers, and especially to screen ministers from detection in the act of preaching.

In 1672 King Charles the Second diversified his course of persecution by issuing a Royal Declaration of Indulgence, proclaiming liberty of worship to Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists. A considerable number of Nonconformists

(among whom John Bunyan was the first) at once availed themselves of this measure; but generally, being suspicious of Charles's policy, and disliking his assumption of a dispensing power, they repudiated it: and thus the enemies and the friends of religious freedom found themselves for once on the same side. The Indulgence was in a few months withdrawn.

In the year 1687, the Nonconformists were again placed in a difficult position by King James the Second's Royal Declaration of Indulgence; a declaration intended by him as a step towards the restoration of Popery, but affording so many immediate advantages to the Nonconformists, that it became a critical question—and a question which, even now, it is not easy positively to decide—whether they should avail themselves of it, or not. They were courted on the one hand by the King, and on the other by the Church; and (as was perhaps, inevitable) they were divided both in opinion and practice. The practical question, however, was soon settled by the welcome arrival of the Prince of Orange, and his accession to the throne, in 1688.

The new monarch was friendly to freedom of conscience; and his great achievement was the passage through Parliament of a measure which became, and still remains, the bulwark of religious liberty in England—the Act of Toleration, passed in the year 1689. This Act, indeed, gave to Dissenters from the Established Church the smallest possible advantage. The liberty conferred by it was confined within very narrow bounds, and fenced round with jealous restrictions; by the Dissenters as a body, however, the measure was received with contentment and thankfulness.

It had taken many years, and much suffering, to teach England the lesson which she had at length partially learned, and which the Act of Toleration imperfectly embodied in the law of the realm. So deeply rooted, among even the early Nonconformists, were the ideas that religion should be under the control of the State, and that no toleration should be granted to religious error, that it may be doubted whether any discipline less severe or protracted than that which the nation underwent would have completely eradicated them. To this general statement, however, one exception should be made.

"It is the singular and distinguished honour of the Baptists," says Mr. Skeats, "to have repudiated from their earliest history all exercise of power over the conscience and the actions of men in reference to religion. No instance is to be found in all their writings inconsistent with those principles of liberty and willinghood, which are now equally dear to all the Congregational Churches of England. They were the proto-evangelists of the voluntary principle."*

* "History of the Free Churches."

At the same time with the Toleration Act, there was introduced into the House of Lords a Bill for the "Comprehension" of Dissenters in the Established Church. For a time a prospect of success attended this measure; but it ultimately failed, not through the unwillingness of the Dissenters, but through the opposition of the High Church party, who thus perpetuated, as they had in the first instance created, English Nonconformity. Calamy asserts that the scheme, if adopted, would probably have brought into the Church two-thirds of the Dissenters—a public calamity prevented by "the happy providence of God" in this matter.

The condition of Dissent at the commencement of William's reign was remarkable for its strength and purity. Of the number of its adherents some estimate may be formed from the fact that 273 Congregational, and 122 Baptist, churches now existing date their origin from before this period. Presbyterians probably existed in still greater numbers.

After the passing of the Toleration Act, the various Nonconformist bodies, or, as they must now be called, Protestant Dissenters, naturally bestirred themselves.

The Presbyterians and Independents engaged in a renewed, and partially successful, endeavour to effect an ecclesiastical union. The *Heads of Agreement* were adopted in 1691.

The Particular Baptists held a General Assembly convened by the leaders of that body—among whom were the men of honoured memory, Kiffin, Knollys, and Keach—and attended by delegates from 130 churches. Deploring the then depressed condition of the body, the Assembly drew up a Confession of Faith, and addressed a Letter to the churches.

The General Baptists were not less active. Several Assemblies of the churches were held in different parts of the country, and those in the county of Somerset published a Confession of Faith, which was as decidedly Arminian as that of the Particular Baptists was Calvinistic.

A subject to which the attention of all parties was earnestly directed was the education of Dissenting Ministers. The ejected clergy were for the most part highly educated men, and they naturally betook themselves to the formation of academies for their own support; thus in all parts of the country institutions were formed, at which numerous students for the ministry received an exact and liberal education.

Towards the close of William the Third's reign the tendency of public opinion was towards a limitation of the freedom enjoyed by Dissenters, and Queen Anne was no sooner seated on the throne than it became evident that their liberties were in danger of serious restriction. Hostile attacks were made upon them in various forms: by the suppression of Dissenting academies, by the passing of the Occasional Conformity Bill, and, above all, by

the passing of the Schism Bill—the practical operation of which last, however, was prevented by the timely and providential death of the Queen.

That, under all these disadvantages, the Dissenters were not idle, appears from the fact that, in the twelve years between 1688 and 1700, they took out licenses for no fewer than 2,418 places of worship.

With the accession of the House of Hanover came better times. Some Dissenting chapels having been destroyed in the political riots which occurred early in the reign of George the First, an Act was passed for the punishment of such offences. In 1719 the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act were repealed, and a Bill brought into the Upper House “for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness,” but restricting liberty of speech on the doctrines of Christianity, was thrown out. In 1722 the king evinced his regard for Dissenters by a yearly gift of money, at first called a *Regium Donum*, or Royal Gift, but afterwards converted into a Parliamentary grant. The acceptance of this money was by some Dissenters denounced as inconsistent then, and so it was in subsequent times, until, at their own desire, a few years ago, the grant was discontinued.

In the year 1779, under the reign of George the Third, an Act was passed releasing Dissenting ministers from subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, and Dissenting schoolmasters from the necessity of procuring a license from the bishop, and of taking the Sacrament at church. The year 1811 was memorable for the introduction into the Upper House, by Lord Sidmouth, of a Bill seriously restricting the liberty of Dissenting Ministers; but, after much excitement, the Bill was thrown out. In 1812 an Act was passed repealing certain Acts “relating to religious worship and assemblies, and persons teaching and preaching therein;” an Act so beneficial that it was called the New Toleration Act. And in 1828 were repealed, after many efforts, the Test and Corporation Acts.

The general mass of Evangelical English Nonconformity has in later times been augmented by the accession of several bodies, among which the most prominent place is occupied by the Methodists.

The name Methodist is one of wide application, and rather covers a group of Nonconformist bodies than designates any single one. It was first applied, partly, it would seem, as a jest, and subsequently as a term of reproach, to certain members of the University of Oxford, who, being more seriously disposed than the ordinary run of students, in the years 1727—29, held private religious meetings in College, and formed a society denominated the Holy Club. Among these were the brothers John and Charles Wesley, sons of the rector of Epworth, and grandsons of Dr. Samuel Annersley, one of the ejected ministers of

1662. With very little religious light at first, by incidental intercourse with the Moravians, and especially with one of them, Peter Böhler, these young men were led to a high degree of Scriptural knowledge and experience; and, painfully struck with the low state of religion in the country, they solemnly devoted themselves to its revival. I cannot here speak of the multitudinous labours and adventures of John Wesley; let it suffice to say that, without contemplating in the first instance a secession from the Established Church, of which he was a minister, but aiming rather at a quickening of earnest Christianity within it, he was led on by apparently irresistible circumstances, and by what he regarded as providential indications, to the formation, first of separate Societies, then of a United Society, and ultimately of an ecclesiastical organization by a General Conference of its ministers. The United Society dates from 1739; the first Conference was held in 1744, and its meeting has since been annual. The organic constitution of this body, which at the first consisted of those ministers only who were personally invited to it by Mr. Wesley, was determined by a Deed of Declaration enrolled in Chancery in 1784.

The Wesleys did not profess any doctrinal difference with the Church of England; in their theological views, however, they were Arminians, as are also their followers. The doctrinal articles of the English Church have generally been considered to be Calvinistic; and I can say nothing more in explanation of this seeming discrepancy than is to be found in the following language of one of their historiographers:—"The articles of the English Church, like the liturgical and other formulas with which they are connected, were framed on a basis of comprehension, and the Methodists accept them in the Arminian sense."*

The ecclesiastical discipline of the Methodists is peculiar; but it is not within the province of this paper to give a detailed view of it.

From the original Methodist, or Wesleyan, body have sprung several off-shoots; not from a process of expansion, but from the influence of internal differences. The Methodist New Connexion was formed in 1797; the Primitive Methodist body in 1808; one party, under the name of Reformed Methodists, separated in 1835, and another, under the same name, in 1849, while a third separated in 1839, and took the name of the Wesleyan Association; these three are now amalgamated, under the title of the Methodist United Free Church. Of indirect Methodist origin are also the Bible Christians, a body which sprang from the evangelistic efforts of a Wesleyan local preacher (Mr. O'Brien) in Devonshire.

* Rev. W. L. Thornton, "Encyclopædia of Religious Denominations."

The rise of the Methodists in England gave an impulse to Wales, through Mr. Howel Harris, a gentleman of Trevecca, in Brecon, who had entered himself at Oxford as a student for the church. Disgusted at the profligacy of the University, in 1735 he returned home, and commenced labour as an evangelist with great vigour and success. By the year 1739 he had established not fewer than three hundred societies; and in this year he had an interview at Cardiff with the Rev. George Whitefield, another member of the University of Oxford, and clergyman of the Church of England, who, bent on the revival of religion within it, for a time was in co-operation with the Wesleys, but ultimately separated from them on a doctrinal ground—for he was a Calvinist. Into his wonderful career of labour and success I cannot here enter. I must content myself with saying that, after his second return from America, in 1741, Mr. Whitefield identified himself entirely with this movement, in which originated the body known as the Calvinistic, or Welsh, Methodists. The first Association of this body was held in 1793. Their theology is Calvinistic, and their church government Presbyterian.

A smaller, but not unimportant, contribution to the ranks of Evangelical English Nonconformity was made a little later by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. Devoting herself and her property to the promotion of evangelical preaching, this noble lady, while a member of the Church of England, commenced a ministerial College at Trevecca, in South Wales. This was in 1768: in 1782 the Countess seceded from the Establishment, and in 1792 the College was removed to Cheshunt, in the neighbourhood of London. The management of the institution, and of all the chapels supplied with ministers by it, is in the hands of Trustees. The theology of the Countess's Connexion is Calvinistic.

Under favour of perfect religious liberty, not a few other Evangelical sects have sprung into existence in England, such as the Brethren—more distinctively known as the Plymouth Brethren—and the Catholic and Apostolic Church, deriving its origin from Edward Irving, with many others. There are in the whole not less than ninety-three religious sects in England and Wales (not all of them, however, Evangelical) reported to the Registrar-General.

In relation to statistics, it would gratify me if I were able to present a complete statement of the number of Evangelical Nonconformists in England and Wales, under the two heads of churches and church-members; the returns, however, are at once too defective and too dissimilar to render this possible. In 1715 Neal set down the Baptist and Pædo-baptist Churches at 1,150. At present the Baptist denomination, Particular and General, is the only one whose return is perfect; and this con-

tains 2,264 churches, with 238,000 members. The churches in the Congregational body may be set down at 2,500, and, on an estimated average of a hundred members to each church, the members at 250,000. The Wesleyan Methodists have in Society 326,000 persons. The Methodist New Connexion report 23,000; the United Methodist Free Church, 66,000; the Primitive Methodists, 70,000; and the Bible Christians, 26,000. The Calvinistic Methodists have 90,000 members; Lady Huntingdon's Connexion probably 3,000. Beyond this everything is conjecture. The sum of these numbers is nearly one million one hundred thousand; and, making a conjectural addition for the Evangelical sects and congregations unreported, the gross number may be estimated at a million and a quarter.

The question is not uninteresting, though, of course, its solution can be only conjectural, what proportion of the population of England and Wales may be held to be identified with Evangelical Nonconformity. The only way of approaching this question is to estimate the proportion of church-members to the population from which they are drawn. If a church have 100 members, it may be supposed to represent a population four times as numerous, or 400 persons. On this supposition the gross number of members (a million and a quarter) would represent a population of five millions—or one-fourth of the gross population, which in 1861 was 20,000,000.

A gleam of light on the subject before us may be derived from Mr. Mann's Report of the number of attendances on public worship. On the 30th of March, 1851, the attendances were 10,896,066. Of these were in the Church of England 5,292,551, or something less than one-half. The attendances of Nonconformists were 5,604,115: some of these, however, were not *Evangelical* Nonconformists, and if we throw off a round number of half a million for them, the attendances of Evangelical Nonconformists will be 5,104,115, a number very nearly equal to those in the Church of England. The proportion of *attendants* on public worship to *attendances* is, of course, matter of conjecture; but, if we take it at two-thirds, the attendants will stand as follows: Church of England 3,528,368, Evangelical Nonconformists 3,402,744. If within the last fifteen years the proportion has varied, it is probably in favour of the Nonconformists.

It will naturally be understood that all the Nonconformist bodies support their ministers, and every variety of religious effort—from the Sunday-school to chapel-building, and Home and Foreign Missions—by money raised exclusively (with the small exception of local endowments) by voluntary contribution. What the gross amount of such contribution may be, can, of course, only be conjectured; my own conjecture is, that, allowing for extremes, and for the aid of non-members, the contributions may average £2 sterling *per annum* for every church-member.

This would raise a gross yearly amount of two millions and a half sterling. Or, if the congregations (from which, it is to be remembered, a large portion of the contributions come) be had in view, I should assign an average of ten shillings per head; a conjecture which would lead us to the same result.

In one department of Christian activity the expenditure of English Evangelical Nonconformists can, to some extent, be exactly computed—that of education for the ministry by means of Collegiate institutions.

	Colleges.	Students.	Annual Cost £.
Independents have - - -	13	287	16,000
Baptists, Particular - - -	9	238	13,000
Baptists, General - - -	1	12	800
Wesleyan Methodists - - -	2	120	13,000
Primitive Methodists - - -	1	9	700
Calvinistic Methodists - -	2	76	1,800
Lady Huntingdon's Connexion -	1	28	2,000
Total - - -	29	770	47,300

Nothing now remains but for me to give, in a few sentences, my general estimate of the religious value of Evangelical English Nonconformity.

As the Nonconformists *in* the Church of England before the Act of Uniformity constituted nearly the whole of its vital religion, so, after their expulsion, they constituted nearly the whole of the vital religion of England; and, with the amplest allowance for the influence of the modern Evangelical party in the Church of England, they do so still. With comparatively small and unimportant exceptions, they have maintained pure doctrine, and have abounded in zealous labour. They have produced a considerable number of divines of the highest rank, whether as preachers or as authors; and still more is their country indebted to them for a large body of humble, but not ignorant, evangelists.

The Evangelical Nonconformists of England have been, instrumentally, the salvation of their country: without them, after the Act of Uniformity, the whole land must have sunk into the most utter irreligion; without them the Church of England would have known nothing of her comparatively recent revival of Evangelical doctrine; and without them now, that Church would assuredly feel the absence of a stimulus to which she is more indebted than, perhaps, she would like to confess.

SCOTLAND.

REPORT ON THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM ROBERTSON,

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“The Scottish Churches,” which is the subject on which I have been requested to submit a few observations to the Alliance, is one of far too extensive a character to be examined satisfactorily in the short space of time to which we are necessarily limited, so that we are compelled to select from so wide a field such points as may be considered most deserving of notice. Even these points it will be found impossible to discuss, except in a very cursory manner, and owing to the religious diversities, and I may be allowed to say, jealousies which prevail in Scotland, they will sometimes require to be delicately handled, lest I should wound the sensibilities or come into collision with the opinions of some of my brethren, whom I both love and honour. I will endeavour to the utmost of my power to avoid this danger, and I have confidence in the liberality of my friends who may differ from me, that I shall meet with every indulgence, if sometimes I should find it impossible or unbecoming to withhold the expression of my sentiments as a minister of the Established Church of Scotland.

The observations I have to offer on this subject may be divided into the three following heads:—1st. Those who are without the pale of the Scottish Evangelical Churches; 2nd. The various denominations into which the Church of Christ in Scotland is divided; and, 3rd. The state of religion in these Churches.

I. Those who are outside the pale of the Scottish Evangelical Church.

These are Unitarians, Roman Catholics, and those who belong to no Church at all.

The first of these, viz., the Unitarians, are by no means numerous in Scotland. It appears to me that the Scottish mind is of too logical a character to entertain this fatal heresy, and that it can perceive no alternative betwixt the entire rejection of the Scriptures, as the inspired Word of God, and the full recognition of Christ Jesus as the Eternal Son of God, equal in power and glory with the Father. I think the Scottish mind is too logical, I say, and I hope I may add, too honest to accept the Scriptures and yet deny a doctrine which the Scriptures so plainly reveal.

The Roman Catholics are vastly more numerous, and there-

fore demand more lengthened notice. We exclude them from the pale of the Evangelical Church, equally with the Unitarians; the latter because they deny Christ, and are therefore, according to the Apostle John, anti-Christ; the former because of their idolatry. I trust that no intelligent person will accuse me of want of liberality when I charge the Romish Church with idolatry. Apart from other abundant evidences which might be adduced to substantiate this charge, the simple fact, which she not only does not deny, but which she openly parades and glories in, that she worships as God, over all, blessed for evermore, that which we believe to be nothing more than a bit of paste, composed of flour and water, is sufficient to compel every thinking Protestant to regard her as essentially idolatrous. Either that Sacramental wafer is Christ, the Son of God, the Creator of all things, or the Church that worships that wafer is idolatrous—there can be no alternative.

The Roman Catholics, we have said, are very numerous in Scotland, but the vast majority of them are not Scotch, but immigrants from Ireland. Scotland has comparatively few native Roman Catholics, and almost no perverts to Popery. Irish immigrants, however, are to be found in great numbers in all our large towns. Generally speaking, they are the lowest and most degraded of the Irish people. They are perfectly illiterate; for the most part utterly ignorant of all religion, even of their own. They are either grossly superstitious or reckless of all religious restraint of any kind. As a necessary consequence they are poor, profligate, and filthy. Being by nature impulsive and excitable, they are easily stirred up to violence and disorder, and have become a source of infinite embarrassment both to our ministers and to our magistrates, to our missionaries and to our police. They were too long entirely neglected by all the Scottish Churches, and it was only when their increasing numbers rendered them a positive nuisance, that they compelled attention. Still, too little is being done for them. There are a few missionaries specially employed to labour among them, and they share in the attention of the ordinary city missionaries. One zealous and liberal gentleman, Mr. John Hope, single-handed, and at a very large expense, maintains an active mission among them in Edinburgh, and the British Reformation Society of London have extended their operations to Scotland wherever they could secure the concurrence and aid of ministers of the Established Church. As a class they are difficult of access. The most superstitious, whose whole religion consists in obedience to the priests, refuse to admit our ministers or missionaries into their wretched dwellings; and even where these are received, they rarely come into contact with the greater number, who are engaged in out-door labour. Thus the success of these missions is not great. Perhaps ten or a dozen converts may be found in

my own congregation, and I doubt if any other can number more.

The third class referred to as outside the pale of the Scotch Church, are those who belong to no church at all. In every country there exists a remnant of heathendom, if that term is not too respectable to be applied to what, in the very focus of Christianity, is the abnegation of all religion. These are generally to be found, and unhappily in large numbers, in the poorest districts of our large towns, occupying the same localities, as they do also the same moral and social position, as the Roman Catholics, already described. They are living not only in the utter neglect of all religious ordinances and means of instruction, but of the ordinary decencies of civilized life, and in the practice of many vices. Vicious habits and neglect of religion reduced them to poverty, and poverty perpetuates and aggravates the evils which produced it. They live in a vicious circle, each evil being at once the parent and the offspring of others. Intemperance is the chief cause of all. It is this which has replenished our city lanes and closes, our reeking cellars and miserable garrets, our police cells, jails and penitentiaries with poverty, disease, profligacy and crime. Probably this unhappy class are not more numerous and not more depraved with us than in continental towns of the same description, but they are sufficiently numerous, especially when taken into account with the Roman Catholic masses already mentioned, to constitute a reproach to any Christian or civilized community. How they were ever suffered to lapse into this sad condition in the midst of so much Christian light, benevolence, and means of grace, is a problem of difficult solution. As a minister of an Established Church, I may be permitted, without offence to any, to ascribe it in great measure to the neglect of the State, which has failed to extend the national means of grace, so as to make them commensurate with the wants of the people, and meet the necessities of a rapidly increasing population. On this point our brethren who hold the voluntary principle, of course, maintain a different opinion, but we shall all agree in this, that one cause of this great evil is to be found in the long-continued unchristian estrangement of the different orders of society from each other, in consequence of which the poor have in a great measure been deprived of those religious, moral, and civilizing influences which ought to flow from the higher and more enlightened classes to their poorer neighbours; and for want of such intercourse the poor have been suffered to live in an obscurity but too favourable to the growth of irreligion and vice. We thank God that Scottish Christians have seen their error. For many years they have been employing every means to draw closer the bonds which unite the different orders of society, and the dwellings of the poor are no longer a *terra incognita* to their more fortunate brethren. Christian men and

women of the highest social position consider it both a duty and a privilege to minister to the wants, temporal and spiritual, of their humbler neighbours ; and I am persuaded that at this moment there is hardly a family in the most obscure quarters of Edinburgh which has not been visited by Christian benevolence and sympathy. No means have, in fact, been left untried whereby the moral and physical condition of the poor may be improved, and the various evangelical churches have engaged with a holy rivalry in the great work of home evangelization. Visiting the poor has been systematized ; ragged schools, ragged churches, mothers' meetings, working men's associations, have been established ; missionaries, Scripture readers, and Bible-women, have been employed ; and we have reason to thank God, never without encouraging success. Here I may be allowed to adduce my own parish as an illustration of what I say. I refer to it simply because I am necessarily better acquainted with the result of Christian work there than anywhere else, and I offer it merely as an example of the success of similar efforts in other similar localities. The district to which I allude was long considered one of the most miserable and profligate in Edinburgh. I am told it used to be called the *Dark Valley*, by a reverend friend of mine, than whom no man is better acquainted with the condition of the poor in Edinburgh, or has done more for their improvement—I mean the Rev. Dr: Guthrie. I now protest against that name being applied to it. The light of the Gospel has, through the various instrumentalities already mentioned, penetrated into every close or lane, into every crowded stair, garret, or cellar. Vice, ignorance, irreligion, yet remain in abundance ; but the grosser and more revolting forms and developments of vice have disappeared, while not a few are to be found there who may be reckoned remarkable examples of God's saving grace. I had been in the custom, when I first undertook the charge of the parish, to publish, from time to time, statements of its moral and physical condition, drawn from the missionary's reports, in order to turn the attention of the wealthier classes to the state of the poor. These statements are now utterly inapplicable to the district in question. One very tangible and gratifying evidence of the reformation which has been effected is to be found in the following fact : When my ragged school was first opened, it was incapable of accommodating the number of children within my parish of the unhappy class for whose benefit it was intended. Though originally constructed to receive only 250 children, I have, in seasons of extraordinary pressure, been obliged to admit as many as 400. Now, things are so changed, that the parish cannot supply even 250 ; and in order to complete that number I opened the doors to children from other parishes. To such an extent have families who supply ragged children diminished in number within that district ;

to such an extent have decent well-doing families increased. Sometime ago I heard a remarkable testimony borne to this improvement by a wealthy merchant, who, from his place of business being in that locality, had been intimately acquainted with it for more than fifty years. He belonged to a different religious denomination, but had liberally supported all my evangelizing schemes. Repeatedly did he say to me, and I can never forget his words, "Before your ragged school and visiting association were established, this place was a hell upon earth."

Here I may be permitted to pay a debt of gratitude to one whose name I doubt not is fondly cherished by many among us, but especially by the brethren from Northern Germany. It was to Amelia Sievking, of Hamburg, that I was indebted for the idea of a visiting association among the poor. I am not aware of any previously existing in Scotland; but at any rate it was from her that I borrowed it, and I believe it is to that benevolent and honoured lady that is due the praise of having initiated this simple but singularly efficient Christian institution to which multitudes of the outcasts of society have been indebted for the light of salvation.

II. We proceed now to the second division of our subject—viz., the consideration of those religious denominations to which the title, *the Scotch Churches*, more properly belongs. The Scotch Churches, then—or, as I love to call them in the aggregate, the Church of Christ in Scotland—is divided into numerous sections, which are chiefly the following—viz., the Established Church, the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Episcopalian, the Reformed Presbyterian, the Independent, the Wesleyan, and the Baptist. Of these the three first are by far the most important in point of numbers. The Episcopalian is one of the most inconsiderable, but a large proportion of its adherents, owing to their wealth and position in society, are possessed of great social and political influence. The others, though equal to any in point of Christian character, comprehend comparatively a small portion of the population. These various denominations are separated from the Established Church, and from each other, by distinctions of more or less importance. The chief distinguishing feature in the Episcopalian Church, at least so far as the High Church party is concerned, is the dogma of the three orders of the clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons, which by some is pushed to such an extravagant extent that it is held to be absolutely essential to the existence of a Christian Church. Not a few of the clergy, however, and by far the greater proportion of the laity, have no sympathy with this exclusive pretension, which would expel from the Church of Christ the whole of the Protestant world, with the exception of one comparatively small denomination.

The United Presbyterian Church again, is separated from all the rest by what is called the Voluntary principle, which is op-

posed to the existence of a national religious establishment, and maintains that it is within neither the obligation nor the right of a Christian government, to provide for the maintenance of the Church—which ought, it is argued, to be supported solely by voluntary contributions.

Lastly. The distinguishing feature of the Free Church is one which cannot be stated in so few words: in fact, in order fully to explain it, it would be necessary to enter into the history of that remarkable movement which divided the Church of Scotland twenty-four years ago—which it is impossible for us to do at present. The two Churches are perfectly agreed on every point of doctrine, discipline, and church government. They hold the same Confession of Faith. Even the principle which occasioned the separation—namely, the freedom of the Church from all State control in spiritual things—is equally maintained by both. It appears to me, therefore, that the difference betwixt us relates not to the principle itself, but to its application in certain circumstances which emerged at the time, or to the question where the line ought to be drawn which divides things spiritual from things temporal, and beyond which the civil power must not intrude. Practically, the whole difference of opinion relates to the mode of establishing the tie betwixt pastor and people. The Church of Scotland believes, that when sufficient care has been taken to secure soundness of doctrine and adequate acquirements on the part of her licentiates, they may, without disadvantage, be placed over any congregation, even contrary to the will of a large number of the members, provided they have nothing to allege against the character, conduct, or special fitness for the particular charge on the part of the candidate for the sacred office. The Free Church, on the other hand, are of opinion, that the mere fact that a majority of the male heads of families, members of the congregation, are opposed to the presentee, though they should be able to assign no reason whatever for their opposition, must of itself be considered a sufficient objection requiring his dismissal. On this subject, however, I must not further enlarge, nor endeavour to enter into any explanation, both because the very attempt so to do would probably bring me into collision with my Free Church brethren, and also because I have always found it very difficult, or even impossible, to make a stranger perceive the distinction, unless by the aid of a powerful magnifying glass. But whatever may be my views on this point, I cannot withhold my admiration of the fervent zeal, resistless energy, untiring perseverance, admirable organization, and great success which have distinguished the Free Church movement. In whatever point of view it may be considered, and however it may be lamented, it cannot be regarded but as the most remarkable ecclesiastical phenomenon of modern times. If the Free Church be a new ecclesiastical

body, it is one which never knew the weakness of infancy, but, like the river Garonne, it boiled up at once into a noble stream, and from the moment of its birth poured forth a powerful flood to fertilise its banks, and vigorously to work the wheels of a great evangelising organisation. For my own part, however much I deprecated this movement at the time, and however much I deplore it still, I have always looked upon the mighty exertions of the Free Church in Scotland with a species of national pride, as affording a magnificent picture of the vigorous character of the Scottish mind. My feelings in this respect remind me of a passage in English history in the days of the Commonwealth. Cromwell's far-famed Ironsides were besieging a fortified town in the Netherlands, part of the garrison of which consisted of a number of English Royalists. With their usual impetuosity, the Republican troops swept all before them, and as they rushed through the breach and stormed the defences, hurling the enemy before them at the point of their lances, their Royalist countrymen, though fighting to the death against them, could not repress their national enthusiasm, and forgetting for the moment their bitter hostility, they burst into a shout of admiration, and actually cheered their enemies to the charge.* If such enthusiasm were pardonable in such circumstances, much more, I imagine, may I be excused if I contemplate, with national pride and with Christian satisfaction too, the spiritual triumphs of the Free Church in Scotland—regarding her, as I have ever done, not as an enemy, but as a division of that great army which Scotland sends forth to wage war for Christ and to extend His glorious kingdom. I am proud of her, as a Scotchman; I rejoice in her success, as a Christian; and I look forward hopefully to the time when these two rods, which God hath made strong for himself, shall become one in His Almighty hand.

But if a Scottish Christian has reason to be proud of the vigour, and glad of the success, of the Free Church, has he less reason to be proud of, and to rejoice in, the brave old Church from which for conscientious motives the other withdrew? Nay, verily. Here, however, I am sensible that I must speak with caution and self-distrust, for I am now to speak of a Church in whose favour are enlisted the deepest sympathies of my nature, and the strongest affections of my heart—of a Church which I love and honour above all Christian organizations upon earth, and in whose welfare I conscientiously believe are bound up the best interests of my beloved native land. But no diffidence must prevent me saying that whatever admiration I may bestow upon any other Church of Christ, there is nothing in any

* The historical accuracy of the above anecdote has been questioned, and perhaps with justice. I quoted it from memory and cannot now tell where I found it. Substantially I believe it to be correct, but the locality mentioned may be an error.—W. R.

I more admire than the rock-like strength and firmness, the indomitable courage and resolution, exemplified by the Church of Scotland in these last fiery trials. In one day, be it remembered, she was stript of a vast number of her ministers, many of whom she had regarded as both her ornament and her strength. In one day she was deprived of a large proportion of her missionaries and teachers, and forsaken by multitudes of her people. In one day her material resources were thus fearfully abridged, and great part of the wealth, as well as of the talent, energy, and piety which had hitherto maintained all her evangelising operations at home and abroad, were diverted into another channel.

The blow struck her like a thunderbolt. I believe that many of her truest friends trembled for her stability, and her enemies made sure that her last day was come. Yet did she not for one moment yield to the storm. No symptoms did she manifest of fear or mistrust. She curtailed none of her operations. She abandoned none of her mission stations. She forsook none of her evangelising schools. Calmly and resolutely she set herself to work to repair the terrible breaches that had been made, and with what success time has shown. I may not venture to speak out my feelings on this subject, but I will adduce two facts which of themselves will speak volumes. In consequence of the heavy blow which she had sustained, her mission in Calcutta was all but annihilated. All her missionaries and teachers, with the exception of one female, and all her pupils with one accord, went over to the Free Church. But so energetically did she set about the work of reparation, that in an incredibly short space of time, every post was re-occupied, and the mission again in full working order. And more than this, the very first day the school was reopened the deserted benches were filled to overflowing by new pupils, none of whom were drawn from the schools of any other Christian denomination!

One other fact, and I have done. I have already adverted to the great pecuniary loss sustained by the Church of Scotland in consequence of this great secession, when the free-will offerings of so large a body of her people were diverted into another channel. We may well imagine that many, both of friends and of foes, believed the Church to be permanently crippled, and that even the most sanguine of her members would hardly dare to expect a speedy recovery. What, then, is the position of the Church in respect of her pecuniary resources at this moment, compared with what was the case prior to the secession? The comparison is easily made. The total contributions of the Church, when entire and undivided, in the year ending 15th April, 1842—that is, in the year immediately preceding the Free Church secession—for all her evangelising and educational schemes at home and abroad, amounted to £25,307. And what is the amount of her income now in this present year 1867 for the same

great purposes? *More than double what it was before; viz.—*£56,946, that is £6,332 more than double what the Church in its undivided strength was able to produce. Nor does this by any means present a full view of the sums actually raised by the Church of Scotland for missionary, educational, and other benevolent purposes. Even the imperfect returns which have been received from our various parishes show an additional sum of £80,558, raising the amount to £140,039. But 412 congregations had not, by the time the accounts were completed, made any return of their local contributions, and among these are included not a few of the largest, wealthiest, and most liberal congregations in the national Church, so that I do not feel any hesitation in saying that the whole contributions of the Church for the last year must have amounted to a sum nearly approaching to, if not exceeding, £200,000. One remarkable evidence of the vitality of the Church of Scotland under her heaviest reverses it would be quite unpardonable in me to pass over without special notice. I mean the success of the Endowment Committee. This committee was established within seven years after the Church was apparently so shorn of her strength by the Free Church secession. Its object was to supply the ministrations of the Gospel to what might be termed the comparatively waste places of the land, whether in overcrowded localities of the large towns, or in wide country districts where considerable numbers of inhabitants were removed to a great distance from any place of worship, and for this purpose permanently to endow Churches which had been previously constructed. In a short space of time, and owing mainly to the vigorous advocacy of its first convener, the late Rev. Professor Robertson—a man of whom any Church might well be proud—the committee obtained subscriptions to the amount of about half a million pounds sterling, and under his management, followed out by the wise and active administration of his successor, the Rev. Wm. Smith, no fewer than 115 Churches have been endowed, and new parishes added to the Church, in the space of sixteen years, at an expense of not less than £440,500; and it is confidently expected that in the course of another year thirty-five additional Churches will be endowed at an additional cost of upwards of £160,000. Surely, with these facts before us, and with the view thus afforded of the Christian energy displayed by the Church of Scotland since the era of her lamented division, we may well speak hopefully of her future prospects, and consider the Moderator of her General Assembly fully justified in saying in his late closing address: “We have reason for thankfulness, that with all her remaining deficiencies, the Church of our Fathers is now more fully alive than even in the brightest periods of her former history she was wont to be, to the strength of the obligations that are laid upon her to further the cause and kingdom of Christ throughout the world.”

With regard to the numbers respectively connected with each of the various denominations of the Church of Christ in Scotland, it is very difficult to form an estimate; and any estimate, however impartially made, would be sure to be challenged by those who might imagine it unfavourable to their own particular body. As far as I am capable of judging, the nearest approximation to the truth has been made in a long article on the subject, which appeared last year in the columns of an Edinburgh newspaper, which, however, it is fair to mention, though not an organ of the Church of Scotland, is yet an advocate of the Established Church principle, and may therefore be suspected of a bias in that direction. From this article it would appear that if we except the Roman Catholics (estimated at 265,000, the great mass of whom are Irish), the following statistics may be considered substantially correct:—

Church of Scotland	-	-	-	1,426,280
Free Church	-	-	-	739,035
United Presbyterian Church	-	-	-	391,449
Episcopalians	-	-	-	59,000
Other Churches, no Church, &c.	-	-	-	236,000
				1,425,484

As to the absolute correctness of these results, I do not pretend to judge; but the article from which they are derived appears to be impartial, and bases its conclusions on statistics and evidence, which it gives at full length.

III. We now approach the last head of our subject, viz., the State of Religion in the Evangelical Churches of Scotland.

As the creed of a Church forms one great element of its religious condition, it is deserving of notice that the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland have remained true to the ancient standard of their faith. The Westminster Confession is still common to them all; and I have been reminded by my friend Dr. Guthrie, that it is of importance that this should be brought out, that notwithstanding all our ecclesiastical divisions, we have not drifted away from the old doctrines of Holland, in the days of the Synod of Dort. The Rev. Professor Crawford, Moderator of the last General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, has also considered this a matter of sufficient consequence to be specially adverted to, in his admirable concluding address already referred to. I cannot do better than quote his words:—"Nor is it immaterial to consider," says he, "that our Scottish secessions have never in the least degree affected the grand distinctive features, either of our doctrinal creed or of our ecclesiastical constitution. In so far as regards *these*, no difference is discernible among us. The several parties into which we have been divided are in doctrine the same, in worship the same, in organization and

discipline the same. And thus may we venture to say, that Presbyterian Scotland, notwithstanding those divisions with which it is so often reproached, is yet substantially, with reference to religion, the most united Protestant country on the face of the earth; and that it would be well for some of those countries that are inclined to boast of their superior unity, as compared with us, if they really possessed as much of it—in those things in which it is most of all desirable—as ourselves. This substantial agreement in faith, worship, and government,” continues the learned Professor, “to which I have just adverted, as subsisting between our National Church and those that have seceded from her, is doubtless, in a high degree, matter of congratulation. And yet, in one respect, it cannot otherwise be regarded then as furnishing additional ground for sorrow and humiliation, that with so much that is, in the judgment of all parties, of primary importance, on which we are entirely agreed, we should yet, as to far inferior matters, be disunited.”

But though the Scottish Presbyterian Churches have thus preserved their ancient confession of faith inviolate, it is not to be supposed that their members uniformly and strictly adhere to all its details. The time of blind submission either to teachers or to formulæ has passed away, and this almost necessarily implies occasional divergence of opinion with regard to less essential doctrines, while the great saving truths of religion generally meet with a hearty acquiescence. Neither can it be maintained that the great wave of Rationalism which has swept over Europe has left the Churches of Scotland undisturbed. Freedom of thought, in itself so excellent a thing, has not been unaccompanied by serious evils; and we have reason to apprehend that various unscriptural opinions which have prevailed so widely in Germany and France have found not a few converts in our land. But whilst we deeply lament this great evil, and anxiously seek to apply the best antidote to counteract the poison, we are not prepared to admit that it is altogether unattended by any counterbalancing good. Freedom of thought, when exercised by thoughtful minds, may surely be expected to produce a solemnity, seriousness, and earnestness in dealing with Divine truth which cannot but lead to excellent results. Some, it is too certain, have been led to abandon certain of the great saving truths of the Gospel, but those truths they never intelligently held nor spiritually accepted, while the very act of forsaking them has either resulted from or is calculated to superinduce an earnest, anxious inquiry into what is truth, which has led many, and, it is to be hoped, will lead more, to embrace the salvation of Jesus with an intelligent apprehension and a grasp of faith formerly unknown. Indifference is a worse heresy than Rationalism, and I would rather have a living man in a wrong way than a dead man in a right one. It is not for nothing that He

who standeth among the seven golden candlesticks saith "I would thou wert cold or hot." Some minds of profound thought have indeed been led to question some of the most sublime and essential doctrines of Christianity, because they found them immeasurably above the reach of human reason; but while the earnestness which not unfrequently distinguishes these very errors induces us to hope better things, even for themselves, in the sequel, we have reason to believe that its effect on others has been to compel them to realise the awful solemnity of that great question—What is truth? And while some have rashly, indeed, yet solemnly and earnestly, demanded of mere human reason an answer which human reason is unable to give to that question, "Who or what is Christ?" they have compelled multitudes to feel as they never felt before, that *a Christ* is the grand want of humanity. If so, they are rousing mankind to a deep sense of mankind's most urgent need, and the thrilling cry of many an earnest, thoughtful mind like that of the disembodied spirit described by Jean Paul Richter, is now, "Where is Christ?" Thus, I believe the effect of Rationalism, where it has touched the Scottish mind, not unfrequently is both to explode Deism and to annihilate Indifference; and I am persuaded that wherever and howsoever the honest cry, "Where is Christ?" is produced in any heart, the answer of God's Spirit will never fail to be, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." Thus, to bring good out of evil, is the work of the Lord.

But if the Scottish Churches have thus, in the main, been maintained in the faith once delivered to the saints, what has been the effect of this orthodoxy in producing spiritual religion?

In reply to this question, though we confess that we have reason to be deeply ashamed of the slowness of our progress in the midst of so many advantages, yet have we also cause for devout thankfulness that there are not wanting indications in Scotland of spiritual growth, which warrant us to speak hopefully of the present condition and future prospects of spiritual religion among us. I can do little more at present than mention what these indications are.

1st. *Religious Profession*.—By this I do not mean merely a profession of the truth as it is in Jesus, but over and above this a profession of being individually actuated by and living under the spiritual influence of the truth. Such a profession is very generally made in one way or other. I do not appreciate this profession any higher than it deserves. It is very true that profession is not principle, and does not necessarily imply it. But it is also true that principle implies profession, and wherever there is true spiritual religion there must also be the outward manifestation and confession of it. It is part of our religion to confess Christ before men. So far this may seem mere negative evidence,

but it implies positive evidence, too. There may be a great deal of hypocritical profession, but the very existence of hypocrisy proves the existence of truth. As has been often said, there would be no false money if there were not a genuine coinage. If hypocrisy in general is styled the homage which vice pays to virtue, then is hypocrisy in religion the homage which irreligion is compelled to pay to prevailing sincerity. Now, this profession of spiritual religion is very general and very earnest in our Scottish Churches, and, making all allowance for hypocrites, there remain from this source no trifling indications of the progress and power of the truth.

2nd. *Morality*.—With shame and sorrow we acknowledge, as we have already done, that outside the Church immorality, profanity, and irreligion are lamentably prevalent; and this fact has given occasion to prejudiced or superficial inquirers to stigmatize that evangelical religion which the Churches of Scotland profess as being actually the cause of, or, at least, as being unable to check the progress of vice among their own members. But so to argue is most unjustly to make evangelical religion responsible for the vices of those who never professed to live under its influence, and most absurdly to confound the inhabitants of a country with the members of its Churches. Among the members of the Evangelical Churches in Scotland we maintain there is a high-toned morality of a very superior character to what prevailed in them some forty or fifty years ago. There is an increasing reverence for God's commandments, very generally accompanied by a purity and uprightness of conduct and a blamelessness of character which I am sanguine enough to believe are not excelled in any part of the Christian world. These are mere assertions, I acknowledge, but I am persuaded they will be adopted by the ministers of all our Churches who have been watchful observers of the character and conduct of the people under their spiritual charge. But, besides this, there are some evidences of the increase of morality which are patent to and acknowledged by all. These are—1st, the total disappearance of the vice of intoxication from among the educated classes generally and especially from among the members of our Churches; 2ndly, the absolute cessation of profane swearing among the same classes—both these vices having been at one time very prevalent; 3rdly, the noble stand which has been made in defence of the sanctification of the Sabbath against the most violent and sustained assaults on the part of multitudes under the influence of infidelity, hostility to religion, and interested motives, and of some others from sincere but perverted notions of the nature of the Sabbath rest; and 4thly, the great increase in the number of regular church-goers. This increase is very remarkable. The time was, and that within my own recollection, when it was considered fashionable for young gentlemen to be seen pro-

menading in the streets during the hours of public worship. Now, and for many years past, so much has public opinion changed, that persons of respectability would be ashamed to be seen abroad at these hours ; the streets are then entirely deserted, the Churches are well attended—often crowded.

3rd. *Earnestness in Christian Work.*—This is a very decided evidence of the growth of spiritual religion. It must invariably result from it, and can be produced by nothing else. Earnestness is a part of the Christian character ; “ Life is earnest, life is real,” says the Poet, and if this is true anywhere it is true of the life of God in the Christian’s heart, and in no circumstances does this Christian earnestness appear more visibly than in work for God. Now there is nothing within the sphere of my observation which has struck me as so cheering, so hopeful, so indicative of the life of God in the Church, as the increasing earnestness which she displays in God’s work. This appears not only in the zeal which her members show and the sacrifices in respect of money which they make to promote the work of Christ at home and abroad, but still more in their personal ministrations. It is far easier to give money, and it demands a far inferior measure of self-denial than to give time, personal labour, superintendence, and solicitude. And never were such sacrifices so freely made in the history of the Church in Scotland as at this moment. There is no congregation which enjoys the blessing of a faithful ministry, but is ready on the invitation of their pastor, to supply gratuitous Christian labourers to any extent required for the work of God among the poor, the profligate, and the ignorant. And no one who has not personally participated in this sacred duty, can form a right estimate of the amount of Christian zeal, love, forbearance, resolution and self-denial which it requires.

It is no easy matter, and costs much to flesh and blood, to visit day after day the filthy, ill-ventilated homes of the brutalized drunkard, the ignorant Romanist, or the broken-spirited labourer, whom neglect, improvidence, and misfortune have reduced to want and utter recklessness of all the decencies of civilized life, reeking, as such homes generally are, with the miasma of accumulated filth, or of infectious diseases. It requires no ordinary courage to brave all this ; and no ordinary forbearance, gentleness, and perseverance, to deal with the hardness, the stupidity, the sullen hostility, the indifference, and the vice, which are to be found in such dwellings. Mere sentiment, and even natural philanthropy, soon break down under the trial, and it is pure Christian love which alone holds on, and which perseveres, day after day and year after year, carrying Gospel comfort to the afflicted, Gospel light to the ignorant, and the free offer of salvation to the careless and the godless. This is an evidence of the growth of spiritual religion, on which I con-

findently found, and which, as we observed in a former part of this report, abounds in all our Churches.

4th.—*Christian Liberality*.—As Mercury indicates the state of the physical atmosphere, so does gold of the moral; it constitutes in general a pretty correct barometer of feeling, because that for which a man is willing to sacrifice his money must be something very near his heart. The Word of God throughout, and more especially the Lord's Prayer, teach that the progress of Christ's kingdom ought to be the foremost object in the Christian's affections, and therefore, just in proportion as it becomes so, is a man Christianized. But whatever becomes the foremost object of a man's affection, he will make any lawful sacrifice of money or anything else to secure. Hence a man's liberality in the cause of the Gospel is, in general circumstances, the measure of the power of the Gospel in his own soul. If we apply this criterion to the state of religion in the Scotch Churches, it will appear that never in their whole history was religion in so healthy a condition as at the present moment. In estimating the spiritual value of their liberality, I am willing to make every allowance for the influence of ostentation, party spirit, church rivalry, and other such unholy causes. But, making all due deductions on account of these, it cannot be denied, that the great increase of Christian liberality in Scotland affords a precious indication of the increase of spiritual life in our various Churches. I have at this moment before me, the accounts for the last year of the Established and Free Churches, from which it appears that while the contributions of the Established Church congregations amounted, as already stated, to £200,000; those of the Free Church amounted to £124,779, not including the immense sums collected for the support of their ministers; a heavy burden from which the other is to a great extent exempt. Including these last, amounting to £243,919, the whole contributions of the Free Church were £368,698, raising the sums collected by these two Churches alone to the large amount of £568,698, or greatly upwards of half a million of money.

Since writing the above, I have had an opportunity of examining—though for want of time, very superficially—the accounts of the United Presbyterian Church for the year 1866, from which it appears that the contributions of this branch of the Evangelical Church in Scotland for missionary and benevolent purposes amounted to £57,132; while its total income for all purposes, including the support of its ministers, reached the large figure of £275,105; raising the contributions of these three Churches, exclusive of the national endowment of the Established Church, to the sum total of £843,803.

We do not quote these figures from the accounts of our various Churches in any spirit of boasting or of self-glorification—God forbid. On the contrary, we feel that we have reason to be

deeply ashamed before God of the miserable amount of self-denial, zeal, and devotion which such results imply. But what we argue from these facts is, that there is spiritual life in our Churches, earnest, energetic life, that that spiritual life is increasing in power and energy, and however far below the standard of what Christ's law of love requires, and love for Christ would give, this increase of Christian liberality must thankfully be regarded as a plain indication of the increasing power of spiritual religion.

It is, indeed, but a very imperfect and superficial sketch of the "Scottish Churches," which we have thus had the privilege of laying before the Alliance. We have spoken with keen regret of our divisions. Perhaps perfect candour might have compelled us to speak more plainly of the jealousy, bitterness, wrath, strife, which have too often arisen from these divisions. We confess with shame and sorrow that the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* spoken of by Tacitus has never been more conspicuous than in our Ecclesiastical rather than in our Theological controversies. It is painful also to be obliged to confess that the intensity of the strife has always been in the inverse ratio of the importance of the difference betwixt the disputants. The Established and the Free Churches have so little to divide them that it is not easy for strangers to understand the distinction; and betwixt these the controversial war was waged with a degree of fury which scandalized many. Betwixt these two and the United Presbyterian Church the point in dispute is of considerable moment, but the heat of controversy rarely assumed a violent or virulent character. With the Romish Church we have all been tolerably meek and gentle, while with the Unitarians we have hardly had any controversy at all. But whatever may have been the violence which has too often distinguished the disputes of the Evangelical Churches with each other, it is with devout thankfulness that we are able to say that the intensity of that violence has very greatly abated; so that our various denominations are now not only able heartily to co-operate in many a Christian enterprise, but are actually becoming more and more habituated to regard each other as one in Christ Jesus. And for this improvement I am persuaded we are in no small degree indebted to the Evangelical Alliance. It was established among us at a time when our party animosity had reached its highest pitch. Its immediate effect was to pour oil on the stormy waters. The hottest controversialists felt themselves compelled to moderate their language towards those who differed from them. Men began to be ashamed to treat as mortal enemies in their own assemblies those whom in the meetings of the Alliance they had welcomed as brethren in Jesus, and with whom they had affectionately united in prayer and praise. The inconsistency of such conduct in the eyes of the world was too glaring to be

tolerated. Gentler and more Christian feelings began to prevail, and we earnestly trust will continue to increase. Blessed as the result of this Evangelical Alliance has been in its influence throughout the Christian world, it is in this that it has been most blessed in Scotland. It was with the hope of this chiefly that I hailed its commencement and gladly joined its ranks, and it is with sincere gratitude for the past and hope for the future, that I pray that God may more and more bless and prosper its proceedings for the defence and propagation of the truth, for the repression of all unchristian animosity among the various branches of the Redeemer's Church, and for the diffusion of peace, concord, and love, that we all may really appear to be one, and that the world may believe. Amen.

ISRAEL.

THEIR PRESENT POSITION AND SIGNIFICANCE IN THE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM PRESSEL, D.D., PASTOR AT WORKHEIM.

WHEN, some years ago, I had prepared a work on the history of Israel, I closed it with this question and answer out of the mouth of God : " Son of Man, can these bones live ? Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live ; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord." And to-day when the privilege is accorded to me of speaking on the present condition of Israel, and its significance in the history of the world, I can find no more suitable words with which to introduce my subject ; rather indeed does this prophetic image seem to comprehend all that I have to say, while I continue the figure and assert that Israel still represents in our day the Lord's valley of dry bones. This is the peculiar character of the *Diaspora* (dispersion) ; and herein lies its peculiar significance in the world's history.

I.

Let us ask ourselves what that valley of dry bones signified in the eyes of the Prophet. We are constrained to answer the dissolution of the theocratic organization, and in consequence of that event the dispersion, abandonment, and drying up of its bones. But this is the condition of Israel since the days of the Prophet. In our own time these three features challenge observation.

The highest blessing which Israel was to inherit was expressed in the promise—" That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long in the land which the Lord thy God givest thee." And the heaviest judgment, which at the close of his life Moses pronounced upon the unbelief and disobedience of his people, was their dispersion. This began with the Assyrian and Babylonian captivity. The valley of dry bones which Ezekiel saw included Mesopotamia, and reached northwards to Armenia and Media, southwards to Arabia and Egypt. It was, as he said, an open valley ; but it was only in the beginning God permitted within this field of death some bond of union among the dispersed ; God granted even the return to the Holy Land, and the restoration of the theocratic organisation. God sent at length Messiah that he might breathe life into the dry bones, and change the valley of

the dead into the birth-place of all living. But the permission to return was only used by the small minority. The Diaspora spread wider and wider over the whole of Western Asia, North Africa, and the European provinces of the Roman Empire, possibly even to the farthest east of Asia; the revived theocracy became but a shadow, a mockery of the Davidic, and Messiah was rejected by his own people.

Thus was invoked a second judgment, by which the dispersion was decided for thousands of years, and every vestige of national existence was destroyed—the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. A nation without any bond or tie, the Diaspora went into all lands, to the countries of the North, and of the Baltic, to the shores of the Black Sea, and the Caspian, to China and the East Indies, and even into the interior of Africa. Thus the scattered bones became first really embedded in foreign ground; the Eastern and Western World were to them as two vast sepulchres, one Mahommedan, the other Christian. And enclosed by them the Diaspora became once more subdivided, by the accidents of the outer and inner life, into groups of Moorish, Turkish, Tartan, or Spanish, German, and Polish Jews, &c.

The area of the dispersion was to assume yet wider dimensions with the discovery of the new world. The immediate cause of this third stage in the wanderings, was the sudden expulsion by Ferdinand and Isabella of 300,000 Jews, and the noble reception given to the unfortunate on the ground* on which we now stand. When all maritime powers still closed their ports against them, towns like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp opened their gates, and the colonies of the Netherlands in the West Indies, became to the exiles the bridge by which they passed into North America, into that continent which was to take the lead of all the world, with the example of religious freedom and the emancipation of the Jews.

Thus was the Prophet's image first realized in its fullest signification. The dry bones were now indeed scattered to the ends of the earth.

Nor is the character of the dispersion less easily distinguishable in our own days. Let us then compare Israel with the other nations of the world. Foremost among these are the Latin and Teutonic nations. Their world has less of cohesion than that of the Chinese, the Arab, or the Slave; their members, like the bones of Israel, are scattered to the four quarters of the globe; but this fact in their case suggests no idea of dispersion. Their colonies can be represented on the map of the world; not so is it with the scattered tribes of Israel. A certain agglomeration of the Diaspora under the influence of climate, of religion, and culture, may be observed, but nothing more. The parallel of north latitude, under which the greater number of Jews

* Holland.

live, is notably the parallel of Jerusalem ; north or south of this their numbers become fewer as the distance increases ; the Diaspora evinces further, a preference for the Mahommedan or Christian world over the Heathen ; for as members of the great family of Abraham, Mahommedan, and Christian nations exercise a superior attraction over Israel ; lastly, the Diaspora seeks the centres of civilization, for Israel has become a commercial people, with all its activity and thrift it loves a comfortable life. But all these influences are perpetually crossed by events that baffle calculation, so that if we seek to show a uniform law in the history of the dispersion, the attempt is ever rendered futile. Countries in which we should least expect to find them have a large population of Jews, and *vice versa* ; and the more notable contrasts are found side by side. The following statistics for example show one Israelite in

INHABITANTS.		INHABITANTS.	
Sweden to	5000	France	500
Russia	30	Algeria and the rest of North	
Belgium	3000	Africa	10
Holland	54	All five parts of the world	
Italy and Great Britain . .	700	together	1500
Prussian States	90	Hamburg	32
North America and Wurtem-		Frankfort	17
burg	200	Amsterdam	12
Austria	34	Warsaw, about	3
Greece	900	Jerusalem itself, about . .	2
Turkey	53		

Israel is, in a sense true of no other nation, a Diaspora. To this their own consciousness bears witness. Our peoples, go they where they may, have no such humiliating consciousness as the Jew ; with the first generation, the yearning after the fatherland dies away. But with the Jew how is it ? He shows a wonderful facility in adapting himself to strange relations ; a great aptness for foreign languages ; a lively interest in our political questions. Many even, like their degenerate fathers, cleave to the fleshpots of Egypt, and the treasures of Babylon. To the very ends of the earth the people still call themselves, as in Mesopotamia, the *am niddach*—the *rejected people*—and in the penitential prayers uttered on the 9th of the month Ab, in all the synagogues throughout the world, in the tears wept every Friday afternoon by the broken wall on Moriah, in the silence of the grave-stones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, we catch to this day the watch-word : “ If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.”

The *second* feature in the prophet's image is the abandonment of the bones. Israel was to have the dominion of the world ; the last words of Moses were : “ Israel then shall dwell in safety alone. Happy art thou, O Israel ! Who is like unto thee, O people saved by

the Lord? Thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, but thou shalt tread upon their high places."

Eight hundred years later what a spectacle did that unhappy people present! "Without skin or sinews." Thus does Ezekiel describe the dry bones of Israel. The sport of wind and weather; the conquered were gone into captivity. This condition underwent some change for the better under the Persian and Macedonian empires. The bones were somewhat covered with the strange earth; from slaves they became subjects, and even received some favour. But the next convulsion of the kingdoms of the world cast them down again, and many a despot's hand disposed of them in barbarous fashion. Under the Roman Empire, their position again appeared more favourable, as, from the beginning, it was possible for individual Jews to obtain admission into the ranks of the *cives romani*; and Caracalla at length extended the right of citizenship to them all. But it was a flattering illusion: the untractableness of the Mosaic creed stirred up against the obstinate bones, as in heathen Rome, as in Christian Constantinople, the frenzy of the multitude, and drew down severe measures from the rulers. Such was their condition in the ancient world, and thus it remained in the middle ages. Israel was the sport of despotism in the East under Mahommedan, as it had been under heathen rule, and alike under pope and emperor, as in ancient Rome and Byzantium, it was the mark for all injustice. And though ever under the influence of more enlightened principles, this reproach is to a large extent removed, the Jews are no less a marked and devoted people. We need only to look well at the events of the present day to be fully convinced of the fact.

The Free States of *North America* took the lead in the emancipation of the Jews, and were followed by *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Wurtemberg*, and *Switzerland*. On the threshold to the same stand *England*, the *Prussian League*, the other *South German States*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and—I speak it in hope—*Austria*. The mediæval practice holds its ground, more or less, in all heathen countries, in the Moslem world, in Greek Catholic Christendom, and in the States of the Church. Jews are still excluded in *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Norway*, and some of the interior cantons of *Switzerland*. They are restricted in *Greece* to *Corfu*, to four towns in *Sweden*, and in *Rome* to the *Ghetto*. Three-fourths of the Diaspora have still the most miserable position as citizens; in *Jerusalem* it is more tolerable for a dog than a Jew; in *Warsaw*, an Israelite cannot show himself during Easter without danger to his life; the Mortara story at *Bologna*, the rising against the Jews in *Prague*, the recent occurrences in *Moldavia*—need I do more than mention these?

And if we look around us among that happy fourth of the Diaspora who enjoy the immunities of liberty and justice; if we remember how,

in the years 1848 and 1849, the most extreme radicals opposed the settlement of the Jews, and the admission of Jewish children into Christian schools—if we observe how every day hard things are spoken of the Jews, by lips otherwise humane and Christian—we are forced to admit that between the Jews and ourselves there is a gulf which no civil measures—which nothing but love for Christ's sake—can fill up; and that there are few men indeed in whose society the Jew can forget that he is an outcast and despised—a dry bone of that valley of the dead.

The *third* feature in the prophet's image is the drying-up of the bones. Where life is, there is freshness and power. Israel once had life within themselves, and that life was to go forth from thence into all nations, "Thou shall be," saith the Lord, "like a watered garden, and by thee shall the waste places be builded." Has his prophecy been fulfilled? Is the Diaspora a garden of the Lord, and has it transformed the wilderness of the world? None can answer in the affirmative. In the first days of the dispersion, Israel exercised a quickening influence upon other nations; of this we have evidence in the position of Daniel in the Persian Court, in Alexandrine Judaism, the long roll of Roman and Greek proselites, the whole of Mohammedanism in its rise in *Arabia*, and in its glory in *Spain*, and the position of the Jews at the court of *Charles the Great*, and his son *Louis*. The lower, however, the heathen and Mohammedan worlds sank, the lower sank the dispersed of Israel living in their midst, and in proportion as Christianity rose, the Israelitish remnant appeared at a stand still. With the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, there came an important advance in their culture; but the elements of this advance have no national character, they are only the crumbs from the table of Christianity, and the progress embraces only a small proportion of the Diaspora.

In considering this aspect of the question, we must divide the Diaspora into three nearly equal groups. The first comprehends the Israelites in the interior of *Africa*, in the *Arabia* of our day, in the *East Indies*, *China*, *Turkestan*, and *Bokhara*; and represents a population which stands in the lowest grade of civilization, and preserves but scanty relics even of the religion of its fathers. A second group comprehends the Israelites in *North Africa*, *Egypt*, *Palestine*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Persia*, *Asia Minor*, *European Turkey*, parts of *Austria*, *Poland* and *Russia*, and represents a population which can show few elements of general culture, but possesses an extensive knowledge of Holy Scripture, and the traditions of the fathers. The third group comprehends the Israelites in *North America*, and the western half of *Europe*; and represents a population which, gradually adopting the civilization of the countries in which it dwells, becomes, at the same time, more and more alienated from the customs of their fathers.

In the first of these groups the drying-up of the bones is so obvious that it requires no proof. The *Falasclas* are known from *Timbuctoo* to *Abyssinia*; and the descriptions, which modern missionaries and travellers give of the Jews in *Arabia*, in the *Deccan*, in *Bokhara*, and in the *Chinese* province *Ho-nau*, are not much better. The other two groups, however, require a brief description.

The second may be designated as the orthodox. In individual cities where they dwell, especially in those less remote, as *Warsaw*, the congregations are indeed beginning to lay aside some of their natural strictness, and to adopt modern habits of life; but these are still the exception. The tendency of the vast majority is towards that Judaism, which in the middle ages prevailed through the whole of *Europe*, and of which there now remains amongst us scarcely a vestige. With these, Holy Scripture is still the central idea, and not only the law, but prophecy and care for the fulfilment of the commands of God, while the hope of Messiah fills their soul, regulates their studies, and moulds their life.

Among them Hebrew is spoken as their mother tongue; and the languages of the countries where they dwell, are regarded only as the medium of intercourse with the Goyim. The study of foreign languages,—Arabic, French, German, even some Latin and French, with mathematics and natural science, as it is conducted in the *Veschibahs*, that is Rabbinical High Schools, is limited to the time between day and night, and all the rest of the time is devoted to sacred studies.

The *Chasidim*, that is the pious among them, have so large a party in the congregations, and among the learned, that they amount in *Prussia* and *Poland* to a full million. Delightful as this appears at the first glance, we find if we look into the matter, that the reality gives far less ground for rejoicing, so heavily is scripture overlaid with Rabbinical tradition, and the whole religious life perverted by casuistry and asceticism. Speculation cleaves to the letter, and Pharisaism in its fullest development draws a thick veil before the eyes and stifles the life of the soul, so that faith can be neither a joy in the inner, nor a power in the outer life. There is another influence which seems to be more auspicious than this predominant one of the Talmudists, which is represented by a smaller section of this same division, the party of the *Karaans*, in *South Russia*, and especially in the *Crimea*, and in smaller groups in the neighbourhood of *Wilna*, in *Galicia*, in European *Turkey*, *Asia Minor*, *Persia*, *Alexandria*, and even in *Jerusalem*. This party rejects all Rabbinical tradition, and confines itself entirely to the Mosaic law; admitting, however, the use of linguistic and grammatical aids. But as these also set aside the writings of the prophets, neither can they get beyond the letter of the law, and move about in a dry and thirsty land of certain doctrines and precepts.

No trace is to be found in the Sadducean, the Pharisaic, or the orthodox party of Israel's vocation as the light and life of the nations; like dry bones, which know no more the stir of life, they lie in the land of strangers, and keep locked up in themselves as a dead treasure the inheritance of the people of God.

But perhaps the case may be better with the third group—the Jewish population of our lands? In a broad sense of the term, we may call these the Reformed Jews; I say in the broad sense, for this section comprises many Israelites who would most politely decline the appellation, and from their adherence to the Mosaic law, and even to the Talmud, might with justice do so. When we consider, however, how the removal of all civil restrictions demands from the strictest more or less of ecclesiastical concession and religious reform, and how incompatible the living and acting, learning and teaching, together is with the orthodox separation, the name of Reformed Jews receives its full justification. But few of them desire to be such, but they become so insensibly, and those who seek to be so regarded because they foresee or desire the consequence, find themselves at the junction of two ways, and must either exchange Judaism for Christianity, or persist in a rationalism which verges more and more closely upon infidelity, and at length leaves no worship but the worship of genius. The dubious position of this portion gives rise, of course, to a much larger variety of mental and social conditions than we have observed in the other two sections; we find some groups which, in knowledge and the refinements of life, may vie with any Christian society, and others incredibly neglected and undone, especially so in countries in which there is no obligation to attend schools, or where Jewish children are excluded from a share in the public instruction. Side by side with an educated commercial community of Jews, we find numbers living the low pedler's life; side by side with the orthodox we find individuals, families, and whole communities, who have cast aside almost everything strictly Jewish; side by side with men utterly indifferent and heartless in religious matters, preserving only the forms of religion, we find others characterised by hearts thirsting for truth and peace, even a foreboding of the all-subduing power of Christianity—Jews who acknowledge that the doctrine and example of Jesus, His life and death, mark Him out as the greatest prophet.

But on a review of all this, we are constrained to say that neither in the highest nor lowest elements of this section of Israel do we find anything peculiar, only morsels from the table of Christianity, either crumbs from the sweet bread of the Gospel, or droppings from the leaven of a perverted Christendom, which blends together the elements of paganism and of Christianity, and imparts to Israel the admixture in false repute. In the former case, Israel inhales something (and more than is commonly supposed) of that breath which is to make the

dry bones live again; and in the latter case, there is no real life in them. In spite of the flickering play upon their surface, the bones are still very dry. Let us here observe a brief statistical fact. The whole population of the Diaspora is usually estimated at seven millions; I believe they amount to fully two millions more: but what were even nine millions scattered over so vast a geographical area? The Germanic nations have no wider geographical boundaries, and yet have grown to 100 millions. How is this, we may well ask? Is this the people which, according to the promise, was to be as the sand of the seashore, and as the stars of heaven for multitude? Is this the people which, in the 400 years of its stay in Egypt, increased from 70 souls to 1,800,000, and the next four centuries of time to the time of David ran up to five and a-half millions? Whence this pause in the progression? Do not the statistics themselves lead us back to the drying-up of the bones, and bring the stillness of that valley of death before our eyes?

II.

And yet, dead as by all these manifest tokens we have seen Israel to be, this is no common field of death, it is the Lord's.

I knew a gardener who used to say, "Better be withered ten times over than once rotten!" And this is as true of nations, as of plants. Israel is not a decayed people like so many others; it is withered away, and the word of God assures us that deep within it is a germ of life from which, when the Divine breath blows upon it, there shall come forth again a people of God. It is not my task to describe this glorious future; it is mine only to lead you through the gloomy valley and to mark with you the signs by which even in this lifeless condition we may know it to be the Lord's possession.

The first is the imperishable existence of the people; the second, the gift, which it still retains; and the third, the already discernible stirring at least among individual bones.

When we enter a field of the dead its existence is all that arrests our attention, it carries within it no germ of a future creation, nothing but the remains of departed life; it is the last visible testimony to a nation's history.

So are we impressed by the mummies of Egypt and the skeletons of Pompeii. Such is the influence on the mind of the catacombs of Palermo, and the giant graves of the Scandinavians. But what are all these remains without stir or motion, without colour or voice, compared to the figurative, and yet real sepulchre of the people of Israel? Its history embraces nearly four thousand years, and the witnesses of it are with us: aye, and meet us on every shore. Where are the Assyrians, the Chaldees, the Phenicians, the Carthaginians? Even from the very spot where they lived their name has vanished!

Where are now the Persians, the Grecians, the Egyptians, and the Normans? Their name indeed has been preserved among the inhabitants of the same lands, but they are scarcely to be regarded as the descendants of the ancient peoples. Israel, on the contrary, have preserved the purity of their blood, the sound of their language, the authority of their law, faithfulness to their religion. The Jew on the Rhine, on the Vistula is the Israelite of the Jordan; he may wear a hat instead of a turban, and the dress of a European instead of an Oriental; he may eat in French or English fashion, and instead of dwelling on the house-top, he may make his home in a garret or a drawing-room; instead of being the leader of a caravan, he may be a French minister, or a Prussian deputy; instead of Hebrew he may speak Spanish or Russian; but he preserves his identity through all transformations; he is the son of Israel still in his religion, his customs, his physiognomy, his accent. The greater part are of the tribe of Judah, a smaller number Levi, and individuals can trace their genealogy back to Aaron. There is no other family tree so lofty; no patent of nobility so ancient; no nationality so mighty.

All statescraft—all popular force—has been worn out upon these bones; the very tooth of time has blunted its edge against them. You know the legend of the Wandering Jew; you know how much of it is fable; but you know also that it truly represents the moral of the whole history of the Diaspora. Israel exists in spite of all that fanaticism and folly have plotted and achieved against them. Christendom has been forced to admit the conviction that exist they shall, and that no human power can set them aside, or incorporate them; for if they be cut off they will grow again; if they be driven away they will return; if baptism be forcibly administered the baptized fall away, or become added only to the dead mass of Christendom. Nations so called Christian have been themselves thus corrupted; have brought the curse upon themselves, and have still been obliged to endure the presence of Israel in their midst. The judgment upon Israel is that they shall not *grow*, but they shall ever exist; they shall not rule, but shall *exist*; they shall not produce, but shall *exist*, to be before our eyes and in our ears a living proof of the verity of God's written word. So instructive, so suggestive a commentary no human hand can write on Holy Scripture; no such striking and personal a sermon on repentance can fall from any tongue of man as is uttered by the mere bodily presence of this people in our midst. In them the past is made present. The man of the west finds what is familiar, foreign speech, custom and appearance being brought near to us; the very men of whom we read, walk, traffic, suffer, err, sin, sing and pray before our eyes, so that we feel as if Scripture were acted before us. In them history holds a mirror before us, which shows in a graphic form how idle are all politics, all divine worship, all arts and

sciences, without the transformation of the heart. How this transformation is to be hoped for alone in personal fellowship with Jesus Christ, and how surely God will write out those nations who turn their back on Him, from the roll of those to whom He has entrusted a vocation, that shall be known in the world's history.

But Israel reveals the extraordinary character of their field of the dead, not only by the imperishable existence of its remains, but also by certain peculiarities which, the more closely we regard them, appear the more remarkable, and testify to their extraordinary gifts.

Herodotus relates, that on the battle fields of Cambyzes in Egypt, the bodies of the fallen Persians might be distinguished from those of the Egyptians, even at a long distance of time, by the hardness of the skull. This is but a trifle when compared with the distinguishing feature of these bones in the valley of the dead. That which first strikes the eye, is the physiognomy. There are nations among which this or that feature is more common or more marked; but there is no such regular and complete uniformity of type in any other nation. Take them altogether, the black hair, the dark eyes, the sharply-cut nose, the somewhat prominent lips, the chin drawn slightly upwards, the pale complexion, the piercing glance, the slight figure, the firm-set feet, the foreign pronunciation of our language, the manner of asking and of answering questions, the politeness and servility, the combination of a love for appearance with slovenliness, the overweening estimate of money and money's worth, in the appreciation of persons and things, the quiet weighing of a matter seldom disturbed by the influence of passion, and you must admit this is no Negro, no Turk, no Egyptian, no Arab; this is simply and only the Israelite. The physiognomy of other nations is not, perhaps, capable of impressing in the same measure the extreme repulsiveness of a soul steeped in mammon worship; but neither is it capable of that remarkable peacefulness and spiritual beauty to be traced in the features of a pious and chastened Israelite. There are other traits of the national character less immediately obvious, but not less familiar to many, such as the commanding intellect and force of will of the Israelite. We have seldom any of us met a half-witted Jew; but have all probably observed how keen and attentive are the children in school; how early the youth begins to take an intelligent and active part in the world; how skilful and how indefatigable are both men and women in maintaining themselves and those who belong to them. Their genius is pre-eminently practical; Jewish literature is, however, rich in examples, which show that it can rise to the heights, or fathom the depths, of abstract thought and speculation. They possess a Talmud, with its wonderfully fine drawn distinctions between right and wrong, pure and impure, in season and out of season. In the *Sohar* they have, beside the epitome of all mysticism, Maimonides' philosophical construction of the law *Moreh Hannebochim*, and Spinoza's

Ethics. They have that tenacious power of will, which overcomes all obstacles. The Jewish history is also rich in instances in which this dogged determination has assumed the form of personal bravery, or has inspired the most magnanimous self-sacrifices. Perhaps the following peculiarities are known only to a few:—The average height of the Jews, as estimated in the remarkable calculations of the anatomical *Schulz*, in *Petersburg*, reaches only 64·46 English inches, while among all other populations of *European* and *Asiatic Russia* the average is 66·15—68·15; the fathom width,* which is in the Jews, often even an inch less than the height, measures in all other people, up to as much as 8 inches more. The trunk is in the Jew, 35 per cent. of the height; in others it is only 34—35; and in the Negro even 32; the perinæum in the Jew is found as much as 5 per cent. below the middle point of the bodily height, while in all others the two nearly coincide. The Jew is almost proof against certain ailments, such as the plague, typhus fever, croup, water on the brain; while to others they are peculiarly liable, such as the ordinary skin diseases, hypochondriac affections, derangement of the circulation, etc. The number of births among the Jews is, as compared with those among Christians, as five to three. The number of still-born Jewish children, as compared to Christian, as 89 to 143 (in every 100,000.) The number of Jews, who reach an age of 90 years and upwards, to that of Christians, as 5 to 2 (0·4 per cent. to 0·16.) To these physical peculiarities, we must add finally a list of the virtues of the Israelites as a people: their habitual moderation in eating and drinking, their economy and domesticity, the piety of children towards parents, and of brothers to sisters; the absence of demarcation between high and low, rich and poor; their charity to the poor, and hospitality to strangers; the general consecration of the whole life to God, as the Giver of all good, and the Lord of the world, even though it must be added that it is wasted in the multitude of outward and trifling observances.

The last token by which we distinguished the extraordinary character of this valley of the dead, consists in the signs of animation already discernible, at least among individual bones.

The general quickening is not to be expected, till the fulness of the heathen shall have been gathered into the Church of Christ. Those who were first—after putting off their day of grace—shall be last; and in the intervening centuries, we can only look for isolated converts.

But shall we therefore doubt? or shall we despise these isolated cases? Alas! it is too often done in Christendom. Faith and love reckon not so, and to faith and love it will be evident that we have abundant

* That is the measure across the shoulders, with the arms extended, from the tip of one arm to that of the other.—EDITOR.

cause heartily to rejoice over the tokens of returning life among the dry bones of Israel. We must here again, as we look back, divide our subject into three periods—that of the first Christian Church, that of the Middle Ages, and that of the present. Of the first of these periods scarcely a word need be said. Every one knows that Israel formed the ground-work of the Church, and that during the first centuries Jewish and Heathen converts vied with each other in confessing that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, the Saviour of the world. The second period is generally too much depreciated, because only the compulsory measures for the conversion of the Jews are thought of. But the intercourse of Christians with Jews was, up to the fifth and sixth centuries, very cordial; and even bishops, like Hilarius of *Arles*, Sidonius Appollinaris of *Clermont*, and above all, Pope Gregory the Great, exercised so large and animating an influence over many Israelites, that many, after full catechetical instructions, were baptized; and even in the dark times of the decline of the Church there were men, who instead of advocating measures as short-sighted as they were unavailing, sought by teaching and example to influence the Jews, and were rewarded by most happy results among highly esteemed and learned Rabbis.

The wholesome influence of the Reformation, in spite of the noble advocacy of Martin Luther, only began to be felt among the Jews in the first half of the eighteenth century, when evangelical life cast off its orthodox fetters, and the first tangible result was the Callenberg Institution at Halle.

Spener himself had already baptized several Jews, who had been convinced by his testimony; but when a mission among the Jews was begun from *Halle*, and soon after from *Hernhut*, and such men as *Callenberg*, *Schulz*, *Woltersdorf*, *Dober*, *Lieberkühn*, and others devoted their whole lives to it, many Israelites were brought to the Lord, and the love for Israel was again kindled in many Christian circles.

A Jew, who once heard Lieberkühn, exclaimed "He loves the Tholah (the crucified one) so dearly; if you hear him long he will soon make you all love the Tholah." That was the secret of this first modern mission among the Jews—this love of the Crucified One—and when this love breathes upon Israel, the bones in the valley of the dead are quickened.

Love cooled again under the rationalism of the eighteenth century, and this rationalism of the Church communicated itself to the Synagogue. But with the commencement of this century the English returned to this labour of love for the Kingdom of God, and awoke the Continent to a new sympathy with it. The establishment of the Society in London for the Spread of Christianity among the Jews (1809) gave the impulse for the commencement of a number of other

smaller kindred societies. We have now, therefore, the society in *Basle*, founded in 1820, revived in 1831; the society in *Berlin*, established in 1832; that of the Free Church of Scotland in 1839; and in the same year that of the National Scotch Church, the Rhenish-Westphalian Society, established in Cologne in 1842, the Jerusalem Society in Berlin, and the Bavarian-Saxon Society since 1856.*

The greatest results of these societies probably do not consist in the number of those baptized, although this is much greater than is generally supposed, as may be concluded from the fact that in the Episcopal Jews Chapel of London alone, between 1814 and 1857, 343 adults and 441 children were baptized. These societies have a range of influence of which many do not think; they awaken and sustain an interest in Christendom on behalf of Israel, and they awaken and sustain in Israel an interest for the differences between Judaism and Christianity. These societies, with their hundreds of co-workers of both sexes among the Diaspora in the East and West, have directed thousands of eyes to the condition of this unhappy people, and have kindled a love for Israel in thousands of hearts, even in countries where the idea of the civil elevation of the Jew is never entertained. These societies have done a great work in Israel itself even when they have met with the most determined opposition, by arousing inquiry into the difference between Judaism and Christianity, inciting to a comparison of Scripture with Rabbinical tradition, directing attention to the time in the kingdom of God, so that we may say there is a stirring and movement among the dry bones, as though there were already passing over the slumbering ones the breath of the morning, so that thousands stir themselves, and many a dry bone arises and stands up a great and living army.

To all who disbelieve I would say, Come and see. Come into this assembly, brought together from the remotest countries of the earth, and see how many a welcome guest is of the stock of Israel! See how here, again, Jewish and Gentile Christians sit together at the feet of Jesus, and confess that there is no salvation in any other, nor any "other name given under heaven among men whereby we may be saved."

Is Israel the only field of the dead waiting to be quickened by the spirit of Jesus? Nay, nay. In still heavier death fetters lie the heathen and Mohammedan worlds, and millions of Christians even have a name to live, while within they are but dead men. Israel only represent with peculiar emphasis this desolation of death because with peculiar privileges they were called to be the people of God.

Nay, nay. Over the nations sitting in the shadow of death, as

* To these should be added the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews.—EDITOR.

over the sepulchral valley of Israel rises from century to century the cry, "Watchman, what of the night?" and across the valley, and the nations in the shadow of death comes back the promise, "Behold I come quickly;" and those who know Him answer,—

"Even so come, Lord Jesus."—Amen.

THE LEVANT.

REPORT ON THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES IN THE LEVANT.

BY THE REV. H. J. VAN LENNEP.

MISSIONARY AT SMYRNA.

BEFORE commencing my report on the state of the Evangelical Churches in the Levant, I wish to state that I am here, not as the representative of a Missionary Society whose labours have been attended with important success in Turkey, but as a delegate of sixty Churches formed in the East during the last twenty years, by the grace of God and His powerful word. They come in my person and in that of one of their native pastors to salute their brethren, both of Europe and of the whole world, assembled by their representatives upon the old soil of Batavia, venerable as the cradle both of the birth and stormy infancy of liberty of conscience. I myself, born in the East, and ardently desiring its evangelical regeneration, after twenty-seven years of labour, come to visit the land of my brethren, accompanied by one of the brethren whom the Lord has raised up to us there, who is identified with the progress of the Gospel in all parts of the Levant. We bring you from these young Churches the assurance of their warm affection. "Grace, mercy, and peace, be multiplied unto you; may the Divine blessing rest on all your labours, and make all who love our Lord Jesus Christ to be one in Him! Amen."

Our character as delegates of the Churches of the East, ascertains what is our business here, which is not to recount the toils, the stripes, the obstacles, nor the success of our mission, but to set before you the condition of our Churches. They themselves thus instructed us. Such a statement, moreover, will be in harmony with the object of this Alliance, which is a rallying point for Evangelical Christians of all countries. All the members of the Alliance doubtless take a lively interest in the success of missions, and offer many prayers for all missionary societies. But as members of the Evangelical Alliance, we especially take cognizance of the fact that we to-day stretch out the fraternal hand to our brethren who inhabit the lands of the Bible, lands aforesaid traversed by prophets and Apostles, in which the Son of God himself preached, wrought his miracles, and was nailed to the Cross; lands in which the scimitar of the Moslem, and the subtle errors of Satan have effaced the traces of their passage, but which

begin again to blossom and to fructify as "the garden of the Lord." These brethren visit you in our persons, to-day they blend their aspirations with yours, the little infant stretches out its arms to its elders, and seeks among them for courage, wisdom and strength; it comes to unite with them when they lift up their voices to our common Father, and say "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

We shall not be able to give a just idea of the condition of Evangelical religion in the East without first explaining the place which the Ecclesiastical organization occupies in the State. In truth there is no distinction between civil and political affairs, and the affairs of religion; in other words, the theocracy of the Koran is accepted even by the non-Mussulman population. Not only does the throne rest on the simple principle of Divine right, but the ministers of religion and the officers of the State act in concert or are identical; and this principle runs through every step of the hierarchical ladder from the highest to the lowest. The judge is an officer of religion. The Koran is at once the source of his authority and the rule of his conduct; and not only civil affairs, but those of religion also are determined by the Cadi. It is the same with the Mufti. These two officers are the most important members of the council which governs the administration in every town and hamlet; the governor possesses only an executive power. The Sultan is for the time being the political and religious head of the Mussulman world, and the faithful never doubt his political rights, even when circumstances prevent their exercise. But this exposition is not yet complete. The union of Church and State is well known in Europe, and people there can appreciate the evil which results from it to Evangelical piety. In the East, this principle is not only applied to the dominant religion, that which is professed by the State, but also to all other religions if they are in the least tolerated. Every religious sect must have its politico-religious chief, approved, recognized, and often even arbitrarily appointed by the government; otherwise it is *ipso facto* put out of the pale of the law, and left to the mercy of its enemies. This chief possesses real authority, for he raises the direct taxes which are imposed upon his community, and he is supported by the whole power of the Sublime Porte in maintaining his influence. The Roman Catholics had no chief for forty years, and they endured great personal and pecuniary sufferings until the Sultan consented to recognize them in the person of their Primate. Twenty years later, Protestants found themselves in a similar condition, until yielding as far as they could to the principles of the Porte, they elected a political chief, but not having invested him with any religious authority, his influence is very limited. There are now some sects as the *Kugulbaches*, which are not recognised, and they are cruelly perse-

cuted even by the officers of Government. We must not omit to mention that the protectorate accorded by France to the Romanists, and to the Greeks by Russia, does not restrict itself to act on the defensive in political matters, as might be supposed, but sustains a politico-religious propaganda animated by a low and worldly spirit.

On account of this particular state of society, a kind of scaffolding in which every individual has his place, and is irrevocably fixed in it, the idea of the spiritual regeneration of Turkey has been from its commencement regarded as possible to be realized only as a reformation of doctrine and of life, which would not touch ecclesiastical forms. It was agreed, therefore, to turn the light of the Gospel on the Eastern Churches, by the distribution of the Word of God, by evangelical preaching, and by the institution of schools based on liberal but entirely scriptural principles. And it was hoped that a constantly increasing living piety would be begotten which would issue in the complete reformation of these ancient Churches without either the danger or the necessity of a schism. These means were not employed long without effect, not it is true of a high character, on the inconstant spirit of the Greeks, but much more on the Armenians, who are naturally of a serious turn, and eminently practical. Evangelical sentiments spread among them with a force and rapidity constantly increasing. Providence raised up among them eloquent and devoted men, whose labours have been eminently blessed to bring great numbers to the foot of the cross of the Saviour. Young and ardent minds, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, spread themselves through the country, lifting up the lamp of truth and salvation.

This was the moment for which the enemy of souls had waited to crush and annihilate by one stroke Evangelical doctrines in Turkey. These young disciples of the newly-recovered faith were permitted to go to a certain length without hindrance; then the jealousy and worldly alarm of the dignitaries of the Church suddenly awoke; their united forces were sustained by the whole power of the throne to stifle the new-born faith. The then Armenian Patriarch, MATTEOS, excommunicated by one stroke of the pen all who had evinced Evangelical tendencies; they found themselves all at once outlawed; they were prosecuted by every envious and selfish person who chose to seize on the occasion for enriching himself: they were thrown into prison, their goods were seized, they were beaten, they were banished; everybody treated them as he pleased; the clergy, full of hatred against those who destroyed the superstitions on which they traded for their living, everywhere drew around them the fires of persecution. These trials lasted for a year; many zealous persons who had taken a principal part in "the regeneration," endured all sorts of sufferings and indignities, the greater part of the servants of the Lord lost all their goods, and even their livelihood; some took refuge in mountains

and caves, suffering hunger and cold, for many months objects of superstitious hatred to Christians, and even to many Mussulmans. The Evangelical Churches of the Levant were founded at this epoch, and in these painful and critical circumstances. The poor persecuted followers of Christ felt at this season of trial the need of all the consolations which He has provided for His servants. They earnestly asked to have the Lord's Supper administered to them, and we could not refuse it. They wished to unite in public in order to make a profession of their faith in the most open manner, to hear the word of God, and to receive spiritual aid from native pastors. Men already prepared by Providence, by their talents and their Christian virtues, were ordained pastors of the flocks expelled from the ancient Church, and haughtily declared by its clergy to be cut off from their communion. Thus sprung into existence the Evangelical Churches of the Levant. Born in persecution, their growth was proportioned to their sufferings. In consequence of urgent representations from the Protestant governments of Europe, the Turkish Government put an end to their abnormal state. The persecuted were acknowledged as faithful subjects of the Sublime Porte; a Chief was appointed to them at Constantinople, and in all the provinces. The prejudices which the clergy still sought to maintain against them rapidly disappeared. On the other hand, they have not lost their attachment to their old and historical National Church. In many places the Protestants pay their taxes with the rest, as if no separation had taken place. There are even some places where the Protestants are admitted into the old churches, to read the Scriptures in the modern dialect, and to preach the Gospel.

We now reach a remarkable fact. When numbers of believers were expelled from the National Church, there was still left behind enough of the good leaven to spread the true Gospel. Some were not excommunicated with the rest at the time of the great persecution in 1846; others became Christians after that event, but were protected by the reaction which followed, and a large number more, repelled by the system which the Mission had for some time practised, formed as much as possible a neutral party. All these worked together to effect a reformation which might save their ancient Church by purifying it from errors and superstitions. The progress of this change was rapid, and it has at present almost stopped the numerical increase of the Protestants. We may foresee without difficulty the epoch when the Armenian Church, regenerated in spirit and in doctrine, will cast away from its bosom all that is contrary to the Gospel. The high clergy will no doubt strive against it with all their might, but they begin already to fall, and we can put no limits to the grace of God. Will not the day come when the Armenian Church, purified and regenerated, will not only offer the fraternal hand to the Evan-

gelical Churches, but receive them to her embrace? It is the one question which we will not undertake to resolve. All present tendencies are towards this point. National sentiment, an attachment to their own race, develops itself more and more every day, and tends to unite afresh all Armenians who are now divided. Catholic Armenians possess it least, and it is strongest among Protestants. We observe at the same time an increasing jealousy of foreigners, a jealousy which more and more relaxes the bonds that attach them to the Missionary Societies which labour among them. Their love to Evangelical Christians of all countries increases daily, but it also becomes daily more apparent that foreigners do not understand the sentiments, the prejudices, the genius of Orientals, and they themselves desire to have separately their own proper ecclesiastical organization with the counsels and assistance of foreigners. For as long as, in order to obtain the aid of the foreign Societies in the work of Evangelization, it was necessary to submit to the condition of an arbitrary influence, their inspirations carried them towards the ancient National Church, and unhappily, with many of them, to the injury of their Evangelical principles. But whatever form these developments may hereafter take, it is certain that the Evangelical Churches are destined to act a distinguished part in the spiritual regeneration of Turkey. Their position, their enterprising spirit, their zeal, their influence, and their ability to profit by all their advantages, all indicate that God designs them to be his principal agents in the conversion of these people. At the present time, it is to them that the Gospel is indebted for all the progress that it makes in Turkey, not only among the Armenians, but also among the Turks, the Greeks, and the Jews, nor can we doubt that in the measure in which Evangelical religion spreads in the East, it will take its form and exterior development from these Churches, which already represent, in the eyes of the Orientals, the true Apostolic model, and contain whatever, according to European views, is useful, adapted to the ideas and manners of the East.

These native Churches are spread through the whole Ottoman Empire, from Adrianople in Roumelia, over the greatest part of Asia Minor, through Kourdistan to Bitlis and Morich, along Mesopotamia to Alardin, Moseul and Ourfa, and in the north of Syria to Antioch and Kissab. There they are in communication with the Churches of Syria to Jerusalem. We see then already this great empire of Islamism sown with 56 Evangelical Churches, containing 2,000 members, and gathering round them a population of 20,000 Protestants, ready to spread around them, and through the whole empire, the light of salvation. The greater part of these Christians are by race Armenians, but there are also among them Greeks, Turks, Jews, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Kurds, and even Bohemians; all lay aside their

prejudices and national predilections to range themselves under the banner of Christ; they unite on the footing of a perfect equality, become members of the same family, and intermarry with each other. The simple doctrine of the Gospel thus amalgamates races which Mussulman policy has kept asunder for ten centuries in order to govern them the more easily. I believe that we have reason to say that the Gospel, as it is explained in the principles of the Evangelical Alliance, contains the only practicable solution of the "Eastern Question;" and that Gospel preached in its simplicity has done more to create in Turkey a compact, homogeneous, and powerful nation than all the wars and diplomacy of Christendom.

The south-west of Asia Minor is principally peopled by the descendants of ancient Greek colonies. Time and long contact with Orientals have produced a great change in the primitive character of this race, assimilating them more to the Armenians than to the Greeks. The work of evangelization has already made great progress among them, and many Churches almost entirely composed of Greeks of Anatolia have been formed. They promise to become a powerful means of evangelizing the whole Greek race. The Bulgarians of Roumelia promise also to aid this blessed work. And at the other extremity of the country the Kurds, who have retained their paganism for eighteen centuries, in the face of primitive Christianity and Islamism, begin to receive the doctrine of Christ. The Gospel is thus spreading among all the populations of this fertile and historical land. Already she raises herself up to proclaim Jesus the Saviour of the world.

It is no doubt an encouraging picture which we place before you of the condition of the Evangelical Churches of the Levant. Our perspective, perhaps, appears to you brilliant, but to us who have witnessed their birth-pangs, who have nursed the new-born upon our hearts in its sufferings and afflictions—to us, I say, there is more anxiety for the future than satisfaction in the past. We contemplate with much anxiety all that remains to be done; we tremble as we listen to the storm that mutters in the horizon, and we ask for the prayers, the counsels, and the assistance of our brethren in the great and difficult task which devolves upon us.

It is scarcely proper here to speak of politics. You will permit us, however, to tell you of our alarms, as we witness the constantly increasing anarchy of Turkey, and the tyranny which the Turks practise on Christians. The Porte always succeeds in blinding European governments, and its official declarations are always received with a certain degree of credit; while it steadily pursues a policy, the aim of which is to destroy Christianity in the peninsula, and to gather a compact body of Mussulmans, who may form an army of reserve to defend and uphold the religion of the state. In spite of the enormous

accession of Circassian emigrants, such a project will not succeed. It will nevertheless occasion a conflict, and indescribable sufferings to our brethren of the Levant. They feel a volcano growling under their feet, whose explosion must soon take place, and the effects of which will be more terrible than the Syrian massacres. But these apprehensions we must lay at the feet of the infinitely wise and gracious God who orders all things well.

The Churches of the Levant are no longer in their infancy. In a short space of time they have acquired great maturity in the experience of their internal affairs, and know how to make great sacrifices for the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ, contributing to this end in many places the tenth of their means of subsistence. They are no longer our children, but our brethren and sisters in Jesus Christ, being no longer under tutelage, although they still require counsel and aid; they are become members of the great militant family of Christ on earth, distinguished by their peculiar character, understanding their duty, and employing all their strength to accomplish it. We must not forget that they will not now blindly follow a guide, however able and worthy he may be, and that if they who have hitherto been their tutors refuse to share the management with their own native pastors, the most disastrous consequences will ensue.

But in order that they may fulfil the duties which the development already attained devolves upon [them, it is necessary to assist these Churches in acquiring the necessary conditions—conditions which we must describe as most important. And, before all, the first of these conditions is the creation of an ecclesiastical organization of their own choice and acknowledgment, adapted to their circumstances and to the genius of the people. For these sixty Churches, scattered over an immense territory, having no other bond uniting them to each other but their common faith, are unable to act unitedly to a common end, whether it be the spread of the Gospel, or the maintenance of purity in doctrine and discipline. For ten years past heresy has been gliding in amongst them, and advancing without hindrance, showing that a strong organization is necessary in order to preserve what has been acquired with so much effort. On the other hand, Islamism and the old systems of religious error present a compact and solid body against which the Evangelical Churches can show no front without union. There was a time when anyone coming from a European country, or from America, carried about with him a *prestige* in the eyes of the people which gave him great influence in spreading the light of the Gospel. That time is past. The Orientals are grown jealous of foreign influence, especially in matters of religion. The Churches possess now eminent men who, to excellent teaching, and a simple and fervent piety, unite a perfect knowledge of the people for whose salvation they labour. These men become every day more

and more the leaders of the people of God; to prevent this tendency would be the death of the Evangelical cause. The foreigner ought to know how to retire from view with a good grace, and to employ the influence which yet remains to him in settling in the Churches a good ecclesiastical organization, [the certain pledge of their future peace.

We come now to a second important condition. The Oriental Churches no longer desire foreign and irresponsible control, and no doubt in the end they will disengage themselves from it. Who will thenceforth control their ecclesiastical affairs? Who are the men whose efforts and influence will guide them in future? There are some such men, and, as long as they live, the task will be easy. But something more is necessary, and the line of succession ought to be provided for. At present there is no institution in the country able to train pastors. The only school of this kind which we have had, and which has given us our present pastors, has been replaced by elementary schools. The Churches ought to have their Theological Faculty, placed under their own direction, since they know the want which it ought to supply. It is a great work, it is true, but it might be soon accomplished, if their brethren of different countries will put their hands to it, and thus endeavour to pay off the debt due to their ancestors for our religion and our civilization. Until this is achieved, we have no security for the progress of the kingdom of God in Turkey, or even for the preservation of what now exists. In the meantime, let the Christians of Europe and of America charge themselves with the education in their universities of young Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Kurds, and Syrians, who burn with the desire of serving Christ, that they may return and become their future professors and pastors, and the day will not be very far distant when Turkey will take her place among the nations who hold forth the Word of Life.

There is only one point more to which I wish to draw your attention, which will naturally conclude all that I have said. The Evangelical Alliance in this general assembly, gathered together upon the soil of Holland, where religious liberty and Evangelical purity have both obtained victories that have blessed the world, have received with sympathy the representatives of the Churches of the Levant. We see here a new proof that these Churches are recognized by the whole of Evangelical Christendom. They demand, then, to be henceforth considered as an integral part of the great family. They have for some time been under the power of their tutors; those who are here entreat all Christians to quit this field of labour, lest they should injure what has been begun. We do not reflect upon the past, but we think that the Churches of the Levant are no longer under this restriction. And now, by the mouth of their two delegates, they cordially invite all their Evangelical brethren to come to labour

amongst them for Christ and the salvation of souls. Do not fear, dear brethren, that you will endanger the work of the Lord. The native Churches are so established in the knowledge of the Word of God, that they will appreciate the different exterior developments of the doctrines of the Gospel. They do not believe that you attach greater importance to these external forms than they merit, and they hope to profit largely by an intimate contact with them. The danger is not that sects will arise out of these Oriental Churches : their tendency is to concentration, not separation ; all the more, as we have already explained, since the union of Church and State renders these subdivisions impossible.

In conclusion, dear brethren, we commend these Levantine Churches to your prayers and your co-operation. May you yourselves increase in knowledge, in wisdom, and in grace ; may the Holy Spirit bless your labours for the salvation of sinners, and unite us all in "the general assembly and Church of the First-born," to praise God and the Lamb for ever ! Amen.

AMERICA.

REPORT ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN
THE UNITED STATES.

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OF THE AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE ALLIANCE.

THE reorganisation of the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance was completed at a meeting held in the city of New York, January 30, 1867. The Honourable William E. Dodge, of New York, was elected President, with a large number of Vice-Presidents and Councillors, representing all the leading evangelical churches, and, so far as practicable, all parts of the country. A copy of our constitution, with the names of the various officers, is subjoined to this report. At a subsequent meeting, the Executive Committee of the Alliance directed the undersigned to draw up a report on the State of Religion in our American Churches, and transmit it to the Fifth General Conference of the Alliance to be held in Amsterdam.

We rejoice in the revival of these Christian bonds, by which, we trust, the Protestant Churches of the old and the new world may be more closely linked together. We are glad that the misunderstandings which, for a time, seemed to separate us, have now spent their force. These were chiefly two: at first, the existence of slavery in this country, which was made a bar to the reception of some of our ministers abroad; and then, by way of contrast, the apparent want of sympathy with our Republic during its recent struggle for our national unity, and for the abolition of slavery. Our national constitution now forbids slavery throughout all our states and territories. And the course and results of our war have demonstrated, what many even good men doubted, that slavery was its chief cause, as the extinction of slavery was its grand result, necessary alike to our national unity and to our future progress and prosperity. For, as even Aristotle long since said, "It belongs to the essence and aim of the State that citizens by their union should seek to become better and more perfect men in deed and truth." (Pol. iii. 6.) And this cannot be so long as power, in the name of law, tramples on human rights.

The Foreign Secretary of the Holland Branch of the Alliance, in his letter to us, alludes to the ties of union and sympathy between the Netherlands and our Republic. He happily associates our two countries, and two great names, when he says that you mourned with

us in the sad loss of our venerated President Lincoln, "falling, as another William of Orange, victim of his virtues, and martyr for a great and noble cause." Yes, these two martyrs, one in a common tragic end, are henceforth conjoined in the memory of mankind, and unite us more closely in love to that immortal cause for which they died. But other ties bind us to your land. You, like ourselves, have been a refuge for the persecuted and oppressed from other lands—a European asylum for liberty of thought and freedom of worship. When John Robinson, two hundred and fifty years ago, fled from Scrooby, he found refuge, first in Amsterdam, and then in Leyden; and there, shielded by your hospitality, he taught his emigrant church, until they were ready to embark at Delft Haven, in the Mayflower, on their way to found the colony of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, from which has sprung so much of our liberty-loving and God-fearing population. Eleven years before this colony was established (in 1609), your Hendrick Hudson, in his Half Moon, had discovered and named our lordly river, the Hudson. Adrian Block's ship, the Unrest, came to New Amsterdam (Manhattan) in 1623; and in 1626, Peter Minuit bought for twenty-six dollars the whole island, which is now called New York. Here, too, under your auspices was planted your Reformed Church, with Dominie Jonas Michaelius for its first minister, sent over in 1628; and the Collegiate Church to which he ministered still survives, orthodox and vigorous, though now speaking another language; and it sends to the mother country, through our Alliance, its cordial Christian salutations. The memory of your heroic conflicts for the Reformed faith, the inspiration of your sacrifices for religious freedom, and even the very framework of your civil institutions, have worked among us for our good, and ally your land with ours. And your States General, first among the European nations, declared the great principle of religious liberty, "that not only ought all religions to be tolerated, but that all restraint in matters of religion was as detestable as the Inquisition itself."

Your secretary also assures us, and his words demand and receive our grateful recognition, that "Holland has been unanimous on the side of what was felt to be the cause of righteousness and liberty." In the very midst of our struggle, too, when the proud waters had well nigh gone over us, we received similar assurances and encouragement from the French Branch of the Alliance, ever faithful to the cause of freedom. To be with us, then, called for faith and insight; for such insight as anticipates the verdict of posterity. We were struggling with a gigantic rebellion: it was a question as to the life or death of this republic: it was a question of slavery or liberty for a whole continent. What we needed from abroad was, not material aid, but moral support.

There were two grounds on which we felt justified in expecting such

sympathy: on the ground of constitutional law, and on the ground of human liberty: for we were contending for liberty under the sanction of law. On the other hand, the revolted states stood upon the right of secession, which undermines the possibility of a stable government; and on the rightfulness of human bondage, which is at war with the primary instincts of humanity, the political well-being of the state, and the essential principles of the Christian religion. On these points the issue was joined, and submitted to the dread arbitrament of war. The political form which the contest assumed was, primarily and necessarily, that of subduing a rebellion and maintaining the rightful authority of the national government; but the moral forces at work were those of freedom and slavery; and so the victory of the Union was identified with the abolition of slavery. For the first, and, we trust, for the last time in human history, the question of freedom or slavery, as a national question, was made the turning point of a civil war.

The conflict assumed gigantic proportions, for it was a contest of law and of ideas against the strongest and most compact material interest of the country, which had hitherto been paramount in our national councils, representing a slave property valued at about \$3,000,000,000, which was also about the amount of the debt incurred by the nation in carrying on the war. The whole population of the United States, in 1860, was 31,443,321. The number of slaves was 3,953,587; of slave-holders 364,884. At the breaking out of the rebellion the whole army of the United States consisted of only 16,404 men. The enlistments during the war, on the national side, rose to 2,688,523—allowing for re-enlistments at successive draftings, the number of men enlisted was probably not far short of one and a half millions, of whom 186,917 were negro troops. Eighty per cent. of the enlistments were from our native born population. Of the whole number enlisted in the rebel states there is no official account; the largest number at any one time on their rolls was about 150,000. The whole white male population of the Southern States, between the ages of 18 and 45, was 1,064,193. It would be a large estimate to say that three-quarters of these (750,000) were enlisted during the war. This would make the whole number of men enlisted, North and South, about two and a quarter millions (though the current popular estimate is much greater, but probably incorrect). The navy of the United States rose to 684 ships of war, with 4,477 guns, and 51,000 officers and men. The whole number of battles and minor engagements was about 225. In these battles, the official record of losses in the army of the United States, as given by the Provost Marshal, James B. Fry, makes a total of 280,739 officers and men, of whom 96,606 were killed or died of wounds, and the remainder were the victims of diseases incident to war. This is doubtless a low estimate. The loss

on the rebel side must have been nearly as great. The number, still living, but maimed or diseased through the war, can only be conjectured. Calling these 150,000, the whole number, on both sides, who were the victims to this rebellion, cannot be less than 750,000 or 800,000 men,*—not to speak of the wasting grief and agony of half a million bereaved households. At the close of the war, the United States had in the field over a million of men; and in six months afterwards it had disbanded a million, who went peaceably back to the occupations which they had left for a time to save their land. The other burdens which remained have been cheerfully borne. The debt of the United States on June 1st, 1867, is left at \$2,515,615,936; the revenue for the past year was over \$540,000,000, \$209,000,000 of which went to the extinction of the principal of the debt. Besides this national indebtedness, the state debts for war purposes amount to \$500,000,000 more; the loyal states paid in bounty-money to volunteers \$284,805,400, in addition to the three hundred millions paid by the United States for the same object. The pecuniary losses in the Southern States can hardly be estimated; in addition to the amount of some three thousand millions for what was called slave property, the other pecuniary losses cannot be less than two thousand millions, and these losses are total. But the debt of the United States is a sacred trust, held all over the land. Next to the patriotic self-sacrifice shown in the marvellous levying of our hosts of war, was equally the patriotic zeal shown in placing the wealth of the land at the disposal of the government. For now, more than ever, is money one of the chief sinews of war.

Thus have we purchased at a great price our national unity, and the boon of freedom for the oppressed. Such a sacrifice of blood and treasure is defensible, only as the object is worthy of the cost. God's Providence laid the burden upon us, and that same Providence is permitting us already to see, that they who sow in tears shall reap in joy. We were called upon to sacrifice what was best and dearest to us for the sake of the Republic, for the sake of humanity; the higher race was called upon to lay its costliest gifts upon the altar for the sake of the lowly and oppressed, for whom our Heavenly Father cares; and in such sacrifice, which is a part of the inmost and vital law of Christianity itself, we have learned lessons which have rebuked our pride and vainglory, checked our inordinate pursuit of material well-being, fostered our sympathy for the down-trodden, deepened our

* Many accounts of this War represent it almost unparalleled in carnage. But this is far from being the case. The yearly average of losses was certainly not greater than in the European Wars from 1792 to 1815; not larger than the yearly average in the Crimean Campaign, in which the losses are put down at over half a million.

sense of the reality of a Divine government, and of the justice of retribution for our national sins, and taught us more clearly what our beloved country was meant to be and do among the nations of the earth. (Accepting this war, fully and humbly, as a retribution for our national sins,) foremost among which is the guilt of slavery, we find in its results, as in all the Divine dealings, justice tempered by mercy, and the good hand of our God, causing the wrath of man to redound to His praise, and to promote the welfare of the kingdom of His son. For through all the stages of this contest, even in its most disastrous days, the Christian people of this Republic were animated and upheld by the profound conviction, that they were not living unto themselves, that they were contending for a cause of unspeakable moment to the welfare and progress of mankind; and that the success of our nation would help on the victory of human rights and freedom all over the earth. And this terrible civil war has been so overruled by a wonder-working Providence, that these states are now one nation as never before; that the one great overshadowing evil of our political and social system has been done away; that new fountains of charity have been opened; and that new life and vigour have been infused into our religious, educational and philanthropic institutions, labouring for the welfare and progress of mankind.

Our national unity has been preserved and secured. It was not a war for aggrandizement, but for self-preservation; and even those who condemn the former might approve the latter. It was a war, not for territory, but for a Republic; to decide the question whether a republican government was really safe and strong, as able to overthrow a rebellion as to repel a foreign foe. In and by the war, the nation came to its self-conscious majority, to the full sense of a common and indestructible national life. Its resources had been quietly accumulating, and the fulness of its strength was never known until its very life was at stake. Then the latent forces were disengaged, as by the magician's touch, and shaped themselves into order, and made the nation for four years a vast organized host. And this was not the doing of the government, it was rather the instinct of the people.

This unity is mutely foretold in our very geography. The great German geographer, Karl Ritter, says that the very "configuration of this country allows civilization to penetrate without obstruction every portion of the land;" and adds, "that the past ages have given man the means of gaining the victory over nature; the New World, now in its infancy, is to apply these means." Sagacious rulers and statesmen bear witness to the same fact. Louis Napoleon, before he assumed the empire, in his *Idées Napoléoniennes* (1848), said of us: "Providence has entrusted to the United States of America the care of peopling and acquiring to civilization all that

immense territory that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the North Pole to the Equator." This prophetic hint surpasses even our Western ambition, for it includes the new dominion of Canada and the late empire of Mexico. But within our rightful boundaries, it was essential that our unity should be maintained, because thus alone could our Republic fulfil its destiny; thus alone could the thronging population from other lands be fused into one people; thus alone could a free, Protestant Christianity have full opportunity for its development and application; thus alone could European powers be kept from a continual revival of projects for the colonization and subjugation of this Western world; and thus alone could we prevent the establishment of a republic, with the rightfulness of slavery for the corner stone of its policy, in the very heart of this continent, and in the middle of the nineteenth century of the Christian religion.*

And we were enabled to vindicate our national authority without running into either of the opposite perils of anarchy or despotism. The Republic was securely poised between these two, and hence its power. The fears of our enemies and the hopes of our friends were equally fulfilled. The majesty of law was made supreme. While the safety of the Republic was the supreme law of the exigency, yet the public and written law were observed, and the right of self-government was also made a duty. No fear of military despotism ever disturbed us. The army, after the war, subsided as peacefully as the waves of the sea after a storm. And we may here quote the noble eulogy of an eloquent French statesman, Count de Montalembert, whose sympathies, like so many others of the best of his nation, were with us because he is a lover of justice and freedom, and who impartially testifies (in his *Victory of the North of the United States*), that "this civil war might have made of the American democracy a Cæsarean and military democracy; but the contrary has occurred. It is still a liberal and Christian democracy. It is the first great fact, which, in the annals of modern democracy, without reservation, strengthens and consoles; the first which is worthy to inspire confidence in its future; limited confidence, humble and modest, as all human confidence should be: but an intrepid and severe self-reliance, as that of free hearts and honest consciences ought to be. America has just shown, for the first time since the beginning of the world, that liberty

* The fact that the South was contending for slavery could not be denied even by those who protested that the General Government was not fighting for liberty: and this fact, chiefly, prevented the recognition of the Confederate States by foreign nations. Only one European ruler (the one who, as Dante says, "mixes two governments, that ill assort,") the Pope of Rome, sent words of sympathy to President Davis.

can coexist in a democracy with war, and moreover with an extent of country almost unequalled."

The triumph of National Unity has also secured the Abolition of Slavery. By the sure logic of history, as the slave power culminated in secession, and secession in rebellion, so the national instinct culminated in the vindication of the national supremacy, and that supremacy, established by victory, buried secession and slavery in a common grave. Peace meant abolition. The war was made strong by an idea; and that idea was a moral principle. We fought for national unity, not for its own sake alone—though that were as defensible, to say the least, as any modern European war; not even for the sake of empire, though that has been the moving cause and reason of the most bloody contests of history; but also because we believed and knew that the preservation of the national unity was essential to the progress of freedom. Slavery was the one great hindrance to the realization of the essential idea of our Republic, and the success of the Republic was the doom of slavery. Secession gave us the legal right of abolishing slavery in all the revolted states. When by force of arms we prevented the establishment of a slave republic within our borders, we also acquired the right, as a war measure, of extending the bounds of freedom. Such was the logic of war; it made the impossible possible. In giving us unity and peace, it also gave us liberty through all our borders. President Lincoln, though he had said, "I am naturally anti-slavery, if slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong," hesitated, as President, on constitutional grounds, to issue the Proclamation of Emancipation, until it became plainly necessary. By that proclamation, on Jan. 1st, 1863, 3,405,015 slaves were emancipated. An amendment to the Constitution, declared on Dec. 18th, 1865, by the Secretary of State, to be duly ratified, provides, that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The civil rights of the emancipated have been duly protected by subsequent legislation. And in the plan of reconstruction, now in progress under the restraints of a temporary military guardianship, it is expressly provided that none are to be excluded from ballot on account of their colour. Practically, the choice was between arming the negro with the ballot, or keeping a standing army at the South to secure the civil rights of freedmen. On the 31st of June last, in Washington itself, negro suffrage was carried into effect without disturbance. The work of the registration of the whole Southern population is now going on; and when that is consummated, and these States are all restored to their harmonious relations with the General Government, we shall witness the unexampled and sublime spectacle of a whole race, long oppressed, elevated at once to the full rights of freemen. The one great anomaly will

then be eliminated from our political system. It will be the victory, not only of the nation, but of humanity itself, and of Christian civilization. Under God's blessing we may then, a purified and regenerated nation, reap the fruit of our costly sacrifices. God has saved us from ourselves. He has not destroyed us, because we trusted in Him, and cared for those for whom he cares. In the hour of our victory He also quelled in us a spirit of revenge. He has led us forth with a high hand and outstretched arm, and, in giving us new trust in Him, has also given us new confidence in the power and perpetuity of our Republic, founded in the doctrine of human rights, and thus adapted to promote and speed human welfare :

“ Vital in every part,
It can but by annihilating die.”

Our most solemn national trust has respect to that down-trodden, yet patient African race, so long held in cruel bondage. We neither ignore, nor deny, the magnitude and the difficulty of the new problem in human history, with which we are now brought face to face. Can an inferior and long oppressed race be thus suddenly brought to a condition of civil and political equality, without endangering the social fabric ? This is an untried question. It is the one we must meet and solve. In this dim and perilous way, our light must come from faith rather than from experience : but this is also the condition of all civil and moral progress, for progress implies trust in the future rather than in the past. The prime necessity in respect to the four millions of negroes, thus suddenly invested with new rights and duties, is that they be educated into complete fitness for their new position. and this work must be speedily accomplished. For the immediate exigency, the national Government has made some provision, in an exceptional way, by establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, under the intelligent and able management of Major-General O. O. Howard, This Bureau protects the freedmen in their civil rights ; gives rations to the needy, both white and black ; and has a certain supervision over the schools for the negroes. It expended last year over four millions of dollars, issuing some thirteen and a half millions of rations and giving hospital treatment to 170,000 persons. For the present year, the estimate of extra rations, in consequence of the failure of crops, is over two millions. The last Report of this Bureau (June) in respect to Freedmen's Schools, at the South, gives the number of teachers as 1,744, and of pupils 95,987. Of the 1,200 schools reported at the beginning of the year 333 were already self-supporting, and 290 were partially supported by the freedmen ; of the teachers, 458 were coloured, and 972 white. There were also 17 Industrial Schools, with 1,279 pupils ; 575 Sunday Schools, with 52,409 pupils ; and 11 Normal Schools (for teachers) with 581 pupils. The funds for the support of these schools come from private charity. Two

large associations are especially engaged in this work : the American Missionary Association, and the American Freedmen's Union Commission. The receipts of the Association last year was \$253,000 ; it has 508 missionaries and teachers among the freedmen ; scholars, 38,719 ; in Sabbath Schools, 18,010. This Association imparts religious as well as secular instruction. The American Freedmen's Commission, of which Chief Justice Chase is the President, was formed by a union of various societies, and it has some three thousand branches and auxiliaries in this country, and in France, Switzerland, Germany, and England. It has established 301 schools, taught by 773 teachers, and having 40,744 pupils ; last year it distributed supplies to the amount of half a million of dollars ; its money receipts were \$280,768. The whole number of freedmen, who have learned to read and write, during the past two years, cannot be less than 200,000 : the whole number of teachers is about 2,000. This is a great advance ; but there are probably no less than a million who need instruction. Other societies,* besides those named, are labouring in the same work ; most of the religious denominations have made some special provision for this object, the whole amount of which can only be conjectured. The interest of Mr. Peabody's noble fund of more than a million of dollars also aids in part in the same work. The call for increased effort is urgent, for the need is vital. The Southern States have never been able to carry out any general system of public instruction, so that the work has to be done from the very foundation. And it now seems probable that the whole South will at last obtain the blessing of general education indirectly through the freedmen themselves. The progress of the pupils in these schools is eminently gratifying. Many of them have had some of the very best and most self-denying teachers in the land, who have gone to them from the North with a truly missionary spirit. As to the desire and the capacity of the negro for education, there can be no reasonable doubt.† The training of the coming generation will produce decisive results. Several colleges are already started for giving still higher instruction. The Lincoln University (at Oxford, Pa.) has just been endowed with four professorships (by W. E. Dodge, J. C. Baldwin, and others), and had ninety

* One freedwoman, Nashville, Tenn., Frances E. W. Harper, is noted for her poetic gifts ; she recently published a little poem, in which she writes of Freedom, that

" White robed and pure her feet shall move,
O'er rifts of ruin deep and wide,
Her hands shall span with lasting love
The chasms rent by hate and pride."

† The African Civilization Society is an association of coloured persons in New York, acting on the principle that the blacks can best train the blacks. It has 19 schools, 32 teachers, and 1,367 scholars in Md., Va., &c.

students the past year, a large part of whom will go into the sacred ministry. Arrangements are making for the training of coloured preachers in the different denominations at the South; and the conviction of the Southern people, in most of the churches, is rapidly tending to the conclusion (still resisted by some), that colour should not be a bar to the sacred office. There will soon be a rivalry among the different churches for receiving this race to their respective folds.* Black men already act on juries throughout the South. And Southern politicians are already showing eagerness to gain the negro vote. Competition may confer the boon which selfishness might withhold. These social, political, religious and educational influences are at work upon this great problem. And it is our firm trust, that the same Divine Providence which broke the fetters of the slaves, will exalt them to the dignity of freemen; and that the freedom of the Gospel will purify and confirm all their other rights. There need be no fear of a Christianized negro population.

In such a juncture and crisis of the national life, as that through which we have been passing in this decisive olympiad of our history, all the great powers of society are aroused to their full activity, for all its interests, political, social, moral and religious are at stake. Not only was the State imperilled, but also the Church. Not only were our republican institutions tested, but also our American Christianity. The question here was, whether the special form which Christianity has put on in the growth of our Republic would be able to meet the shock and stress of civil war, and come out strong and triumphant? Could the Church meet the emergency as well as the State? This question was not on the surface of the conflict, but it was at work in the very heart of our life. And, in general, we may say, with devout thanksgiving to the Great Head of the Church, that He has led us, and cared for us, and bound anew the chaplet of victory upon the brow of His contesting bride. Our American Christianity, with whatever there is distinctive in it, has not become disintegrated, nor has it succumbed, but it has rather been an effectual aid to the State in the saving of the land: it has held up, full high advanced, the great moral issue of the strife; it has helped to swell, beyond all previous measure, the sum and volume of philanthropic labours and contributions for the relief of the sick, the suffering, and the dying: while, at the same time, it has largely increased its collections for its own special objects, strengthened and compacted its organisations, remained steadfast in its faith and order, and is left, at the close of the war, more strong for

* In 1860 there were reported 468,000 coloured church members in the South: Methodists, 215,000; Baptists, 175,000; Presbyterians, 18,000; Cumberland Presbyterians, 20,000; Campbellite Baptists, 10,000; Episcopal, 7,000; all others about 20,000. The whole number of persons of African descent in the Western hemisphere is about 14,000,000.

its vast future work, and making larger preparations for that work than ever before. And in all this we recognise and adore the good hand of our God upon us. The War of the Revolution left the churches, eighty years back, enfeebled and distracted, for they were then entering upon the untried career of separation from the State. Our distinctive American Christianity has been built up on the basis of that separation, and now, after a sterner trial than ever before, we are more than ever convinced that for the churches of our land this is the way of safety and of growth. There was here no precedent and no analogy. Those, accustomed to the compact external unity of a State Church, might easily hope or fear that our many external divisions were signs of internal weakness, and that we should be disintegrated by the violence of the civil commotion and strife. Of this fear we were not ourselves conscious; and the progress of events has shown that the ecclesiastical tendencies, in the midst of our civil strife, have looked in the direction of reunion rather than of increased subdivisions.

The special and determined characteristic of our American Christianity, growing out of the very necessities of our history, is found in the separation of Church and State—which separation, in its last grounds, rests, on the one hand, upon the principle of religious liberty, and, on the other, upon a confidence in the self-sustaining power of Christianity itself.* We believe that no external power, be it ecclesiastical or secular, has a right to invade the sacred province of religious freedom. We also believe that Christianity does not need the support of the State. As faith in human rights is at the basis of our Republican institutions, so, and with still stronger emphasis, is faith in Christianity at the basis of our religious growth and order: we are willing to trust its inherent truth and power against all the assaults of its foes, against an infidelity born of passion or an infidelity born of speculation, being well assured that the State cannot repel these, if the Church cannot. Such religious liberty is necessary to true civil freedom; the latter has ever followed the former: where there is no religious, there cannot be a fully developed civil freedom; and where religious and civil liberty are fully and equally recognised, there will also ensue a separation of Church and State. Not that we claim to have fully solved the vast problem of the relation of the Church to the State; but we allow all the elements of the solution free and full course, in this transition stage of human history, confident that we are approaching the solution nearer than is possible where either of the elements is unduly restrained. It is an unsolved

* On this and kindred points, I may refer to Dr. Baird's well-known work on *Religion in America*, prepared for the Evangelical Alliance; and also particularly to Dr. Philip Schaff's Report to the Alliance in Berlin, and to his work on *America*, published in 1857.

problem, the greatest problem of history ; and we are trying to work it out in the sphere of freedom—freedom both in Church and State ; and this is, at least, as reasonable as to try and work it out by means of external fetters and restraints. Our separation of Church and State may be provisional ; but is their union any less so ? Our apparent confusion of sects is, in one aspect, a sign of the fullness of a growing life ; as it is also, in another aspect, an indication that we are at work on a problem not yet fully solved and reduced to scientific order. But the science will follow the experience. Both in Church and State, we have great questions and trials before us ; but we are beyond the complications which come from that union of the ecclesiastical with the secular power, which underlies so many other questions of modern history, and

“ twilight sheds
On half the nation, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.”

And the separation itself may be well, and needful, to bring about that better time, which we can now only dimly imagine, when the two shall be really one, because animated by the same spirit—when the State shall be penetrated in all its laws and acts by the vital principles of the Christian system.

This separation does not imply indifference, still less opposition. Legally, it means simply the non-recognition of any form of Christianity as established by the State. But the State still guarantees to all our churches their legal rights. The general government also recognises the Christian religion in various ways : it administers oaths of office ; it honours the Christian Sabbath ; both Houses of Congress are daily opened with prayer ; it appoints chaplains for the army and navy—500 were under appointment, at one time, during the late war ; President Lincoln issued an army order for the observance of the Sabbath, and he repeatedly appointed days of fasting, and supplication, and thanksgiving, which were solemnly observed by all our churches. A movement is now on foot to procure a more express recognition of the Christian religion in our Constitution. The individual States, too, aid in various ways institutions and objects, not only of a benevolent, but also of a specific Christian character. And as society is more and more penetrated by the Christian system, the laws and institutions of the State will come into more entire accord with the fundamental principles of the kingdom of God.

This separation of Church and State has left the Church entire freedom in doing a work which could not otherwise so well be done—which in this land could not have been done at all if this union had been continued. The work was, and is, the direct personal application of Christianity to a rapidly-increasing population, doubling itself with

each generation ; largely fed by immigration, in some years to the extent of 750 per day ; of the most diverse origin and beliefs ; spread over a wide territory, advancing westward on this continent at the rate of twenty-five or thirty miles a year, and filled with the instinct of freedom, and thus especially impatient of restraint, above all in their religious concerns. Working in the midst of such a population, the Church must use all possible instrumentalities, and develope all its resources. It must reach men as individuals, and follow them in their wanderings. And not only must it strive to renew the individual, but also to bring the habits and institutions of social life and order under the influence of the Christian faith. For the real work of Christianity is, and can be, achieved only as it reforms society. Our very freedom allows us to apply Christianity directly to the individual and to society : it compels us to do this. And in doing this by means of the rivalry and progress of the different denominations—no one of which can fairly set up any exclusive claims—we find the most prominent external characteristic of our American Christianity.

The time-honoured European lines and divisions of the Christian Church are no longer applicable here ; we cannot bring the facts of our Christian life under the rubrics of Lutheran and Reformed, and call all the rest “sects ;” nor can we speak of “Dissenters” in any proper sense. The “sects” of the Old World are the leading churches of the New World. Most of our sects came to us from Europe to get rid of state coercion, and they have here had free scope. Our Christian history is not that of the conversion of a new and civilised nation to the Gospel ; but of the transplanting of the Christianity of Europe, freed from its local restrictions, to a new theatre : it is Europe itself developed on a new continent. Our leading denominations still stand on the substantial basis of the confessions of the Protestant Reformation, many of them adhering to the old symbols with a tenacity which is now rare in the lands from which they came. Notwithstanding the diversities of name and external order, we are agreed on the main articles of our Common Evangelical Christianity ; and the sense of this unity is increasingly felt. At least three-fourths of our entire population are under the dominant influence of the chief Protestant Churches—the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the Methodists and Baptists, the Episcopalian, the Lutheran, the German and Dutch Reformed—to name no other. And, as a simple matter of fact, the largest development and increase of Christianity in the nineteenth century has been found in the United States. The Methodists have increased in communicants from 15,000 to about 2,000,000 ; the Baptists from 35,000 to about 1,700,000 ; the Presbyterians from 40,000 to 700,000 ; the Congregationalists from 75,000 to 275,000 ; the Lutherans number over 300,000, and the German Reformed more

than 100,000. And each of these churches reaches a population about four times as large as the number of its church members.

That the voluntary principle, which is the necessary logical result of the separation of Church and State, is favourable to our progress, appears from the following statistics. According to the United States Census for 1860, there were then 54,000 church edifices in the country, erected wholly by voluntary contributions, at an estimated value of \$171,390,432; and the number of these churches had increased 50 per cent., and their value had doubled, in the previous ten years. There was an average of one church to 544 persons. The total church accommodation was 12,875,119, or about one sitting to every two and a half of the total population. (Of these edifices the Methodists had 19,883, at an average value of 2,000 dollars; the Baptists, 11,211, of the value of 1,700 dollars each; the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, 8,953, of the value of 5,500 dollars, etc.)* The increase in church membership has outrun, in spite of the influx of foreign population, the relative increase of the population. In 1800, the total population was 5,305,935, and the number of church members was 350,000; in 1832, the population was 13,614,420, church-members 1,348,948; in 1860, the population was 31,429,801, church-members, 5,035,250. That is, the ratio in 1800, was one communicant to about fifteen of the population; in 1832, it was one to ten; in 1860, one to six. While the population increased six-fold the church membership increased more than fourteen-fold. And this, too, notwithstanding the fact that during the last period (from 1832 to 1860) the number of aliens arriving at our ports was over five millions; and Texas, New Mexico, and California were added to our territory. The proportional increase, since 1860, has probably been greater, for the immigration has been much less. This estimate does not include the Roman Catholics, who may number three and a half millions. A larger proportionate increase is also found in our bene-

* The number of churches and church accommodations for all denominations in 1860 was as follows:—1. Methodist, 19,883 churches, with accommodations for 6,259,800; 2. Baptist, 12,150, for 4,044,218; 3. Presbyterian, 6,406, for 2,565,949; 4. Roman Catholic, 2,550, for 1,404,437; 5. Congregational, 2,234, for 956,351; 6. Episcopal, 2,145, for 847,296; 7. Lutheran, 2,128, for 757,637; 8. Christian (Baptist), 2,068, for 681,016; 9. Friends, 726, for 269,084; 10. German Reformed, 676, for 273,697; 11. Universalist, 664, for 235,219; 12. Dutch Reformed, 440, for 211,068; 13. Unitarian, 264, for 138,213; 14. Jewish, 77, for 34,412; 15. Adventist, 70, for 17,120; 16. Swedenborgian, 58, for 15,395; 17. Moravian, 49, for 20,316; 18. Spiritualists, 17, for 6,275; 19. Shakers, 12, for 5,200; 20. Union Churches, 1,366, for 371,899; 21. Other Sects, 26, for 14,150; The total is 54,000 churches, with accommodations for 19,128,751; in 1850, ten years before, there were 38,061 churches, with accommodations for 14,234,825. The total value of church property was \$87,328,801, in 1850, and \$171,398,532, in 1860, or nearly double.

volent and missionary contributions ; as will be more fully stated in another part of this Report.

This general working of our ecclesiastical principles and institutions was not retarded, but rather invigorated and accelerated, during the period of our great Civil War. In such a crisis the deepest instincts and needs of the soul struggle for expression ; and the real elements of national strength and character show themselves—all its higher as well as its lower powers and passions, each struggling for supremacy. Especially will this be the case, where it is a struggle of a lower against a higher form of civilization, of a material interest against a moral idea, of a strong yet unrighteous institution of the past against the higher forces that are to sway the future.

And so this war called out and deepened our general religious needs and convictions, and our sense of the reality of Divine Providence. It quickened the sense of the inviolability of the Divine law, of the justice of retribution for national guilt. It made the general conscience more quick to discern between right and wrong, more ready to succour the oppressed and help them to their rights. It made the heart quick to feel, and the hand strong to aid the sick, the wounded, and the dying, on innumerable fields of battle ; so that while sons and brothers fought and bled, another army of mothers and sisters, all over the land, ministered to their wants with loving and sleepless vigilance. Every town had its society, and every family its appointed hours, for these deeds of mercy. Ministers from all our churches left their parishes, and met on the battle-field, offering the same prayers, and pointing the suffering and dying to the same Saviour. More than a hundred millions in money are known to have been given by private benevolence for the relief of our soldiers ; and who can estimate the innumerable gifts that were never told, or the costly love which itself is priceless ? A superficial view might ascribe all this development of justice and humanity to man's moral nature alone, without respect to religion, or to Christianity ; but where have such results been seen, except under the fostering and benign influence of the Christian faith ? The victories of right over wrong, of humanity over barbarism, of freedom over slavery, of law over anarchy and rebellion—especially when won by self-sacrifice—all progress in human rights and welfare, all advance of liberty under law—these are not foreign to the Christian faith, but born of its inmost spirit ; they are signs and indexes of the real progress and triumphs of the Christian religion. In the political and social sphere, the growth of Christianity is indicated by the growth of justice and love ; the triumphs of civilization over barbarism, of social justice over social wrong, the elevation of the masses to their rights and their duties—these are proofs of the progress, and auguries of the final supremacy and success of that Christian faith, which was heralded by the annunciation of peace on

earth, and good-will towards men. It is vain and idle to put morality into opposition to Christianity; for Christian faith worketh by love, and so overcometh the world. It is a reproach to Christianity to say, that it is, or can be, most prosperous, where human rights and man's freedom are unknown or disregarded.

Among the voluntary, charitable organizations called into being by the war, two assumed such large proportions as to call for special recognition: The United States Sanitary Commission, and the Christian Commission.* The Sanitary Commission, Henry W. Bellows, D.D., of New York, President, was organized for the relief of the sick and wounded, especially at times of great exigency. It had branches, and indefatigable workers, through all the Northern States. Its total receipts were over \$15,000,000 in stores, \$5,000,000 in money, besides over \$1,000,000 expended at local offices. During a large part of the war, it had 400 men in constant employment on the field, and in 40 hospitals under its care. Besides medical aid and treatment, it gave two and a half millions of meals to stray soldiers; it kept records in its books in respect to a million and seven hundred thousand soldiers; it collected some fifty thousand soldiers' claims, amounting to over two millions of dollars. All this was effected by the spontaneous contributions and efforts of the people; and was supplementary to the large and even generous provisions of the Government for the comfort and healing of the sick and wounded. The general sanitary result of these measures is seen in the fact, that, while in the European campaigns of this century the proportion of deaths by disease to the deaths from wounds is as four to one, in our campaign it was reduced one half, two to one—a net saving of some 200,000 lives.

The United States Christian Commission, George H. Stuart, Esq., of Philadelphia, President, was organized Nov. 15, 1861, and continued its work till Jan., 1866; its object was to provide for the spiritual as well as the temporal wants of the soldiers. Its total receipts in money and other donations amounted to \$6,264,607; its commissioned delegates numbered in all 4,859; it distributed \$3,700,000 in stores, over a million of dollars' worth of publications, including over a half million of Bibles and Testaments, and a large number of books, newspapers, magazines, &c. Through its active delegates, the Gospel was preached in all our armies, and its consolations administered to the sick and dying. And all this service was in addition to that of the regular chaplains.

Besides these larger organizations, there were Ladies' Associations,

* See the four Reports of the latter; and the Bulletins (3 vols.), and Reports of the former, with its History, by Stille. The Sanitary Commission has in preparation several other volumes, illustrating the philanthropic, the medical and the sanitary history of the war.

Soldiers' Aid Societies, Soldiers' Homes and Rests, Volunteer Refreshment Rooms for Soldiers, scattered all over the land. In one such room in Philadelphia, 317,000 meals were provided for soldiers in transit; in another in New York, over 200,000. Voluntary contributions at several hospitals amounted to over two millions of dollars. One lady in a Western town raised \$20,000 in money and \$300,000 in supplies. Wherever battles were fought, the U.S. Commissions, and hundreds of volunteers, including often the best surgeons from our large cities, flocked to the field. Zealous Evangelists and preachers of the Gospel, and colporteurs without number, laboured constantly in the armies both North and South; and in many a camp, and many a chapel, souls were born again, sometimes in large numbers, into the kingdom of God. There were revivals of religion in tents and by the wayside. Many a soldier in battle saw, as one of them said, "the figure of Christ in the sky." And thus the horrors of war were mantled over by the veil of Christian charity. Fountains of charity and of Christian activity were opened which have not yet ceased to flow.

This heightened Christian benevolence also assumed, and in the very midst of the war, another and an almost unexpected form, which is full of the best promise for the future, and that is, in the voluntary contributions made, on a larger scale than ever before, for our higher institutions of learning. And thus the benevolence showed itself to be not merely sympathetic, but far-seeing; not only a sentiment, but also a principle. Our General Government has but little to do directly with the cause of education; though it has recently established a bureau for the collection of facts, and three years since made the offer of liberal aid in lands to all the States that should establish agricultural schools. The States, individually, make laws and appropriations for public education; and, at first, they established and aided universities, colleges, and other seminaries of learning. But these higher institutions came for the most part under religious or ecclesiastical control, and the consequence has been, from the rivalry of the churches, that of late years their support has been chiefly dependent, as is that of the churches, upon voluntary contributions and donations. This change entails far-reaching-results. It seems to leave our higher instruction dependent upon fluctuating influences. And it might well have been feared that when the country was absorbed in a vast war, laying strong hands on all its resources, the more remote interests of education (which is essentially a provision for future needs and well-being), would, at least for a time, be neglected. But the contrary has been the fact. Never have our spontaneous offerings for higher education been as large, never have they increased in such proportion, as during the years in which we were struggling for national existence. And this is another evidence of the safety of the voluntary principle among

a people trained thereto. The total amount thus given during the past four years cannot be less than seven or eight millions of dollars.* Among the amounts given are over \$450,000 to Yale College, Conn. (one donation being of \$150,000, one of \$80,000, one of \$50,000, &c.), and over \$100,000 to the Yale Theological School; Amherst College, Mass., \$250,000 in one sum, and Tufts College, in the same state, \$400,000; Harvard College, \$250,000; Brown University, \$160,000; Princeton College, \$160,000; and Princeton Theol. Seminary, \$130,000; Rutgers College, \$140,000; N.Y. Univ., \$160,000; Union Theol. Seminary, New York, \$150,000; Madison University, N.Y., \$160,000; Chicago University, \$200,000; Philadelphia Divinity School, \$200,000; Waterville, Me., \$150,000; Marietta, O., \$100,000, &c. Mr. Cornell, of Ithaca, N.Y., has given \$500,000 for a college, in addition to \$100,000 for a public library; Judge Parker, of Bethlehem, Pa., has founded a college there with the same amount; Mr. Vassar, of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., has also given half a million to a Female College; Mr. Crozer has founded a Baptist Theol. School in Penn., with \$270,000; Mr. Drew, a Methodist of New York, has given over half a million to education, the largest part of which is for a Theological School. A college in Constantinople, and one in Beirût, Syria, have been established by New York merchants, at about \$100,000 for each. Mr. George Peabody, now of London, has given over three millions of dollars to various colleges and literary institutions, besides the million he recently funded for educational institutions at the South. The Lutheran Church has raised about \$300,000 for its institutions during the past three years; The German Reformed over \$100,000. The Methodist Centenary Collection amounts to more than three or four millions of dollars, a large proportion of which will be devoted to education. It is becoming more and more the custom of our rich men to bestow their gifts while living, so that they may see and enjoy the results of their benefactions. This increase of private donations to our higher public institutions in our time of trouble, seems to indicate yet better possibilities in times of peace. And, in fact, hardly a week now passes without a good report of something done in this way.

Meanwhile, the public school system in the several States also exhibits tokens of prosperity and increase. A republic lives only in the intelligence and virtue of its citizens. It cannot prosper where the bulk of the people is ignorant, vicious, and lawless. The education of all its youth is a primary condition of its well-being and perpetuity.

* A summary of donations to collegiate and theological institutions, alone, is given by Dr. Baldwin, in his 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Reports of the Society for Promoting Collegiate Education at the West. He makes the total to Nov., 1866, to be over 6,500,000; there has been quite an increase since.

Education is but a name for the process by which each generation trains its successors to take its place, imparting to them, in an increased measure, what it has received from the past, and itself accumulated, of knowledge, and virtue, and religion, that thus the safety of the future may be insured. It is a vital process: it hands down the life, intellectual and moral, of the present to shape the coming times. It is the most sacred trust and debt which each generation owes to its successor; and no generation has played well its part that does not give a richer legacy to its posterity than it received from its ancestry. The individual man is immortal, because he can be educated, and because the possibilities of his increase in wisdom and virtue can not be limited. And a nation can not be free and prosperous, if it neglects its primary duty of training all its youth for the duties, as well as the rights, of citizenship.

The last Census of the United States, 1860, reports the whole number of colleges, academies and schools in the country, at 113,006, in which were employed 148,742 teachers, with 5,417,880 pupils. The annual expenditures amounted to \$33,990,482. Of these institutions, 445 were called collegiate, with 54,969 students; the academies numbered 6,636, with 455,559 pupils. The number of public schools was 106,915, with 4,917,552 scholars. The number of libraries in the country was 27,703, with 13,316,379 volumes, of which 8,149 were private, 6,205 were Sunday School, and 213 were collegiate. The increase between 1850 and 1860, was 26 per cent. in the number of schools, 40 per cent. in the number of teachers, 48 per cent. in the number of pupils, and 110 per cent. in the income. The average number of pupils was one in six of the entire population; the average annual income for each pupil was \$6.27; the total cost of education was \$1.26, to each "free white person" then in the Union. The income for public schools was \$22,297,865, an increase of 133 per cent. since 1850.

The largest grant made by any government at a single time, for educational purposes, was that of our Congress, during the war, of 30,000 acres of land to each state, for each of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, the proceeds to be applied to the founding of institutions for the promotion of agricultural and mechanical education. This grant was restricted to the loyal States. Their Senators and representatives numbered 234; which would make a donation of 7,020,000 acres. At \$1.25 per acre, the government price, the sum total would be \$8,775,000. Extended to the other States, the total value would be over eleven millions of dollars.

In most of the States and large cities, reports on the condition of education are annually published.* From some of these we extract

* Among the most voluminous and valuable of these Reports for the current year, are:—

and condense various facts to show the general condition of our public schools. In the State of New York the number of school-houses is 11,780, of the value of ten millions of dollars; these are furnished with 1,183,017 vols. in school libraries, valued at \$600,000. The number of children between the ages of 5 and 21 is 1,364,967; the number attending public schools (the attendance is voluntary) is 938,000; there are also 97,000 in academies, and 1,541 in colleges. The number of teachers is 26,469, 4,452 male, 22,017 female; average salaries in cities \$563, in the country \$169. The total amount raised for schools in the State in 1866, was \$7,378,858, or about eight dollars for each pupil in attendance. In the 268 public schools of the City of New York, there are 219,000 pupils; the amount expended is \$2,298,508. The New York Free Academy (or College), with 819 pupils, receives annually from the State \$125,000. The schools of the cities are entirely free, the pupils being supplied with books, stationery, &c.

In the State of Massachusetts there are 255,323 children; the attendance at schools is 231,685; the amount expended is \$2,574,974—about \$10 for each child. The school fund is two millions. In the City of Boston, \$776,375 are expended for schools, with 27,723 pupils. The primary schools number 256, the grammar schools 78, the high schools 3—with 703 teachers. The State of Pennsylvania expended in 1866, \$4,195,258 on public schools, with 478,056 pupils; Illinois, \$4,439,238 for 614,659 pupils in a population of two millions; Wisconsin \$1,190,289 for 234,265 pupils. Ohio has 11,256 school-houses, 728,990 pupils, 332,641 vols. in the school libraries, and raised in 1866, \$5,059,938 for instruction. The State of Indiana has a school fund of over seven millions. The State of Michigan, not yet 25 years old, has already the richest university in the country, with 1,225 students, to whom the institution is free. In Minnesota, still further

The Thirtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts, Joseph White, Secretary. pp. 528. Boston, 1867.

Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston, by R. C. Waterston. pp. 350. Boston, 1867.

Seventy-ninth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York. John V. L. Pruyn, Chancellor. pp. 500. Albany, 1866.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Institutions in the State of New York, V. M. Rice. pp. 306. Albany, 1867.

Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, J. P. Wickersham. pp. 334. Harrisburgh, 1867.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the State Commissioners of Common Schools, Ohio, Jno. A. Norris. pp. 174. Columbus, O., 1867.

Sixth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Institutions of the State of Illinois, Newton Bateman. pp. 240.

Annual Report of the Board of St. Louis Public Schools, for 1866. St. Louis, 1866.

West, one eighteenth of the land in each township is reserved for education; the school fund is already over a million of dollars, and if the remaining lands are sold at no higher rates, the funds will be over twenty millions of dollars; its population is now 340,000. The City of St. Louis expended (1866) \$340,770, on its excellent schools, with 16,228 enrolled scholars. California raises for each scholar \$6.58; the school-children since 1863, have increased twenty-five per cent. These are but the gleanings of a few facts to illustrate the interest taken in our public schools and their growth. During the war the number of pupils and the expenditures constantly increased. According to the Census of the U. S. for 1860, the whole amount then raised for education, in the six States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin, was \$12,717,289; the Reports for these same States, for 1866, give the amount at \$24,838,555, or nearly double. To make the system fully effective two things are still needed: one is, the compulsory attendance of all children who are not elsewhere taught: the other is, that the system should be extended into all the Southern and South-western States, and there embrace all the children, both white and black.

There has also been a like advance in the receipts of our chief philanthropic and missionary associations during the past few years. Into all the details connected with these organizations it would be impracticable to enter. I have compared the aggregate receipts of about 25 of them, as given in the Reports of 1866, with the amounts reported in 1860—the year after and the year before the war. And the result is, that about two and a quarter millions were given in 1860, and something over five millions in the last year.

Among these Societies are the American Bible Society, \$734,089; the American Board of Foreign Missions, \$446,942; the Presbyterian Boards of Domestic and Foreign Missions, together over \$500,000; the Reformed Dutch Board, \$93,000, of which \$56,500 was from a single donor; the Methodist Boards of Missions, \$686,380; the American Home Missionary Society, \$212,567; the Board of the Protestant Episcopal Church, \$175,000; Baptist Home and Foreign Missions, \$368,537;* the Tract Societies of New York and Boston, \$679,617; various Education Societies, about \$25,000; American Sunday School Union, \$98,727; Congregational Union, \$130,000; Foreign and Christian Union, \$110,000; American Missionary Association, \$253,000; Seamen's Friends' Society, \$98,230; Female Guardian Society, N. Y., \$87,768, &c., &c.

* The Baptists have contributed over fifteen millions of dollars, during the last fifty years, for evangelizing purposes, of which about three millions were for foreign missions. See the Missionary Jubilee of the American Baptist Union, held in 1864, in Philadelphia, pp. 500. New York, 1865.

Besides these there are, e. g., in New York City, 24 Societies which received last year \$732,000 for local objects. The Public Charities of the city, paid by the State, amount to \$942,241. The Third Annual Report of the Board of State Charities in Massachusetts,* for 1866, gives the total amount expended in these charities in that State at about three millions of dollars per annum. The American Colonization Society expended last year \$84,763, and sends this year to Liberia 1,200 emigrants; during the fifty years of its existence it has received over two and a half millions, and sent to Liberia 12,000 persons; in the Republic of Liberia, there are 150 churches and 200 schools, and it has under its control 200,000 aborigines. Among the most effective of the associations, labouring in a quiet way, is the New York Sabbath Committee, Philip Schaff, D.D., Secretary, which has had a great influence in promoting the due observance of the Christian Sabbath, and incidentally helping on the cause of temperance, especially in our metropolis. By a strict excise law, no liquor can now be sold in this city on the Sabbath. The National Temperance Society is reviving in its influence, as its need is increasingly felt. In Maine and Massachusetts, the policy of prohibition in respect to the traffic in liquor is successfully maintained. But in the country, as a whole, intemperance has been on the increase during the past few years. Our foreign population, as a general fact, are opposed to both our Sabbath and Temperance usages. One of our greatest moral and social problems is the assimilation of this population to the principles and methods of our American Christianity, a task which can only be slowly accomplished.

Young Men's Christian Associations, made up of the flower of our youth, are organized in all our cities, and doing a noble work. Their Conventions, like the one just held at Montreal, have assumed not only a national, but an international importance. They reach far beyond the bounds of action of any one denomination, and bind our Christian young men fast together. The system of Sunday Schools has also been developed in this land in large proportions, and with wide ramifications. All our churches train, in such schools, their youths in precept and doctrine, and thus compensate, though in an insufficient degree, for the comparative disuse of strict catechetical instruction. The American Sunday School union works beneficently by multiplied agencies through the land, and reaches many youth who would otherwise be neglected and outcast. The children rejoice in these schools.

The undersigned had hoped to present a tolerably full account of the various churches into which our Christianity is divided. But the

* S. G. Howe, chairman. This is the most full Report published in the country.

length of the Report, and the pressure of time, will allow only a condensation of the leading facts.

Foremost in numbers and zeal is the *Methodist Episcopal Church*. Last year it celebrated the centenary of its introduction into this country. Proposing to raise a thank-offering of a million, its receipts have actually come near to four millions, a large part of which is to be devoted to the interests of education. The Northern Church reports 64 annual Conferences; 13,172 preachers; 1,039,184 church-members (an increase during a year of 102,925); 82,925 baptisms of adults and children; 10,462 church buildings, of the value of thirty millions of dollars; 25 colleges and theological schools; a Book Concern with a capital of \$837,000, and 56 official periodicals with a circulation of a million a month. The *Methodist Church South*, separated in 1844, with 1,345 ministers, 495,282 members, now has about 700,000 communicants. Other branches are, *Methodist Protestants*, 105,000; African Methodists, about 112,000; the Evangelical Association (Albrights), 56,734; Wesleyan Methodists, 25,670; Free Methodists, (since 1860) 4,890; Primitive Methodists, 1,805. The total Methodist Church membership is over two millions. In Canada, there are 85,000. All this is the growth of a century; in 1826, there were 360,800 members. No church in the country is moving onward with a more definite aim or larger plans. Among the German population it has 334 preachers and 30,000 church members. In Germany, it has 84 preachers and 5,370 members; in France, 119 preachers and 1,858 members. Its appropriations for foreign and domestic missions, for 1867, amount to \$1,030,978. Some of the subdivisions may soon be reunited with the main branch of this church; but the Southern Churches still stand aloof.

Next in number are the *Baptists*. Their total church membership is given at 1,689,845, with 17,220 churches, viz.: Regular Baptists, 1,040,303; Campbellites (Disciples) 309,000; Free Will Baptists, 56,258; Seventh Day Baptists, 7,014; Six-Principle Baptists (Heb. vi. 1-3), 3,000; Winebrennarians (Church of God), 23,800; Anti-mission Baptists, 50,000; Christians (Unitarians), 180,000; Dunkers (Tunkers), 20,000. The Northern and Southern Baptists act independently: the Southern number 645,551. The denomination has 23 colleges, 11 theological schools, and 23 periodicals. The Northern Baptist Home Mission Society, 1867, reports its receipts at \$176,889 (\$70,000 larger than last year); the Missionary Union, \$191,714; the Publication Society, \$199,727; the Bible Society, \$51,457. The Southern Baptists report, 1867, \$44,000 for domestic missions; \$22,000 for foreign missions, with 16 missionaries. The Baptists have a number of churches of Germans, and 200 missionaries in Germany and Scandinavia. Large subscriptions, amounting to more than a million of dollars, have been recently made for

their colleges and theological seminaries. The Mennonites, numbering (1858) 110 churches and 36,280 members; the Reformed Mennonites, 5,000 members, and the Hooker (Amish) Mennonites, are also Baptists. An attempt to unite the Campbellites with the regular Southern Baptists has failed. In Canada and the West Indies, the Baptists number 795 churches and 79,507 members.

The Presbyterian Churches. Outside of New England, where Congregationalism has the ground, the Presbyterian Churches extend, in various subdivisions, throughout the country. The main branch of the Church was divided in 1838, on divers questions of doctrine and polity. The two main divisions are popularly, not ecclesiastically, known as Old School and New School. The *Old School*, 1867, reports 35 synods, 176 presbyteries, 2,622 churches, 2,302 ministers, 246,350 communicants, and contributions to the amount of \$3,731,164. In its foreign missions it has 40 churches, 330 ministers and teachers, 1,200 members. The *New School*, 1867, reports 23 synods, 109 presbyteries, 1,870 ministers, 161,539 communicants, 163,242 Sunday School scholars, and contributions of \$3,106,870, for all its objects. Its increase last year was 10,938 members, and nearly a million of dollars in contributions. The *United Presbyterian Church* was formed in 1853, by a union of the Associate Presbyterian and Associate Reformed Churches. It reports, 1867, 7 synods, 54 presbyteries, 543 ministers, 717 congregations, 63,489 members, \$1,277,204 contributions. In the eight years of its history, it has increased in its ministry from 408 to 543; and in its contributions from an average of 41 cents per member to an average of nine dollars. It has missionary presbyteries in India, China, Syria, and Oregon. It is anti-slavery and close communion in its character. The *Presbyterian Church in the United States* (the style of the Southern Church), was formed by a union of the Old and New School Churches during the war. They report, 1867, 10 synods, 46 presbyteries, 66,528 communicants, 829 ministers, 1,290 churches. The contributions are set down as \$409,282. There are 340 churches and 4 presbyteries, from which there is no report. The numbers given are probably much below the facts. There is no present prospect of re-union with the Northern Churches. The *Cumberland Presbyterian Churches*, North and South, are re-united. They had before the war 588 ministers and 48,600 members. An effort to unite with the Southern Church is in progress. The Associate Reformed Presbyterians of the South also maintain an independent organization. The *Reformed Presbyterians* in the North have two synods, one of about 100, the other of about 60 ministers. The General Synod that met in New York, in 1867, appointed a committee on re-union, with other Presbyterian organizations. The tendency to re-union, especially among the Presbyterian Churches, is rapidly gaining ground. The Old and

New School Assemblies have this year adopted a plan of re-union, covering all the questions in debate, which is published for further discussion, and will be acted upon next year. Now that slavery is abolished, one of the chief obstacles to re-union is taken out of the way. A united Presbyterian Church, numbering some 700,000 members, would have a great and growing influence.

The Congregationalists. Churches, 2,780; ministers, 2,919; members, 267,453. Including Canada, there are 2,900 churches, 3,009 ministers, 272,974 members. The gain last year was 60 churches, 3,913 members, 28 ministers. Of the Churches, 1,518 are in New England. The amount of contributions reported is \$1,024,720; but there was no report from thirteen states and territories. The American Home Missionary, and the American Board of Foreign Missions, the American Education Society, the American Tract Society of New England, and the American Missionary Association, are chiefly supported by Congregationalists. The great National Council, of 511 members, which assembled in Boston, in 1865, gave a new impulse to the denomination. No body of Christians was more earnest for the national cause throughout our late war. It is rapidly extending, especially in the Western States.

The *Unitarian Congregationalists* have 289 societies (of which 171 are in Massachusetts), and 355 ministers. The contributions for various objects amounted to \$235,900.

The *Lutheran Church* numbers, in all, 421 synods, 1,644 ministers, 2,915 congregations, 323,825 communicants. Of these, there are connected with the General Synod, 23 synods, 695 ministers, 1,255 congregations, and 110,450 communicants. The rest are embraced in other synods. There is a General Synod at the South. A new synod is projected, on the basis of a more strict adherence to the symbols; a convention for this object was held at Reading, Pa., in Dec. 1866, attended by representatives from 15 synods; but no further action has yet been taken. The two western Scandinavian synods number 40,000 members. The emigration from Scandinavia alone last year was 29,000, chiefly Lutheran. There are 29 Lutheran periodicals in the United States, (14 of which are in the German language), 15 theological schools, and 17 colleges.

The Protestant Episcopal Church numbers 34 dioceses, 44 bishops, 2,416 priests and deacons, 2,305 parishes, 161,234 communicants, 151,819 Sunday School scholars. Its contributions in 1866 were over three millions of dollars. The Southern dioceses, separated during the war, are now restored. The Board of Foreign Missions expended \$71,000; domestic missions, \$54,465. The receipts of the Evangelical Knowledge Society were \$40,998. Twenty-eight of the bishops of this Church have published a protest against ritualistic innovations.

The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1867. Churches, 444; ministers, 461; communicants, 57,846; Sunday School scholars, 46,411; contributions for congregational objects, \$765,980; for benevolent objects, \$277,209. Its last Synod, by a vote of 109 to 10, has submitted the question of dropping the word "Dutch" from its title, and adopting the name of the "Reformed Church in America."

German Reformed Church. Triennial Synod, 1866. Both classes from the late Confederate States, Va. and N. C., were represented. It has 2 synods, 29 classes, 476 ministers, 1,162 churches, 109,258 communicants, 11,088 baptisms; contributions for benevolent objects, \$60,882; 5 colleges and 3 theological schools; 9 periodicals. The Tercentenary of the Heidelberg Catechism was duly celebrated, and an excellent edition of the same was issued. In connection with this, more than \$100,000 were raised for the colleges of the Church. It is proposed to drop the word "German" from the title of the Church. A new Liturgy is under discussion, opposed chiefly on account of its high sacramental tendencies.

The United Brethren in Christ, (organized 1774), is "Arminian in doctrine and Methodistic in polity." It has 4,255 preaching places, 3,297 societies, 91,570 members; contributions \$341,279.

The Moravians, 89 mission stations; 307 preaching places; 213 missionaries, male and female, and 882 assistants; expended \$120,189. Under the religious instruction of the *Unitas Fratrum* there are 187,669 persons in Europe and America. The adult communicants number 14,240.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States consists of 43 dioceses, 3 vicariates-apostolic, 45 bishops—the diocese of Baltimore being the Metropolitan See. There are 3,795 churches, 2,317 clergymen, 49 ecclesiastical institutions, 29 colleges, 134 schools for girls, 66 asylums, 26 hospitals. The whole number of Roman Catholics in North and South America is supposed to be forty-five millions; in the United States there are probably about four millions—much less than the immigration of Catholics with its natural increase. The Second National Council of this Church was held in Baltimore, Oct. 1866; it professed anew the unconditional adhesion of the Church to the papacy and its temporal power. The amount subscribed to the papal loan in the United States, to March 1st, was \$2,300,000. The power of Catholicism is here chiefly felt in the large towns, where foreigners congregate; its political influence is strong in a few localities.

The Universalists number about 600,000; they raised for their denominational objects last year \$1,665,000; they propose collecting \$100,000 for a missionary fund. There have been some attempts at a union between them and the Unitarians.

The *Friends* or *Quakers* of the orthodox side number 54,000; the

Hicksites, 40,000. They contributed largely to the funds for the relief of soldiers during the war, and aid the freedmen liberally. In Philadelphia they have recently contributed \$125,000, for a school for coloured youth. The *Shakers* number 4,700; the *Second Adventists*, 20,000; the *Swedenborgians*, 5,000; the *Mormons*, 70,000, recruited chiefly from Europe and now divided among themselves; the *Spiritualists*—an indefinite number, easily exaggerated.

Such is the marvellous commingling of Churches in the midst of which we live and labour. But in all this diversity of tongues, there is still one language. We have one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. Our differences are chiefly external and superficial; our union is internal and vital. The tendencies to re-union are growing in all the denominations. The centrifugal force has well nigh spent itself, and the centripetal is beginning to claim its rights.

We know that we have great difficulties, and that in respect to some of them we can derive but little light from the past. We have a vast social, as well as religious, problem to solve. A whole race, redeemed from slavery, is to be Christianized. The North and South are to be re-united, and only the Gospel can effect this. The Southern Churches have suffered largely from the war; they still decline to work with us; but we hope the time is not far distant when these alienations will be forgotten. We have also a large and increasing emigrant population to mould into harmony with our national spirit and religious life; during the present year they have come to us at the rate of a thousand a day, and the land is broad and rich enough to hold many more. But they come chiefly for material gain, and we must win them to higher objects. Our material prosperity, our wealth, our mines, our rapid growth, imperil our future unless we have a new baptism from above.

Brethren of the Alliance! In the name of our Branch we offer to you our cordial Christian salutations. We are one with you in the common work of our evangelical Christianity—against Romanism and infidelity—for freedom, religious and civil, everywhere; in all works of charity to help the weak and raise the fallen, and to speed the progress of the Gospel. Pray for us, as we also offer our prayers for you. We trust that our alliance with you may help us to do our work better, and bind us closer to Christ's people all over the Old World. In such union is strength.

We are glad to be with you in this Christian Convocation, and we wish to reciprocate your hospitality. I am charged, in conclusion, in the name of the American branch of the Alliance, to invite you to hold your next General Conference in the city of New York, assuring you a hospitable welcome, in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord.

II.

THEOLOGY.

THE SPIRIT OF CRITICISM; BY
PROF. HERZOG.

SCEPTICISM AND THEOLOGY; BY
REV. T. R. BIRKS, M.A.

THE RULE OF FAITH; BY REV.
DR. VINKE.

THE LIFE OF JESUS; BY PROF.
RIGGENBACH.

THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF
CHRIST AS A MAN; BY DR.
PH. F. KEERL.

INDEPENDENT MORALITY; BY
REV. E. BERSIER.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN RELATION
TO THEOLOGY; BY PROF.
MC'COSH.

SUPERNATURALISM OF THE BIBLE
AND PHYSICAL LAWS; BY REV.
L. TINHOLT.

REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION;
BY PROF. VAN OOSTERSEE.

DISCUSSION.

THE CRITICAL SPIRIT IN THEOLOGY.

BY DR. HERZOG,

PROFESSOR AT ERLANGEN.

THE Critical Spirit is the subject to the consideration of which I invite your attention. Some of my esteemed hearers may perhaps wonder that such a subject should be selected for treatment here, but the Committee of Management for our Conferences, which with so much judgment and wisdom decided on the subjects of the theses, knew well what it was doing, when it placed the Spirit of Criticism among them. This subject has, indeed, so wide a bearing, that no one who desires to form a just estimate of the position of Christianity in the midst of the mental movement of the age, can venture wholly to set it aside. Even those who protest most vehemently against everything that is called criticism, cannot, on certain points, avoid the use of it.

What do we mean by the Critical Spirit? Let us not be led astray by all the representations which have been attached to the word. The Critical Spirit, in its most comprehensive meaning, and according to the etymological significance of the word, which is from the Greek, is nothing else than the faculty of distinguishing the true from the untrue, judging the true as true, and the false as false.

So understood, the Spirit of Criticism is inseparable from the Spirit of Truth—that is, from the recognition and love of the truth. Wherever there is a sense of truth, the Critical Spirit must necessarily be present, for the simple reason that in all human experience error is found in combination with truth.

Inasmuch as the Critical Spirit is always inseparable from the general Spirit of Truth, it stands in direct connection with the spiritual revelation. For such a revelation becomes necessary from one of two causes: either from the observation of truth formerly discerned, or from the progress of the human spirit requiring the disclosure of new truths to combat newly-arisen errors. Revelation has, therefore, not only a positive side, the statement of truth, but also a negative side, the contradiction and removal of error; and every fresh revelation is a protest against the untruth which, through man's fault, has become associated with a foregoing revelation.

You know the incisive, annihilating criticism which the holy men of the Old Testament used against the heathen world, its idols and gods (Psalm cxv. 4; Isaiah xli. 6). You remember, also, how they

lashed their own people, the children of Israel, when they perverted the truth revealed to them into error and unrighteousness (Psalm xl. 7 ; Isaiah i. 11).

The Son of Man, as the bearer of the new revelation, as founder and mediator of the new covenant foretold by the prophets, used criticism with reference to the old covenant, inasmuch as He pointed out its imperfection and incompleteness. Still more severely did He criticise the spurious additions of men from which the old covenant had suffered. There is reference to this in the words: "I am not come to bring peace, but a sword."

Among the apostles none used the sword of criticism more sharply and frequently than Paul from Tarsus. You recollect his wonderful exposition of the Old Testament, in which he proved to his co-religionists out of the law and the prophets the chief truths of Christianity, and confounded them in their rejection of the Gospel, smiting them with their own weapons.

After the departure of the Apostles, the teachers of the Church found much occasion to wield the weapon of criticism founded on the written revelation, in opposition to the power of Paganism and heathen attacks upon Christianity. With the same weapons did it combat the manifold distortions of Christian truth which manifested themselves within the Church itself.

But there came a time in which this criticism virtually fell into disuse, just in proportion as tradition, the so-called unwritten "word of God," placed itself side by side with the written word, and claimed equal authority. The dam thus once broken down which divided the written word of God from the tradition of the Church, the stream of error flowed in, with waves rising higher and higher.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was a reawakening of that true spirit of criticism which is inseparable from the spirit of Christian truth. The task which it set before itself was the purification of the Church in doctrine, in worship, in constitution, in life, from the errors which had crept into it, by means of a return to the true, eternal, infallible, incorruptible word of God, contained in the Scriptures, to the authority of which the Reformers subjected the still lofty pretensions of the Church.

There were, it is true, at the same time elements at work which seemed likely to lead to a merely negative reformation, and a breaking loose from Biblical truths. There was danger that mankind, shut up by the Church between the ever more and more sharply defined opposites of Romish superstition and humanitarian unbelief, would widely part asunder. It was then the monk of Wittenberg turned the opposition to Rome into the channel of the Divine Word—he was the organ of the Christian spirit of the time, which soon formed for itself new organs far and wide.

In later times came a reaction in connection with the general movement of men's minds. The spirit which had been kept in check by the Reformers asserted itself with power, and forced a way for itself. The Critical Spirit, which in the time of the Reformation had taken Scripture for its basis, and had made it the criterion of truth, now made Scripture itself in its substance and form as a whole, and in its separate parts, the subject of criticism, of a destructive criticism, which, always under pretext of discriminating the true from the false, failed to seek the truth where alone it can be found.

What shall we say of all the desolations which have ensued? Scarcely have two books of Holy Writ been spared; the genuineness of all the rest has been either wholly or partially impugned. The Spirit of Criticism thus set itself in opposition to the written Revelation contained in the Bible. Having abandoned the light of God's Word, and given up to the delusive influences of a civilization alien to the Gospel, many have not only denied the substance of the revelation in the Bible, but have even declared the very idea of a revelation to be wholly untenable.

This stood in connection with the denial of the supernatural generally, and the denial of the supernatural led logically to the denial of the living God. So early, therefore, as the middle of the eighteenth century, Lichtenberg saw the time coming when, as he said, men would no more believe in anything but in ghosts, and in our own days has the bold saying been uttered, "The Great Pan"—that is, according to the representation of the ancient world, the Divine Power ruling in the life of nature—"The Great Pan is dead."

"Away with all criticism! We will none of it nor of its congenial works. All meddling with it, all study of such writings, withers up heart and spirit, and is perilous to the simplicity and steadfastness of faith. Besides, all that it advances is scarcely worth confutation."

So speak some Christians. We understand their language, but we cannot agree with it. There are, it is true, attacks made upon the Bible and the Christian religion which refute themselves, and which, therefore, need no further consideration. But the majority of attacks are not of this kind. Many are made with a great application of erudition and discrimination. In them certain obscurities and difficulties, which the Bible and the Biblical revelations really present, have been very skilfully handled. These attacks proceed in part from men who, without using lightness, rather with a full conviction of the justice of their cause, have toiled in it at no small cost to themselves. They have indeed taken error for truth; but it cannot be denied that the error presented itself as truth to them. They regard themselves as the expositors and apologists of truth, some of philosophical, others of historical truth; others, again, of truth dependent on the laws of the physical world. With the imposing words, "Truth, pure Truth,

the free use of Reason," inscribed on their banners, they exert a mighty influence. The very confession of some Christians, before given, that an acquaintance with these critical works might involve serious danger to the faith of many, is a proof that the errors therein contained are brought forward and defended in a specious manner by which many readers are deluded.

Now, if the defenders of the Sanctuary hold their peace, their silence is at least open to the construction that they know of no sufficient answer to their opponents. It is obvious what harm is thus done to the cause of Christianity.

In truth, if these assaults could not be repulsed and defeated, it would stand ill with the cause of Christianity. We confine ourselves to the special instance of the Life of Christ, according to our canonical Gospels. If all that in our days is adduced in order critically to annihilate that life as it is recorded by the Evangelists, were incapable of refutation on grounds resting on fair interpretation and sound historical criticism, then the objective foundations of our faith in the Lord Jesus Christ would be destroyed.

Two examples may suffice, instead of a multitude of others. The most modern theology is, in certain Protestant circles, denying emphatically in our day the resurrection of Christ. This is no new thing. Matthew and Paul testify to the same. But now men seek to deduce insoluble difficulties from the Gospel narratives, which place the whole fact in a dubious light, and to use these as stepping-stones for the theory that the resurrection of Christ rests upon mere visions, which had no substantial foundation, but which have been beautified in the traditions with the features of a true history. It is self-evident that if it cannot be shown that the resurrection of Christ is a fully accredited fact of history, we are robbed of the rejoicing of our faith. There has also been an attempt to establish and prove the proposition, that our Gospels are of no historical value, because they all appeared in the second century, and are by quite other authors than those hitherto supposed. What would be our position if we could not with weighty evidence disprove such assertions? Our highest witness is no doubt the testimony of the Holy Spirit, which, giving us the blessed experience of the truth of Scripture, bears its witness with our spirit. But, even this demonstration of the Spirit and of power would be weakened if every attempt to establish the truthfulness of the Gospel narrative ended only with insoluble difficulties, if the endeavour to maintain the authenticity of our Gospels was put to shame by indubitable historical evidence.

In a word, the historical proof of the truth of Christianity must sustain the value and significance which have ever been attached to it. When we demand that this proof shall be adduced, we ask only that which every simple-minded Christian, when he hears of these

attacks upon Christianity, seeks, we might say instinctively, in self-defence.

The criticism which every believer practically uses, we wish to see carried out on a larger scale, with the addition of all the appliances which human science and intelligence can supply. That is to say, the Critical Spirit is needed in order to defend Christianity from the attacks made upon it, and this is its *first* office in relation to Christianity.

This Spirit of positive Criticism has displayed a manifold activity in our day. The representatives of Christian theology have not looked on in calm and supine inaction at the attacks made upon it. Conscious of the dangers menacing the faith of so many, they have unweariedly followed their opponents step by step, smiting them with their own weapons. It may be said without boastfulness that no argument brought forward by their antagonists has remained wholly unrefuted, and no position, however favourable, in which they had entrenched themselves, been left unassailed. They have been driven out of all, at least in the opinion of those who may be supposed most capable of judging in spiritual matters.

Hence it is that rationalistic expositors in the present day acknowledge, with praiseworthy impartiality, the objective import of the positive truths of revelation, which their predecessors laboured so hard to explain away by exegesis; hence it is that rationalistic writers of Church history protest vehemently against the arbitrary and artificial constructions of the history of primitive Christianity, which, for a time, had obtained currency in certain learned circles; hence it is that the explanation of miracles on natural principles, which was in fashion at the commencement of the century, and which endeavoured to resolve them into nothing more than ridiculous trickery, has gone quite out of vogue, and that every attempt to revive this antiquated theory stands henceforth self-condemned in the eyes of contemporaries; hence it is that the enemies of Christianity have been brought to the admission that the sole ground for the rejection of the Gospel history is the denial of the possibility of anything truly supernatural; hence it is that while they formerly claimed to have entered on the study of the Scriptures without any preconceived opinions, they now avowedly set themselves to its exposition with the most decided foregone conclusions.

These are so many triumphs of the Spirit of true Criticism over the criticism which has broken loose from Christianity.*

* We have a striking example in the treatment given to the Revelation of John of the manner in which this criticism is taken in its own snare. In the earliest ages of Christianity, several theologians, not at all inclined to be sceptical, had doubted or altogether denied that this work was from the pen of the Apostle John. In modern times, these doubts and opinions acquired greater weight even among commentators who could not on any

Beyond this, we unhesitatingly admit that not all the works of orthodox commentators on the Bible are of equal value, and that even in the same work, some parts may be weaker than others. This brings us to a new aspect in which to regard the true spirit of criticism. The true and the false are found together, not only in the works of those who take their stand on the faith, but also, in a measure, in the writings of those who have protested against the recognised form and teaching of Christianity. It is the office of the true Spirit of Criticism to distinguish, on both sides, the true from the false, and this is its second mission in relation to Christendom.

ground be numbered among the sceptical. The late Lücke says :—"In the criticism of the New Testament nothing is more certain than that the Apostle John, if he is the author of the Gospel and the Epistles, is not the writer of the Revelation ; or, if this is his work, then he cannot be the author of the other works (*i. e.*, of the Gospel and Epistles)." Now, as those who thus judged entertained no doubt as to the authenticity of the Gospel, the conclusion they reached was, necessarily, that the Revelation must be traced to some other source than to the pen of John. Whoever hesitated as to this opinion was formerly considered to be a man without critical acumen.

In process of time, however, matters assumed a different aspect, and, in the hands of new critics, the two works were made to exchange places. It was proved, by internal and external evidence, that the Revelation was the work of the Apostle John ; and herein lay new proof that of the Gospel which bears his name he could not possibly have been the author. The differences between the two writings were at once presented in the most extreme form. And now every one passed among critics as a man of no understanding, who was not prepared to give up the authorship of the Gospel of John, and to admit that John was the writer of the Revelation, and of the Revelation alone—that the author of the Revelation was an eminently narrow, fanatical Christian Jew ; the Evangelist, on the contrary, a highly-cultivated philosophical Hebrew, a man so thoroughly emancipated from Judaism that he sees in it only the kingdom of unbelief. Hence it was said, not only was the Evangelist's point of view one altogether different from that of the Apocalypstist, but in positive opposition to it.

Here, however, the question suggested itself, whence had the idea arisen in the early Church of ascribing to the author of the Revelation such a work as the Gospel, since this was so obviously at variance with his spirit, his religious views, his whole conception of Christianity? How could such an idea find credence for a moment in the early Church, which knew the Apostle John himself? Obviously a most pertinent and legitimate question.

In order to find somewhere a conciliatory answer, these same critics, who hitherto had not been able to lay stress enough on the differences between the two works, now suddenly took the singular course of directing attention to many points in which both writings showed a striking correspondence, so that they even assume that the author of the Gospel must not only have known the Revelation, but must also have adopted designedly many expressions and figures from it.

Thus is the criticism of the New Testament indebted to these questioners of the genuineness of the Gospel of John, for the clue to remove all doubts as to the genuineness both of the Gospel and of the Revelation, and to prove the identity of the authorship in both instances.

Theology has shown its strength in discovering the weak places in the bulwarks with which well-meaning but imprudent and narrow defenders of Bible truth have encompassed it ;—whether it be that by an incorrect system of harmonizing, they have endeavoured to reconcile all differences in the historical narratives of the Bible ; whether it be that they have so represented isolated truths as to show them in a false light ; whether it be that in the bringing forward of doctrinal passages, and the use made of Messianic prophecies, they have acted with unwarrantable arbitrariness (against which abuse the strong mind of Calvin powerfully remonstrated) ; whether it be, finally, that they have set up a theory of inspiration which is, to say the least, contradicted by a sound study of the Scriptures, and which is inconsistent either with a right conception of human nature, or with the form and manner of the operation of the Divine Spirit upon the mind of man, as we are taught this in holy writ : all these vulnerable points, weaknesses, errors of orthodoxy, have been exposed by Neology, and this is the true service done by that neological criticism, which has certainly overthrown itself and its own negative nature, in thus attacking the errors of its opponents.

This leads us to the third office of the Critical Spirit of truth ; which is to furnish a counterpoise to the spirit of party. In every community of men there arises a sort of *esprit de corps*, which forms the bond of union among them, and so far is fully justified. The human element in it, however, is always apt to foster this into a spirit of partizanship, which can recognize nothing as good which does not proceed from its own clique or party, and which has a sweeping sentence of condemnation for everything outside that limit. The Lord himself was obliged to check in his disciples this very party spirit, when they came to Him, saying, “Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and we forbid him, because he followeth not with us.” And the Lord answered, “Forbid him not ; for he that is not against us, is for us.” (Luke ix. 49, 50). We must be prepared then to recognise the measure of truth which may be found with our opponents ; we must be willing to learn from them, and by them to have our attention directed to our own failings and those of our fellow believers. For then alone are we strong, when we honour even the truth that is against us.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, iv. 12, we read that “The word of God is a judge” (*κριτικὸς* is the Greek expression) ; “a judge of the thoughts and intents of the heart.” Thus is the word of God declared to be the Critic *par excellence*. To this Critic may we more and more reverently bow, and to its correction submit ourselves and our assembly. God grant it !

SCPTICISM AND THEOLOGY.

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THE subject on which I propose to offer a few remarks is modern scepticism, in its contrast with Christian theology. In other words, the contrast between research in the spirit of doubt, seeking to escape from the authority of unwelcome truth, and research in the spirit of faith and hope, where the soul longs for light and certainty in the things of God, and amidst all the mist and darkness of the present life, strives upward, by the helps which God has given, towards its full attainment.

Scepticism and Theology, viewed in this light, are not so much two completed schemes of thought, as two opposite pathways. The prodigal might pass over the very same spot in his outward journey, when his steps were toward the far country of harlots, husks, and swine, and when he returned in humility and penitence to seek once more his father's home. But how different his moral state, even when walking over the same part of the road! So the actual truth outwardly received may be nearly the same in one who is unlearning, in sceptical cavilling and doubt, the full creed of a favoured childhood, and in another, who is emerging slowly out of the mists of unbelief. But the pathways are different and opposite. One leads downward to a country like that which the patriarch has described—a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death, where the light itself is darkness. The other tends upward continually to that land of heavenly light, and spiritual liberty and repose, where the promise of our Lord shall be enjoyed in its fulness—"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

The subject is far too large to be treated fully in the narrow compass of half-an-hour's paper like this. I can enter into no details on the sceptical literature of these days, but shall only attempt a brief medical diagnosis of this great spiritual disease, in its moral root, its predisposing causes, its great intellectual law, predicted long ago, the main objects of its attacks, and the one divinely appointed remedy.

I. The moral root is tersely described in those words of the Apostle—"An evil heart of unbelief, departing from the living God." Man, sinful man, never brings to the search into Divine truth a pure, colourless, impartial intelligence. The double statement, however unwelcome to the pride of false science, is

for ever true, and confirmed by the experience of ages—that “the carnal mind is enmity against God,” and that “the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.” Freedom of religious thought is a beautiful, but a most deceptive phrase. The restraints of authority, the pressure of persecution may be removed, but who shall deliver from the secret bias within? The claim to liberty of thought is a mockery and a snare, whenever the heart and mind, in their hidden depths, are under the bondage of sinful passion, sensual desires, and habitual ungodliness. Modern scepticism, in its latest developments, only revives the experience of the heathen philosophers, which St. Paul has described to us so long ago. They “did not approve to retain God in their knowledge,” and their intellectual sin received an intellectual penalty, and they were given up to a reprobate, an undiscerning mind. They turned their eyes away from a light which was unwelcome, and the natural result was that they lost themselves in moral darkness.

This great truth must not be perverted into an excuse for censorious judgment on individuals, whose faith we think defective and imperfect. Its use is mainly defensive, that our own faith may not be disturbed, when we see around us, even in minds of intellectual activity and power, a general readiness to forsake the old foundations of Christian faith and revealed religion. The fact, however mournful, need cause us no surprise. When the heart is not right with God, it is only natural that the mind should wander from the truth of God. The prevalence of sceptical doubts, or even of confirmed unbelief, among the sensual, and the self-righteous, the careless and the profane, and those who are given up to worldly pleasure and ambition, is only another evidence to confirm the truth of the Divine message. In such hearts the gospel of Christ can never find a settled home. It must either change them into its own likeness, or else be met with proud defiance, or silently and politely thrust away.

II. What are the predisposing links of modern scepticism? They are mainly three, and their concurrence in these days gives all its strength to the temptation by which the Church of Christ is assailed.

The first is the long cessation of miracles. When some fresh dispensation has to be opened, some grand stage in God's messages to mankind, the patriarchal, the legal, the prophetic, and the Christian, it pleases God to confirm the message with signs and wonders, and divers miracles, and to arrest the attention of careless sinners by manifest tokens of His divine power, and of His supreme authority as the Moral Governor of the world. But, when this special end has been fulfilled, then the living

God retires behind the laws of nature, and veils Himself in a calm and mysterious silence. The parable of our Lord exhibits this great truth in a simple and striking form. "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed spring up he knoweth not how." There are times and seasons of solemn judgment, when the Lord is said to come out of His place, to judge the inhabitants of the earth. There are seasons of patience and forbearing mercy, when He is said to return to His place, and to observe them silently from His heavenly dwelling-place. The last eighteen centuries have been mainly such a period of Divine patience. Then there will arise the temptation to growing unbelief, and the question will be started in a thousand hearts—Where and who is He?

A second predisposing cause of modern scepticism is found in the distinctive character of the Gospel, as a message of grace. The law was a message of righteousness, and the great corruption to which it led was the self-righteous pride of the Pharisees of old. The Gospel is a message of grace, and the answering form of corruption to which it tends, when abused, is moral indifferentism, anarchy, and self-will. By their abuse of the Divine forbearance, sinful men fulfil the prophetic warning of the Psalmist. Their table of spiritual food becomes a trap, a snare, and recompense, and that which should have been for their wealth is an occasion of their falling. The riches of God's grace and patience are turned into a proof that He is wholly indifferent to human affairs, or atheistic doubts arise whether indeed there is a God, a Supreme and Righteous Governor of the world.

A third predisposing cause of scepticism in these days is the earnest and engrossing study of natural science. Many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased. But the increase of natural knowledge is no security for the growth of faith, and whenever the law of moral proportion is set aside, it even becomes a hindrance and a snare. This is a deep and certain truth, but needs some explanation, or else the assertion may be misconceived, and become a new stumbling block to the faith of weaker Christians.

There are two main spheres of human study and thought, the worlds of sense and of conscience, or the laws of matter and physical change, and the higher laws of moral duty and spiritual life. Man is the apex of zoology, and the footstool of theology. There is an outward world of motion and mechanical force, of vegetable and animal life, of which he is the head and crown. And there is a higher world of moral being and responsibility, of which, in his present earthly life, he occupies the lowest stair, being made a little lower than the angels, while its steps lead upward to the throne of the Most High.

In a healthy state of men's moral being, both of these fields of thought will be tilled and occupied with earnest care; but the

higher and nobler, the things of the soul and the conscience, the laws of duty, the instincts and desires of immortality, the truths that look upward to God's throne of eternal righteousness, will take precedence of the study of natural science and the outward world. But whenever the moral bias of the heart turns the soul away from the higher field of thought, to dwell on the study of nature alone, the due proportion is lost, and great evils are sure to follow. Man learns much of lower things, and becomes more and more ignorant of himself. The works of God are studied, and their Maker is forgotten. Art advances, but morals decline. Men become like Martha, busied and cumbered about many things, and the one thing supremely needful escapes from their thoughts. Science may flourish, but souls are starved. Sceptical doubts multiply, the heart withers, morals decay, and the things of God and eternity disappear from the view.

III. The effect of these three causes, two of them in constant operation, and the third more recently developed, has been to impress a striking intellectual character on modern scepticism, which was predicted long ago. Its motto and supreme law is found in the words ascribed by St. Peter to the scoffers of the last days—"All things continue as they were from the beginning of creation." What the Apostle's Creed is to the various churches of Christ, this maxim is to the diverse schools of unbelieving thought in modern times. Differing widely in other things, in this they agree. Natural laws, in their view, are omnipotent, and there is no moral lawgiver. A living, personal God is a philosophical superfluity. This universe is a vast and complex machine, of manifold and intricate structure, endowed with strange and mighty powers, but the maker, if it has a maker, is unknown, and even the engine-driver has disappeared. It moves on blindly, on rails we know not who has laid down or why. It moves on blindly, we know not whence, we know not whither, nor who has set it upon the rails; or whether it is to land its passive and helpless passengers in a city or a precipice at the end of their strange and mysterious journey. Alas for the boasted wisdom of natural science, when it seeks to divorce itself from all higher truth, and sets itself against the Gospel of the Son of God! It becomes a modern Elymas. There falls upon it a heaven-sent mist and darkness, and it gropes blindly, in that darkness, for some one to lead it by the hand.

IV. The main objects of assault, to this spirit of unbelief, are supernatural revelation in general, and all the main parts of the revelation actually given. This worship of blind, mechanical law, in every form, is inconsistent with faith in the control and government of a living God. Hence, one writer assures us that a book-revelation is impossible in its own nature. Man may be able to instruct his fellow-men by books without number; but, by the new theology, things which are possible

to men are impossible to God. Another tells us that, even if a book-revelation were possible, it is superfluous. The Absolute Religion of natural conscience is so complete and perfect, that nothing can be added to it, even by a message from God, without destroying its simplicity, and impairing its beauty. To the fond eyes of its philosophical patrons, not only does it "glow in the stars and blossom in the trees," but dwells enshrined in every fetich, and beams out on their admiring gaze through the eyes of every stock and stone and hideous idol of heathen worship. Others are content to urge that, even if revelation were possible and useful, the Bible has no real claim to the character. With some, it is the work of fraud and wilful falsehood. With others, it is due to the illusions of good and wise men, not scrupulous in the means they used to quicken the faith of others in religious ideas dear to themselves. With others, it is composed of sacred allegories, the beautiful striving of lofty spirits upward into a land of dreams, with no firm historical foundation whatever.

The assaults of this sceptical spirit are aimed impartially against every main part of the Scripture message—the histories of Creation and the Flood, the antiquities of the human race, the law of Moses, the prophets of the Old Testament, the histories and the doctrines of the New, the life of our blessed Lord, the truths of the Incarnation, Atonement, the Trinity, the resurrection, and judgment to come.

On each of these, if time and space allowed, I would have offered a few remarks, suggesting some one main idea, as a partial antidote, and a help to the faith of perplexed Christians. But now I confine myself to a remark on the first alone. It is urged that modern discoveries in science contradict and set aside the Mosaic record of creation, and prove that this earth could not have been made or fitted for man's habitation in the way which this Divine record professes to reveal to us. Inductive science takes up the gauntlet, which the God of the Bible has thrown down long ago in His voice to the patriarch—"Where wast thou, when I laid the foundation of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding." Its disciples diverge from each other. One class of them condemn the Bible for simplifying too much, and maintain against it the doctrine of many separate centres of creation, many pairs of forefathers of the human race. Others complain that it simplifies too little, and that deeper scientific research abolishes the distinction of species, and points to the conclusion that men needed no separate act of creation, but had been developed out of the monkey or gorilla by a process of careful selection and progressive improvement, in the course of myriads or millions of years.

Why may we not retort on this school of sceptical philosophers their own argument and mode of thought? You tell us

that man has been developed from some lower creature, and therefore that science disproves the first chapter of the Bible. But whether man can be developed or not from the monkey or the oyster, there can be no doubt of the development of human science. No instance can be shown, through six thousand years, of the strange transition, which some of these theorists maintain, by which the oyster may rise into the eagle or the monkey, and the monkey give birth to a man. But the science of geology, just one century since, was a mere embryo. Molluscos, invertebrate, it had barely reached the oyster stage of its being. It has now assumed a more vertebrate and systematic form. But when its disciples would set its discoveries against the book of God, how shall they assure us, on their own principle, that their favourite science, even now, has passed beyond the monkey or gorilla stage? That, surely, is the monkey stage of physical science, in which there is some imperfect approach, outwardly, to a more perfect human stage to follow; but where one element is wholly absent, the breath of the Divine life, the recognition of spiritual truth, the sublime countenance in which the eye is ever lifted upward to heaven. Then only can the development of science itself be complete, when it fulfils the office for which man was created, and binds the lower universe, in reverence and humility, to the footstool of the Almighty, and turns all creation into a pure mirror, wherein may be seen everywhere reflected the glory of the Most High.

V. One word, in closing, on the remedy which alone can meet the growth of sceptical thought in these last days. That remedy is the earnest, prayerful, persevering study of the word of God. The study of God's works, in itself, is good and excellent. It is only in the neglect of a duty still higher and nobler that it can become a source of danger to the cause of Christian faith. Let nature be studied much, but let God's holy word be studied more. The field is not less wide, nay, it is still wider. The contrast is not between one book and a whole universe, but between a universe ill and dimly read in the mists of moral darkness, and the threefold world of nature, of providence, and grace, read in the pure light which streams down from Heaven. Who can exhaust the treasures of wisdom and truth in these lively oracles of God? There are rivulets where lambs may wade, and depths where the elephant may swim; nay, where reason lets down its plummet, and returns, exclaiming, O the depth! while no bottom has been found. It has secret harmonies of history and doctrine, of type and antitype, of truths in germ, in blossom, and in flower, which pervade every part, and mark the deep wisdom of the Spirit by whom its messages were given. It is co-extensive with every field of nature. It ranges through the whole course of Providence, from the birth of the formless earth to the full redemption to come. It looks down to the lowest

depths of sin and corruption in fallen men and apostate angels ; and it opens windows in Heaven, that bring the spirit near, in faith and hope, to the very throne of God. It has a central sun, around which all its messages and truths revolve, Christ, the first and the last, the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, the Word who was before all things, the Saviour, the Lord, the Judge of all mankind, the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father. Only let Christians study that word with prayer for Divine teaching, and with the same inductive patience, the same assiduous zeal, the same faith of assured progress and success, which the votaries of physical science bring to their lower, yet noble pursuit, and like results will follow. Doubts will pass away, Difficulties will lessen or disappear. The faith which was once a mere grain of mustard seed, will become a spreading tree ; and art, and science, and civilization, will come and lodge under its branches. Here is the true land of promise, a land of hills and valleys, and one that drinketh water of the rain of heaven. Those who drink of these living waters will never thirst, but the truth they receive, the comfort they attain, the promises and holy doctrines they receive and enjoy, shall be in them "a well of water, springing up unto everlasting life." Success in this highest field of research is secured to every humble and prayerful student by the promise of Him that cannot lie ; and at every step of their course they will approach nearer to the full enjoyment of that most excellent of all the promises—Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God !

THE RULE OF FAITH.

AN ATTEMPT TO ANSWER THE QUESTION: ON WHAT DOES THE AUTHORITY OF THE RULE OF FAITH, WHICH IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IS ALWAYS ATTRIBUTED TO THE WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, REST?

BY DR. G. J. VINKE.

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WHEN I attempt to answer this weighty question, according to my inward conviction—which is, indeed, the vital question of the Protestant Church—you must regard it only as an attempt, or as an introduction to the question which may be submitted to your nearer consideration. It is needless, moreover, to observe that within the limited space of half an hour, a complete answer cannot be given.

And now, at once to the task, with only one remark to precede it. Why do we speak only of the writings of the New Testament, and not of those of the Old Testament? I answer: 1. Because the question as to the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures, of however great importance, is never of such preponderating and decisive weight for the Christian Church as that regarding the authority of the New Testament. 2. Because, still further, the question regarding the authority of the New Testament must precede that which relates to the authority of the Old Testament.

A second observation I make is this: nothing new ought to be expected—nothing but a *reproduction* of what, years ago, has been observed and demonstrated by learned theologians, and which as yet, in our opinion, has not been discredited, even by the presumption of those who determine *à priori* what may, and must, take place, and that, once found true, may still claim a nearer and impartial examination. And such an examination I may expect from all of you, in so far as you have not yet rung the death-knell of supernatural truth.

According to my firm conviction, the question as to the binding authority of the New Testament Scriptures can only be satisfactorily answered along the difficult and often protracted road of examination as to their authenticity and credibility. For a thoughtful Christian there is now no other course. I know well enough that the results of that examination exhibit much divergency. *Here*, on the books of the New Testament, a *critical* sentence of reprobation has been spoken, which leaves but a *few* portions as authentic and credible.

There it is affirmed that, after so many water and fire experiments through which the New Testament Scriptures have passed, their authenticity, or at least their *credibility*, is, *on the whole*, triumphantly demonstrated and maintained, while the reprobating sentence, according to the conviction of many of the greatest theologians, must be esteemed to rest upon a previous system of philosophico-dogmatic church-historic *suppositions*, without which no one can agree with that sentence. You will acknowledge with me the impossibility of giving here a scientific demonstration of the authenticity and credibility of these writings. Only this modest opinion I dare venture to express, especially before my German brethren, with whom the *Tubinger* School already belongs to history: the final result is to be considered as yet rather favourable than unfavourable. Criticism, indeed, when it does not proceed from unestablished systems, and will not be exclusively negative and destructive, has been obliged to leave the grounds of the Christian faith untouched. And the maintaining of the authenticity and credibility of most of the books of the New Testament, particularly of the Gospels, may be *called*, but in the view of many of the greatest theologians, is really yet by no means regarded, as a battle for a lost cause. But then often already I have heard, even from those who stand on our side, this opinion pronounced as the result of the examination respecting the authenticity and credibility of the New Testament, which by you and others is called favourable and unfavourable, by others it is to be esteemed *uncertain* at least. Therefore, instead of going so different and long a road, why not take the shortest and best for maintaining the truth and Divine authority of the New Testament? Why, with your own Confession of Faith, do you not simply rely on the testimony of the Holy Spirit? I answer, For this simple reason: in my conviction with respect to the authority of the Apostolic Writings, I wish to stand, not only on *subjective*, but also on *objective* ground. If men still understood by that much-lauded *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* what the first Protestant Reformed Church understood by it, we had indeed, with our reliance on the testimony of the Holy Spirit, an *objective* ground under our feet. But what theologian will dare assert this? Art. 5 of our Netherland Confession of Faith declares, "that we believe the Holy Scriptures, not so much because the Church receives them, but particularly because the Holy Spirit has testified in our hearts, that they are of God." The Church stands here on *subjective* ground. To her it appears from what she learns in Articles 8, 9, and 22, respecting the Holy Spirit, that the testimony of the Holy Spirit is something very different from (as O. A. Scholten declares) "the testimony of *human nature* itself, which, educated by Christianity in accordance with its original design, acknowledges, freely and substantially, the word of Christ and his

revelation as Divine truth." The Church stands on *objective* ground. She distinguishes indeed between the Holy Spirit and the Holy Scripture. She represents the Holy Ghost, not as contained in the truths of that Scripture, and so giving testimony through that Scripture, by those truths, but as living and working independently of the Scripture, and so furnishing testimony respecting it. Upon that testimony of the Holy Spirit, not *in* the Scripture, but *respecting* the Scripture, our Church here builds, and on the ground of that testimony, she believes that the Scripture is of God; knowing that the Holy Spirit cannot lie, that He is infallible. And not only in our Confessions, but everywhere in the writings of the Reformers, particularly of Calvin, are the proofs which Scripture bears in itself of its Divinity, most clearly distinguished from the testimony which the Holy Spirit gives respecting the Divine origin and truth of the Scripture in the heart of believers, "*Testis igitur est non aliquis homo*" (so amongst others Calvin, "Institutiones") "*nec ratio nostra vel sensus, sed Spiritus Sancti testimonium, quod dat, spectat divinam librorum Sacre Scripturæ originem et auctoritatem. In Dei ergo auctoritate acquiescimus: quia persuasum nobis est, a Deo esse Scripturam; hanc ab causam credimus, non quia ipsi videmus vera esse quæ in Sacra Scriptura reperiuntur. Deo, non nobismet ipsis credimus!*"

However man may now judge of this Church doctrine respecting the Holy Spirit, and his testimony to the Scriptures, whether they will maintain it, or whether they think by the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, nothing more is to be understood than experimental evidence, or the inward testimony of experience, by the force of which the religious man immediately obtains the assurance that the Scripture is of Divine origin, of Divine truth and value, of Divine authority; whatever be the virtue of the argument, no absolute, scarcely a relative, value can be attributed to it. Satisfactory it cannot be deemed.

1. It serves only for those who already believe, who possess the Holy Spirit, and experience His operation. 2. It does not serve as a proof of the truth of the *entire* contents of the Scripture, but only of that part which is exclusively of a religious character. The truth and Divine authority of history can only be proved by it, in so far as these agree with religious truth. 3. It cannot be considered as the only conclusive argument, which makes all other proofs superfluous. 4. It must be introduced last of all, after the others, particularly the *historical* evidences, as all Christian truth rests on history.

But enough to have shown, that to maintain the Divine origin, the Divine truth, the Divine authority of the New Testament Scriptures, it is necessary before all other things to demonstrate their credibility; and that the only true point of viewing and judging of these writings is to be found in the *union* of the *subjective* and *objective*

grounds upon which we have to speak—the *union*, therefore, of the *external* and *internal* evidences.

High, very high importance, we attach to this last—to the experimental evidence. We, too, seek for a ground upon which the authority of the Holy Scripture rests wholly in itself. It is indisputable (we speak here with a theologian whose name is justly celebrated in this country—with J. Müller,) it is its *irresistible power*, in which the value of the Scripture reveals itself. The Word which it contains is the living and life-giving word of the Lord, through which we are born from above; the incorruptible seed, by which we are born again, by the Spirit of God operating within us; the *Word* is the instrument by which this Spirit works, it is the body with which the operation clothes itself; because the Holy Spirit will not separate men from Christ, the Incarnate Son of God, but rather unite them to Him, while He glorifies Him, and testifies of Him before the world. Those who have passed from the shadow of death into the new life will themselves confess that such transition has been effected by means of the *Word*, as the Scripture itself says. There never has been a book which so powerfully touched the consciences of its readers, and so earnestly speaks to them, on almost every page, by God's holy love, on their new birth and sanctification, as the New Testament. Indeed, as such, it has virtually manifested itself in the history of the world. Whenever we contemplate that small book, the New Testament, and remember how its writings were produced by a few fishermen, tax gatherers, and tent makers, from among the despised Jewish race, and how they are written in a language which certainly breathes the purity of childlike simplicity, the peace of God, the quiet majesty of a spirit freed from selfish and earthly cares, and at the same time with the warm energy of a heart reconciled to God—although in eloquence and purity of style they have been excelled by innumerable writings of antiquity and of later times—and then remember, that this book, by the simple earnest preaching of Christ, has overcome, and continues to overcome the world, with all its civilization, art, and science; then we acknowledge, compelled to do so by the force of experimental evidence, the Divine truth, the Divine origin, the Divine authority of the Scripture; then we confess, in humble adoration, that God never suffers His ways to be prescribed by the self-satisfied wisdom of our understanding; then we comprehend the apostolic sentence: “the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God; for God has chosen the foolish of the world, that he might confound the wise.” Then, we also believe, that this Scripture of God is Revealed Truth, because we see, feel, and experience it. Here we, too, stand on *subjective* ground. We too esteem this internal evidence of great importance. Nor do we admit of a faith on authority *alone*. But in our opinion, this *subjective* ground may not be our *only*, nor

yet our *highest* evidence. In the *first* place, our faith must rest upon an *authority* which we know on satisfactory grounds to be deserving of faith, and the rejection of which would be *unreasonable*. We believe that we possess *these* grounds. By the worthiness of those who speak to us, by word and deed, in the Scripture, our attention is, as it were, involuntarily drawn, *first* to Jesus Christ himself, then to his *first authorised* and *qualified* witnesses of evangelical preaching. The last must have a decisive authority in the Christian Church, as ministers of the truth, who cannot lead us into error. I am well aware that the evidence of the infallible authority of Christ (which cannot possibly be separated from that of the Apostles; for what do I know of Christ, save through these first witnesses of him?)—well do I know that the evidence for Christ, by apostolical authority, is called by many a roundabout evidence, a non-important demonstration; but I, for myself, cannot but call such a qualification untrue and unjust. How now? If I first show, upon the ground of the already *proved credibility of the New Testament Scriptures*, from their *historical* part alone, that the promise of the Holy Spirit was once given to the Apostles and apostolic men, in order that they might become the infallible bearers of Divine Revelation; and as that promise has manifestly been fulfilled, from what occurred with and by the first witnesses of Christ, am I then not justified, yes, induced to connect that fact with the religious contents of the Scriptures, and to apply it as a confirmation of the writers' authority? It is upon that well-grounded infallible authority of the New Testament writers that we build in the first instance. Not, therefore, upon the testimony of men—neither of others nor of ourselves—but upon that of the true God, whose Spirit has spoken by the Apostles and apostolic men, who reminded them of what Jesus had said, and led them into all the truth. Therefore, we ought, in the *first* place, to receive as truth, yea, as Christ's, as God's revealed truth, all that the apostolic Scripture testifies of God, of Christ, or of the way which leads to Him, whether we perceive the truth of it, or whether we do not yet fathom it. That is the *first*, the immovable ground, on which we build. That was the first, on which the Apostolic Church stood; that was the rock, on which the Reformers endeavoured to replace the Christian Church. So do we stand, first upon an *objective*, and afterwards upon a *subjective* foundation. In support of our argument respecting the authority of the Scripture, allow me to remind you of what was introduced twenty-five years ago, by my never-to-be-forgotten father, Professor Vinke, concerning the infallibility of the Apostles. Or may I not introduce what is *old*, because of its *antiquity*? As a proof that we must here place ourselves, not only on *subjective*, but also, and foremost, upon *objective* ground, he appeals (we merely refer to the principal points), 1st, to the nature of Christianity, and, 2nd, to its introduction into the world.

We speak of the *nature* of Christianity. The Christian religion is something *positive*. The supernatural forms the foundation of it. Without the supernatural, one could have a Christianity of his own fabrication, an imitation, as far as possible, of the religious life of Jesus. But it is not the Apostolic Christianity, as it is revealed in the New Testament Scriptures. These contain a revelation of God's ways, in facts and utterances: these explaining the others, as they, in turn, are made clear and observable by those. Now about this we may philosophise and reason, but facts which have taken place before our day must be believed, in the first place, on authority, on well established testimonies, which cannot be overthrown by any internal evidences. And as to the oracles contained in the Scriptures, if it be once established that the True One himself speaks to us, ought we then first to accept what *He* has spoken, because *we see* that it is true, or, because *He has said* it? Besides, how many and how various are the things mentioned in Scripture, which are above our comprehension, and consequently the certainty of which cannot possibly be demonstrated to us on the ground of experimental evidence! Think of the supernatural birth and the incarnation of the Son of God, of the pre-existence of Jesus, of the creation of all things by Him, of his resurrection, his glorification, the judgment he will execute at the last day. How can I accept these facts, and what is affirmed respecting them in Scripture, if I do not in the first place build upon the testimony, which God has borne to his Son, by the apostolic writings? There is more: the *introduction* of Christianity pleads for our conviction. The three thousand Jews, on the first Christian Pentecost believed the testimony of Peter, and the other disciples of the Nazarene, respecting the resurrection and glorification of Jesus. And upon what ground? Because they saw that the Apostle spoke the truth? No; because their understanding and their heart said, "What those men have spoken, on whose behalf such signs were given as they saw and heard, can be no other than truth!" In one word, they believed the testimony of God himself, proved by the fact which they had before them, that the Apostles testified of the Son. And afterwards they were certainly strengthened and confirmed in the faith by the remembrance of that testimony, by comparing the predictions of the prophets with the history of Christ, and by the experience of the comforting and sanctifying power of the preached Gospel. And now, upon the ground of what has been set forth, building on subjective ground *only* is rightly called exceedingly dangerous, 1st, for the appreciation of the evidence of Christian truth; 2nd, for the comprehension of Christianity; 3rd, for its appreciation; 4th, for its practice; 5th, for the existence of the Protestant Church.

But, not to be long, I can only enlarge on one single point. We call that *mere* subjective ground dangerous for the value and appre-

ciation of the source of Christian truth. This source of knowledge is the apostolic preaching, as recorded in the Scriptures of the New Testament. What that preaching teaches us by sound exegesis, that is *truth*. But building *only* on subjective ground, we run the risk of reducing those writings to a level with all others, which, in our opinion, testifies of the truth. We begin by saying, which, in some degree, is true, "What does it signify whether this or that New Testament book be genuine? Christian truth neither stands nor falls with this." But then, where shall we end? Of course, in depreciating all *external* evidences, and in rejecting one book of the Bible after another.

But the conception of Christian truth also suffers great wrong by such a one-sided subjective ground. If we carry with us and about us a feeling for what is true, good, and divine, we shall certainly accept what seems to us true, good, and divine in the apostolic writings. But if we accept of that alone, because, and in so far as it agrees with our views and feelings, then we shall necessarily also try to explain that which is inexplicable; then we shall be in danger of altering the Scriptures till they harmonise in all things with our sentiments and conceptions. Yet, by degrees, upon that ground also all idea of the supernatural will fall. The revelation of God has the value of truth for us only because we see that it is truth. That revelation, then, is not *specifically* distinguished in origin and character from other religious truth, *wherever* we may find it. It is no more the revealed Word of God. It is no longer the *Word of God*. At last the Protestant Church loses all reason to exist, if it tears itself asunder from its objective foundation in God's Word. With all our heart, we repeat, after J. Müller,—As soon as the Protestant Church wrests itself from its foundation—the Holy Scripture—it loses its right to exist as a part of the Holy Catholic Universal Church. I go further, and I dare even to affirm, that all who stand on bare subjective ground, in judging of Scriptural authority, are in principle, though unconsciously, really modern. By force of tradition and their own experience, they can be extremely orthodox in their dogmatical opinions, but they miss the firm foundation, laid alone in the just union of the subjective and objective grounds, of the external and internal evidences. They must fatally proceed, or return; either go to the modern and groundless subjectivism, or to the *ecclesia falli nescia*, to Rome.

Thus we are led involuntarily to contemplate the second ground, whereon we, with J. Müller, build the authority of the Scripture, which is laid in the *constitution of the Christian Church*. Müller answers the question: Does that Church, by continued development, always require such a *rule of faith*, as is presented to her in the writings of the New Testament? Many believe that that Church

has no more need of it, since she is inspired by the Holy Spirit. If the same Spirit, say they, who operated in the Apostles and apostolic men, also enlightens us, why then should not we, even as they, by that light, independently develop the knowledge of credibility, every one according to the measure of the gifts which he has received? And if we may not do that—if we must absolutely be bound to the rule of the doctrine, as the New Testament has preserved it for us—are we not again placed under the dominion of a law (*a paper Pope*), instead of enjoying the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free? And those books of the New Testament, do they not contain, also for them, who otherwise feel themselves forcibly drawn to Christ, many doctrines which appear to us strange and offensive, and which cannot be reconciled to *our* worldly views and *our* experience? Moreover, to many it generally appears to be a tedious work continually to examine Holy Scripture, and test their convictions always by its utterances. Is it not much more agreeable, if any one is allowed to form his religious faith out of his own heart, without always anxiously inquiring for the guidance of the Scripture? To these views and representations we answer by urgently calling your attention to the ever remaining power of sin and selfishness, even in the Christian Church. If there is no witness of the truth which exists independently to counteract the defiling power of sin, then soon the weeds of dangerous error will spring up next the seed which God has sown. And this last would outgrow the first, if an instrument had not been given us wherewith we can destroy every plant which the Heavenly Father has not planted: if we do not possess God's Word, whereby we may continually try our knowledge of faith. Indeed, they who think that they can dispense with that Word as the rule of faith do not know human nature: they have no conception of sin and its darkening influence. To convince them of their error, we have only to refer them to experience and history. What has taken place in the Roman Catholic Church? In dependence on the Holy Spirit which should be in her, this Church has supposed that she no longer requires to hold so faithfully, so undividedly, and exclusively to God's Word in the Scripture. She has undertaken to prescribe articles of faith by herself, without always confirming them by the Word of God. But this delusive self-exaltation is become her fall; for out of this all her errors have proceeded—errors out of which she can no more extricate herself, because in her the liberating power of the Word is bound, and she has ensnared herself in the fundamental assumption of her own infallibility.

Or will others, armed with the apostolic Word — “the letter killeth”—leave the development of the Christian life of faith to the work of the Spirit in each individual, without binding him the *Word* as the common foundation. We consult, in opposi-

tion to them, the history of the Church from the earliest times to our own days, How many sects and congregations are there who build only upon the so-named inward light and experience of the Spirit? Do we now observe among *them* the best and holiest manifestation of Christian life? Is a well-ordered, continued fellowship of the Christian life possible among them? What else remains among them but a transient union, leading to the decay of the Christian life and faith? Not to speak of the danger which many incur by such a wrenching from the Word, mistaking their own arbitrary ideas and imaginations for Divine inspirations, supposing that they possess the Spirit without the Word, chained to their own errors (*les extrêmes se touchent*), in the same manner as the Church of Rome is to her assumptions, in consequence of the claim she makes to infallibility. Therefore, if we try, glorying in the Spirit that is in us, to separate our Christian freedom from *faithful obedience to the Word*, then our freedom by Christ changes unobservedly into a freedom—a becoming free and loose—from Christ. Bridleless despotism, taking the place of Christian liberty, throws us back at last under the yoke of selfishness. We give ourselves over, by degrees, to every counterfeit, by unconscious mixing of our selfish nature with the impulse of the Spirit, and having rejected the authority of the Scriptures, we no more possess any means of recovery. But many a one has for a long time said to himself, Be it so, that upon the above-named ground the binding authority of God's Word in the Scripture remains firm for *you*, while in the meantime you make such a difference between the *Scripture* and the *Word of God* in the Scripture, and consider the Word, 'as it is written,' in the mere *literal* sense quite untenable; give us then now (for otherwise your demonstration signifies nothing at all), give us now the sign by which we may discern that *Word of God*, that which has a binding authority, from what has not such an imperative authority. I for myself believe that we, in opposition to this weighty consideration, do not advance much farther by answering, what many divines in our days state—"History is a revelation of God in facts. Not what stands written in the Scripture has authority because it stands there, but what appears from that Scripture to be done, willed, said by God." But then the same difficulty remains, viz., to ascertain what from that Scripture appears to be done, spoken, by God, and what not. I think the meaning and value of facts depend for the most part on the light in which those facts are placed before us. I take the liberty of giving my answer with the conclusion of Müller's excellent demonstration relative to the authority of the Scripture:—

"Beware," so he concludes, "of those who, to lead you astray in your Christian faith, so represent the fundamental dogmas of the Church, respecting the authority of the Scripture, as if therewith every

letter of the Scripture should be made a rule of faith, and as if men, as soon as they found one word in their book in which some imperfection, inaccuracy, or temporary fault of the writer might be found, ought for that reason to free themselves from the authority of Scripture itself. Such make for themselves a fear-exciting representation of an external letter-service, and so either inspire the ignorant with an aversion to the Holy Scripture, or carry them to the blind authoritative faith of Rome. Easily, however, this snare is broken by us, if we only look at the matter steadily and simply as it really is. The Apostles and apostolic men came to the world with a new message respecting the true and everlasting salvation, and the way that leads to it. That Gospel now is in its historical form laid down in the Scriptures of the New Testament; and all those who, unprejudiced, and with holy earnestness, seek therein, will find there clear and satisfactory information respecting the way of our salvation, and the way by which it is obtained for us, and whereby we may become partakers of it: a coherent representation and indication of the recovery of the fellowship of man with God through Jesus Christ. Now, if we wish to appropriate that Gospel by faith, and that not only for once, but constantly and ever anew, and inwardly attach ourselves to it,—then the Scripture is become to us really the rule and guide of our life and faith. With this inward relation to that Scripture is our chief business. And if we now meet with any one who in this sense agrees with us, we gladly extend to him the hand of fellowship, and will not withdraw it, though it be that on many a *letter* of the Scripture he may have something to remark. For him, as well as for us, that Scripture will be an *inward* rule of faith; the power which directs the progressive development of his Christian knowledge, of his faith and life. Yes, this agreement is of such holy and lasting importance, that all further difference, however great in itself, may not disturb our fellowship of faith.

And if we but stand first in that attitude towards the kernel of the New Testament (which after all is not so hidden that the development and representation of it can be called a very difficult task), then shall we also, while as Protestants we bow to this as “it is written,” be in no danger from a yoke of the law. No; then the Scripture shall be to us a law of liberty; a beloved home; a place of holy Sabbatic rest, under the difficulties of life; a fountain of God; consolation and strength in struggle and pain, in need and death.

SURVEY OF THE PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF JESUS.

BY DR. C. J. RIGGENBACH,

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It is a great privilege to be permitted to speak on the greatest and holiest of subjects before a select assembly of men, whose elevated position among their fellows sinks into insignificance before the Divine Majesty which is my theme, but whose common characteristic it is that to them this holy theme is dear, dearer than any other branch of wisdom or knowledge. In the greatness of my task lies also its difficulty, and the question presses home, if I am the man to speak the right word upon this sacred and much contested subject. It needs the skill of a master to set forth impressively, especially in the short time allotted, just that which is most important to be said. Suffer, however, a learner, a *μαθητής* to speak, and permit him, without expending a moment more of precious time in preface, to enter at once on his subject.

It is scarcely needful, in this our day, to commence with adducing proofs that Jesus was a historical person. No one speaks of him now as a mere poetical creation. But if we look into the sources of secular history for affirmations about him, we find ourselves strangely disappointed. From the time when the attention of the Romans was first drawn to the Christians at Antioch, as being neither Jews nor heathens, there are but very occasional notices of the sect-founder, whose surname (Christ) was supposed to be his proper name. In Pompeii have been found satirical verses upon the "Crucified God," which must, therefore, have been written before the year 79. Then Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius, Celsus and Lucian, speak, partly in amazement, partly in bitterness, partly in mockery and derision, of the senseless superstition and the intolerable obstinacy of those who worship, as God, one crucified by Roman authority. And if, in the words of Celsus, we catch the echo of Jewish calumny, yet these malicious falsehoods may take a much wider range, as we see in the Rabbinical traditions, without casting more than a very incidental light upon the history of Jesus. When, for example, they speak of Mary, the daughter of Eli, or when they condemn Jesus as a magician, these unintentional hints may serve to confirm a truth known in other ways. Of all these legends it must be said that what they furnish is

not a Life of Jesus, but a history of the hostility to him. Even Josephus, if his well-known witness were of undoubted authenticity, would teach us nothing new. For the rest, as long as they could, (and finally under Barcochba) the Jews fought the heathen for two centuries longer, with arguments of blood against the stiff-necked fanatics. But with what result?

No more honourable testimony could the world unwittingly and involuntarily bring to the Crucified than this slander and scorn; nay, more than this silence and ignoring of him, *the silence of death*, as the newspaper writers call it, to whom paper is the theatre of life. For see, after 300 years, the Church of the faithful still exists, not exterminated by cruel persecution, a victor over the world's victors; for the proud Roman world was not abased by a mightier secular power from without, but decayed, crumbled away from within; and what was the power which first shook the foundations of her religion and morals, of her life and hope? In other cases, it often happens that new ideas, powers, developments of life, arise at the same time from various points, so that there is rivalry and contention as to the priority of discovery. Not so here. The fathers of the Church point back to the Apostles; and the Apostles collectively, whatever may be their diversities on other questions, are at one in this, that they give all the honour to that name, ignored or set at nought by the world, but to them above all honour and praise. He, whom this name indicates, however unrecognised and despised, was ever present, and His power, passed over in silence by the world, was at work in the world, and demonstrated itself as the alone power which could keep the field. Assuredly this, his mode of procedure towards the world, is an indication to all who belong to Him of the way they should follow, and in His triumph wrought from within, they have the security of their hope.

This, then, is the starting point which we may venture to hope will be unanimously accepted, and we proceed at once on the assumption that He of whom we speak is a historical personage of great importance. In direct and external action this person is less prominent than thinkers and artists, generals and governors; and yet the deeper we look below the surface, the more manifest does it become that not the greatest of the sons of men can bear comparison with Jesus. He reveals truth to us, but not such truth as is discovered by the researches of science, the result of deep, severe, laborious investigation. In form, His teaching is not elaborate and scholastic, but appeals to the popular mind by its simple, touching beauty. He makes conquests, wins hearts, subdues nations, but not by force of arms and art of generalship. His influence is powerful to remodel the life of mankind—so to transform it that its whole image and superscription becomes new, but the effect is wrought without the

aid of human laws, imposed by compulsion, and enforced by threats of punishment. He was not Himself the head of one particular family, and yet family life owes to Him, and to Him alone, its purity, dignity, and nobility. His appearance is marked by a quiet majesty. He touches the inmost life of man, appeals to his highest interests, meets his deepest needs, his need of a knowledge of God, and (since mankind had become alienated) of reconciliation and peace with God. But in this inner life is the mainspring of all the outer, and thus touched, there proceed from it a thousand new developments of thought and life, a thousand happy and beneficial ordinances for the well-being of a nation. *The turning-point of the history of man is to be found in the person of Christ.*

But if we desire to look more closely into our subject, we are met by the assurance* that "there are few great historical characters about whom we are so inadequately informed as about Jesus." Christendom has been wont to think otherwise, and is ready to ask, whether such an assertion is based indeed on the character of the sources of testimony, or on the disposition of those who refuse to avail themselves of them?

The sources of this history are indeed not numerous; they consist fundamentally of our four Gospels, with the confirmation given to the main points of their history in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Revelation. All that was handed down simply by word of mouth and subsequently embodied in writing, is either very meagre, or is in strong contrast with the canonical record, and more than doubtful. And what remains of the rank growth of uncanonical or wholly apocryphal Gospel, serves at best as a dark foil to set off the clearness of the canonical Scriptures, and as a witness to the sound judgment of the Church.

But our four Gospels, as soon as we approach them more nearly give rise to numerous and involved questions of criticism, to which I can only give a passing word. A question is raised as to the date, source, and connection of the three first Gospels, and with respect to Matthew in particular, as to the relation of our Greek text to the Hebrew or Aramaic, spoken of by the Fathers. The Gospel of John undergoes the most searching investigation, partly in itself, partly in comparison with the other three. Those who are ready to take offence at the contents of the Gospels because they clash with their own preconceptions (and even Strauss no longer claims to be regarded as free from such *preconceptions*), have an interest in placing the date of their composition so far from the time of the actual occurrences, that there may be a sufficient interval for the history itself to have become in

* Strauss's "Life of Christ, prepared for the German People." 1864. Pp. 621.

some measure legendary. This endeavour is, however, obliged to give way, at least as far as the last three Gospels are concerned, to a stream of evidence tending in an opposite direction. Moderately liberal critics now place the commencement of their composition immediately after or even shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. The fiction about an earlier Gospel of Mark is now very generally abandoned. Of the *Logia* of Matthew, in the sense of a mere collection of sayings, little more is likely to be heard. Whether, further, the Gospel of Mark is to be regarded as the latest, or the oldest, or the middle of the three—and we have thus indicated the principal opposing theories, which are contested in our day, and which will scarcely find in any case a solution satisfactory to all—the conclusion is not of vital importance so long as it can be maintained, as is admitted by the most thoughtful critics, that in the main the three first Gospels give the same representation of the life of Christ.*

Of more moment is the question about the Gospel of John. Here a large, indeed the largest part, of the contents stands or falls, as the decision is given for or against its genuineness. I can only repeat here the conclusion of an investigation gone into at length elsewhere.† “This book has been held to be spurious, not because of any weakness in the external evidences, or want of clearness in its inward witness, but in spite of the united strength of both, on no other ground than the foregone conclusion that there is no such thing as a miracle.” This is, indeed, the foregone conclusion which is urged against all the four Gospels. We shall see, however, that it applies pre-eminently to the fourth. For the present, we can only say that in the days which are coming this will be the ground on which the decisive battle will have to be fought, because it is to this point that the attacks of German,‡ Dutch, and French critics will be directed in ever-varying form. There must be ever fresh investigation and ever clearer evidence on the great point at issue between the three Gospels and the fourth—whether the relation they bear to each other is one of insoluble contradiction, or whether they are in part and in whole the history of facts, and in the testimony to the life of Christ the complement of one another.

Every one who does not despair of finding anywhere a life of Jesus must draw his information from some of our Gospels, at least from the first three. He may select some parts which he hopes to fit into his system, and according to an eclectic principle of his own exclude those which are at variance with it; but he must then give an account

* See Keim's "History of Jesus of Nazareth." 1867, p. 103.

† "Evidences for the Gospel of John newly Examined." Basil. 1866. Pp. 187.

‡ Most recently Keim, a. a. O. p. 103—172.

of his proceeding. Difficulties, on the other hand, in relation to the mere external statements of the Gospel history, are only very few, (Quirinius, for example,) and even Strauss lays much less stress now than thirty years ago he did on the self-contradictions of the Gospels. Leaving John out of the question, they affect for the most part unimportant points. Let us commence with the least disputable.

Jesus is a historical personage, that is, a human being, as Paul again and again speaks of Him: "The man, Christ Jesus."* As a man, Christ is presented before our very eyes in his birth, in his helpless infancy, in his growth in stature, wisdom and favour; in his subjection to his parents, in his inquiring after knowledge, in hunger and thirst, in weariness and rest, in amazement and sorrow, in righteous anger and tender pity, in tears and in joy; giving thanks to his Father in heaven, tempted and tried, watching, praying, fasting; in heaviness often and painfulness, trembling and afraid, and crying to God, "Why hast Thou forsaken me?"

If these traits, gathered from all the four Evangelists, represent to us a simply human life, it is most evident, from the expressions used to mark the lowliness of His condition, that no one, at least in Israel, discerned in this anything to His honour. So much the more astonishing is it when we consider that He who grew up in despised Nazareth, who possessed no fortune, and was dependent on the gifts of His friends; who was called the carpenter's son, or even the carpenter (Mark vi. 3); who had received no Rabbinical instruction, nor enjoyed any of the advantages of intercourse with the great; who not only received no support from those in authority, but soon made them His enemies; that a man of such humble origin, of such neglected culture, entering on His work without the experience of age, though not indeed in the hot haste of youth, that such a man should in so few years have been able to accomplish so much, to leave behind Him so powerful an impression, to secure such a lasting influence, and, in spite of His death as a criminal, nay, rather by virtue of that death, to transform the world: has He not, to say nothing more, accomplished with His simple, popular discourses that which none of the greatest philosophers achieved or ever attempted? Has not He alone made the deepest truths about God, and the Divine calling of mankind, the common property of all nations, and the refuge and strength of souls from generation to generation?

Without contradiction, this was a more than ordinary man. How did He become so? If He grew in wisdom as in stature, we should like to know in what manner He learnt; by what influences from without that which was within Him was developed. But we have only hints to guide our conjecture, that in the home of His parents and in the synagogue, to which He was accustomed to resort (Luke iv. 16),

* Rom. v. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 21. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

human teaching had its influence upon Him ; that, with eyes open on the creation, He thoroughly investigated the old covenant ; but to Him the letter was so full of the living spirit of truth, that whenever He asks, "Have ye not read?" we find Him giving a rendering and interpretation of the Scripture, such as He could not have learned from the Pharisees or any other sect. So is He the glory of His people Israel. When Strauss † speaks of the "Hellenistic element" in Jesus, he does so, no doubt, partly in the endeavour to represent the advent of Jesus as a natural event in the contemporaneous progress of Jewish and Greek history ; partly he thus betrays his incapacity to comprehend the sacred peace of God, instead of which he speaks of the cheerful and even tenor of a "beautiful nature." His theory is untrue to fact. This much, however, is true. The thoughts and language of Jesus were formed on the basis of the Old Testament, and are only to be fully and rightly understood through a deep acquaintance with the Old Testament, but they were addressed and adapted to the whole world, in a manner in which the Old Testament is not. It is "the blessing of Abraham" which in Him comes upon "all nations."

To these brief notices of His training we add a word on the stages of His development. The boy, who begins to see His calling to be about His father's business, is drawn for us in lines of unfeignable truth. That this calling makes Him a mediator He becomes conscious when the Spirit comes upon Him, as hitherto in His human nature He had not possessed it. Towards His mother He maintains His independence, on the first manifestation of His glory. How far His training affected also the fulfilment of His office it is not easy to discern. The assertion ‡ that the calling of the heathen into His kingdom and the certainty of His violent death were revelations to His consciousness subsequent to that of His Messiahship, can only be maintained by laying exaggerated and exclusive stress on isolated expressions, || and involves also an arbitrary handling of not one or some, but of all the Gospels, and the necessity of rejecting as not genuine or misplaced passages that run counter to such a theory. § As supported by historical evidence, we can grant only this much ; when we read that Jesus marvelled at the faith of the Gentiles, at the unbelief of the men of Nazareth, at the blindness of the people, and the slowness of heart of the disciples, we must suppose this astonishment to be real, and thus infer that the

* See Keim's beautiful remarks upon this, p. 441.

† Strauss's "Life of Christ," p. 208.

‡ For instance, Keim in his "Historic Christ," second edition, pp. 60, 93.

|| Matt. x. 5 ; xv. 24, 26.

§ Compare Matt. iii. 15 ; viii. 11 ; xii. 40.

measure and extent of reception or rejection He would meet was a matter to be learned by Him from experience. But what should be the issue to Himself had been testified from the very beginning by the word of prophecy concerning the servant of God; it must have been present to His soul when He set Himself to fulfil all righteousness, and in the knowledge that the heathen should be His inheritance He would not be behind the whole company of the prophets, even though in the days of His mission in the flesh He, as a rule, confined himself to established limits.

Thus stands before our eyes the man Christ Jesus. But doubtless those who in our day insist sometimes, with much pathos, and as if it were a matter of new discovery, on the presentation of the life of Jesus in its human aspect intend something more than this. They tell us that what the age wants, what it is hungering and thirsting after, is that Jesus should be brought near to men in His humanity and made dear to them. Even Strauss, who does not often regale us with fine phrases, assures us once, with more rhetoric than usual, that "As soon as we abandon the notion of treating the Bible as other than a human book, we shall be able to hold it in all honour: as soon as we find courage to place Jesus really in the ranks of humanity, our reverence and our love will infallibly be yielded to Him."* What does he mean? and can he sustain his assertion?

He leaves us in no doubt as to the first question. A real man, a pure man, is, in his judgment and that of his school, a natural man, like ourselves, or, as the Monarchians of the first centuries said, *αψιλὸς ἀνθρώπος*, a mere man, a man in whom there is nothing *supernatural*. It is essential to the very idea of a life of Jesus, Strauss maintains, that he who will write it must not have before his mind any other than an un-miraculous man, cannot compare him with any but the great ones of history, nor proceed on any other conceptions than those which exclude the miraculous.

Let us waive for a time the demand that this premise be proved. In the end it can only be a service rendered to truth, if the attempt is made and honestly carried through, to produce an image of Christ, rigorously divested of all that is miraculous. That such an image must be essentially different from that presented by the four Evangelists is self-evident; for all four record, side by side, with the words of Christ, scarcely anything but a succession of acts of most diverse healings of the diseases of body and soul, having miracles of the most various kinds as their climax, the resurrection of three dead persons, in the case of one at least of whom, Lazarus, there was no possibility of a mere semblance of death, besides wonderful operations on the

* "The Christ of Faith, and the Jesus of History," 1865, p. 213.

world of nature, attested, as in the case of the multitudes who ate of the multiplied loaves, by the unanimous witness of thousands.

It cannot be fairly urged against this evidence of fact that Jesus on more than one occasion, refused to give a sign which was asked of him.* For that He should refuse to give a sign demanded by the perversity of men, is in no way incompatible with His free use of signs when he sees good cause for them, nor with his reproach to the people that these signs they would not heed.† Highly as the people esteemed the Baptist, no miracles were ascribed to him.‡ In the case of Jesus, however, this is one of the causes by which various witnesses explain the concourse he attracted, namely, that he did many signs and wonders. And what gave more frequent occasion to the attacks of his adversaries than his violations of the rigid rules of Pharisaic Sabbatarianism? For one offence given by the rubbing the ears of corn, we find five cases of healing on the Sabbath day. And if His enemies complain that “He casteth out devils by the prince of devils,” there is in this no denial of the miracles, but only an attempt to ascribe them to the black art. The very jeer they fling at the Crucified is this: “He *saved others*; Himself He cannot save.” Nor does Paul omit the working of miracles among the signs of an Apostle, but appeals with quiet assurance to the experience of the Corinthians, that he had wrought such among them, and that others also, like the first disciple, had received gifts from Christ.§

Such declarations cannot be altogether passed by; and the moral sense rebels against such an artificial interpretation of them as was given by Reimarus, and partially revived by Renan, especially while we still extol the saying; “*Mundus vult decipi; decipiatur ergo.*” The naturalistic explanation was altogether too unnatural, and at the same time meaningless. Even Strauss cannot deny the existence of some kernel of fact, if not of miracle, as the base of the Gospel narratives.|| Vital forces, almost extinguished, awoke to new life under the powerful influence of Jesus on the spirit; or a healing stillness stole over excited nerves, especially in the case of those suffering from the form of disease known as possession, but in most of these instances there were relapses.** Such “imaginary cures” or wonderful effects wrought on the nervous system, but nothing further came within the range of possibility and credence. But that a blind man should in this way recover his sight, no one will imagine. In the case of the

* Matt. xii. 39; xvi. 4. John iv. 48.

† Matt. xi. 5, 20. Mark vi. 52, 8, 17. John v. 36; x. 37; xiv. 10.

‡ John x. 41.

§ 2 Cor. xii. 12. 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10, 28. Matt. x. 1.

|| “Life of Jesus,” etc. p. 266.

** Matt. xii. 43.

leper, the Heidelberg naturalistic school tried a new view, and happily discovered that he was in reality already healed. But facts are very fatal to these methods of explanation. It is not enough for Strauss to make the cautious proviso,* that it is not pretended to assert of every case of miracle-working in the Gospels, whether or how far it is historical or not. The truth is, that not a single instance of the exactly recorded miracles of healing, not even those on the mentally diseased, supposing the cases of possession to have meant no more than this, can have taken place as it is related, and at the same time be explained by any natural process; and yet the greater number of them, beside the healings on the Sabbath day already alluded to, are inseparably interwoven with the most significant discourses of Jesus, which bear, as plainly as anything can, the stamp of genuineness.† These are enigmas, which all such explanations set aside rather than solve. In how strange a condition must the Evangelists have found themselves, if they could draw the wonderful words of Jesus so pure and fresh from the fountain, and send forth only such a turbid stream as to all that concerned his deeds!

If even so far we find ourselves little satisfied scientifically, Strauss knows, and expressly‡ says, that there is one decided passage, the Resurrection of Jesus, “on which we must either acknowledge the insufficiency of the naturalistic historical view, as dealing with the accounts of the wonderful return of Jesus to life, and consequently withdraw from all that has gone before, or we must pledge ourselves to account for the rise of the belief in the resurrection of Jesus, without any corresponding miraculous fact.”

Reimarus, in his time, laid great stress upon the irreconcilable contradictions found between the various accounts of the Resurrection. Even Lessing gave a check to such arguments; and we adhere strictly to truth when we say, any such difference affects only very subordinate points, and is rather a mark of the genuineness of the testimony, calculated to refute the supposition of collusion. From the first, any one believing in the Resurrection itself found no great difficulty, as we see from Paul's words (1 Cor. xv.), in placing the facts in a regular order of sequence. The command not to depart from Jerusalem, was opposed, not to the return into Galilee, but to the going forth into all the world, and was given to the disciples, not on the first but on the fortieth day, as we learn, if we correct one of the witnesses, from his own statement.§ But the other Evangelist, who records only the great appearance in Galilee, himself indicates

* a. a. O. P. 267.

† Matth. ix. 2; xii. 22; xv. 22, Luke xvii. 11.

‡ a. a. O. P. 288.

§ Luke xxiv. 29. Acts i. 4.

that it was not the only one, inasmuch as he mentions the appointment of a certain mountain, of which appointment he had given no account.* But for what reason manifestations of Christ in Jerusalem were needful before the general assembly in Galilee, we gather from the description given of them. The Apostles themselves must be first brought to the faith before they would be fitted to carry out their commission, and to gather the Galilean disciples together to the mountain.†

But the attack is made not only on the discrepancies of the records, but on the records themselves. Reimarus sweepingly pronounced them untrue, while he revived the trumpery Jewish pretence of the theft of the body. This rough mode of treatment deserves no answer. More modern writers have adopted in part the same hypothesis, but more guardedly; the grave, they say, was found empty, because unknown friends (the party of Joseph of Arimathea, for example,) had carried away the body to give it a final resting-place elsewhere. Thus the Apostles gained scope for their wild imaginations. These unknown friends must, however, have either unaccountably disappeared or still more unaccountably have listened, in designing silence, to the preaching of the Apostles on the Resurrection. Dr. Paulus, on the other hand, admitted that Jesus really returned to life, but after a death which was merely apparent, and this recovery from trance gave the disciples the impression of a life victorious over death! The case only becomes more incomprehensible when Schleiermacher adds the semi-miracle of a sudden restoration of energetic life, but still of a life which speedily subsides into stillness.

No, if unbelief in the Resurrection is to attempt a method of explanation with any plausibility, it must be the hypothesis of visions and hallucinations. For this the Apostle Paul gives the pretext.‡ For those who acknowledge, besides man, only an inferior external world, and no higher agency by which he can be affected, it becomes a necessity to regard any fact which appears supernatural as the involuntary creation of nervous excitement, giving rise to sights and sounds, and even feelings, about as unreal as those we experience in a dream. We are familiar with these delusions as symptoms of disease, and the beginning of serious mental derangement. We are assured by these sceptics that they are equally to be met with in those in sound condition. Paul himself tells us that he had at times these ecstatic visions.§ He speaks, indeed, of being carried up into the

* Matt. xxviii. 16.

† See my paper in Piper's "Gospel Calendar," 1863, p. 103, etc.

‡ See the discussion of Holsten, acute in its kind, on Paul's vision of Christ, in "Hilgenfeld's Journal," 1861, p. 223.

§ 2 Cor. xii.

third heaven, whether in the body he could not tell, or whether out of the body he could not tell, in quite another manner than of that revelation in which he saw the risen Christ.* His visions he mentions reluctantly, and as it were by constraint; the event which made him a Christian and an Apostle, the sight of the Lord on the way to Damascus, was one of the great facts which he was everywhere the first to relate. And when he says that to him "last of all the Lord had appeared," he not only makes this revelation distinct from that which the other Apostles had previously received, but also distinct from the spiritual visions of which he was himself afterwards the subject.† How clearly does Peter also distinguish between vision and actual fact (Acts xii. 9, 11). Our modern writers, however, confound both, and further represent the persecutor Saul as smitten down by an inward conflict, seized with a sudden terror of conscience, saying to himself, "Are these Galileans indeed in the right? Am I, then, fighting against God?" and in this condition of inward doubt and anguish, in which self-deception opens the way for fanaticism, driven by terror, he despairs. In such a case there was scarcely any need for the storm, which Renan ‡ brings from *Hermon*, to work with fever, affection of the brain, and inflammation of the eyes, in producing the delirium in which he was no longer able to "kick against the pricks."

This may be all pragmatically laid down, and yet in the end it is nothing more than a romance; for the real Saul reveals nothing of his conflict. He is fully persuaded that in his persecution of the Nazarenes he is doing God service. In the midst of his vehement career of threatening and slaughter Jesus lays hold of him. Then does he feel the pricks against which it is vain to kick; and from that moment he receives his calling, not only to be a Christian, not only to be an apostle, but to a mission utterly foreign to the whole previous development of the Church and to his own range of view. At once it is revealed to him that he shall be sent afar off unto the heathen.§ This agrees ill with the conditions of the theory of visions; there can only enter into a vision elements of an image which has been previously present to the mind.|| Truly, that an ambassador, whose commission was received from a Christ conjured up by his own brain, should have held fast this faith through countless sufferings and dangers, should have proclaimed it as the power of God unto salvation, and staked his life upon it with joyful devotion, remains a miracle not explained by any hypothesis of visions.

* 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8.

† 1 Cor. xv. 3, 8. See Schulze's "Evidence of the Faith," 1866, p. 41.

‡ Renan's "Apostles," p. 176.

§ Gal. i. 14, 16.

|| Holsten, p. 246.

If this theory will not bear examination in the case of Paul, it is still less tenable when applied to the Gospel narratives. I do not enter into the explanations which Strauss puts forward (obviously only half in seriousness) about the two disciples walking to Emmaus and the apostles at the Sea of Tiberias.

Of the Magdalene however he says,* "The expression, 'out of whom went seven devils,' is very suggestive." He does not say of what: this will be obvious to the tribe of thinkers. The conclusion will not differ widely from Renan's statement, "That the passionate affection of a clairvoyante has given the world a Risen God." A somewhat strange form, but otherwise the same idea as that of the disciples when they rejected the accounts of the women as "idle tales."†

But when Strauss will explain to us how the disciples themselves passed gradually from unbelief and doubt to faith, through the recovery of their spirit and nervous life, he is compelled to set all such theories aside, and to speak on the other side.‡ He would do away with the appearances on the third day and in Jerusalem, for he places no reliance himself on such artifices as those of the unknown friends who carried away the body. He rejects, therefore, on most far-fetched pretexts, the honourable burial for which all four of the Evangelists and Paul vouch. He cannot fit into his theory a grave by which the disciples might have been led into their error, out of which the body might have been stolen. Jesus must have been buried in the malefactors' grave. The first vision must have occurred at a time and place remote from Jerusalem. Of course Strauss is not so light-footed as Renan, who is ready to allow rumours of the Resurrection to have been current almost on the Saturday after the Crucifixion. No, not so rapidly after the annihilation of all their hopes is the imagination of the disciples capable of invention, and in Jerusalem they might have been able at length to find the place where the body was laid. In distant Galilee was the fitting scene for those meditations, disputations, and searchings into the Prophets, which Strauss§ delineates, coldly enough indeed, and which opportunely led to a powerful outbreak of religious fanaticism.

It is unfortunate that St. Paul testifies to the resurrection of Christ "on the third day,"|| coinciding with the testimony of the four evangelists and with the honour given to the Sunday in the apostolic Church. "Yes," it is said, "the Resurrection is indeed asserted to have been on the third day, but not the appearance of the Risen One; for it is only stated that 'he was seen of Cephas,' but not how soon

* "Life of Jesus," p. 434.

‡ Page 31.

† Luke xxiv. 11.

§ Page 306.

|| 1 Cor. xv. 4.

after the Resurrection, any more than we are told what interval there was between the various appearances. How, then, came it to be said that He rose from the dead the third day, if not because on that day he first showed himself alive? "No," it is rejoined, "the first appearance may have been considerably later, and it was only because it was 'according to the Scriptures,' Hosea vi. 2, and other passages, that the disciples supposed he must have risen on the third day, although it may have been an indefinite number of days, or even weeks, afterwards that He first appeared to them. But when once the sluices were opened the nervous excitement became epidemic, and laid hold of as many as five hundred brethren at once, and yet was allayed again at the furthest after forty days, and then assumed the form of an activity in which the holiest zeal was remarkably associated with the calmest reason."

It must be confessed this is not a natural explanation. Its advocates will not be convinced by arguments, because their opposition has a deeper root. They can hardly, however, escape the feeling that the task they have undertaken, of presenting a purely human Jesus, cannot be fulfilled without recourse to many forced artifices. I fully understand how those who hold miracles to be impossible may make even a greater sacrifice to their creed; what I do not understand is how any one can maintain a belief in the Resurrection of Christ, but only as a subordinate fact; or how any one can pretend to regard Christianity as true, independently of the fate of its Founder, as though Christianity could have its roots elsewhere than in faith in its Founder and in His victory over sin and death.

But the Gospels show us Jesus as a wonder in yet another sense, one pointing more within us. "He did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth:"* this was the testimony from all the experience of those disciples who walked in constant intercourse with Him. Thus He is a *moral* miracle. As such, He uniformly appears in the description given of Him in all the Gospels. Even though it be impossible to establish intelligently this innermost sanctuary by any inductive proof, it is at least striking that no watchful enemy brings a solid charge against Him; that the traitor cannot reveal, out of His many years' intercourse with Christ, anything which may gloss over his treacherous deed, nor can the other disciples bring to mind, out of the same period, one instance of rashness on His part. The picture they give us of His life is not a colourless, abstract, transcendental thing, but is drawn in clear and definite outline, and is in the highest degree true to nature and life-like. Many of its features are all the more striking, because they are so at issue with the moral prejudices of the time that they could not in any way have been

* 1 Peter ii. 22.

moulded out of them ; it is enough to instance the rejection of the Pharisaic Sabbath observances of fasting and washing of hands. He does not oppose the law of Moses as an Antinomian, but as little does He appear as the advocate of legality in ceremonies. In His first miracle He shows Himself as the dispenser simply of joy, and however adversaries may reproach Him as a glutton and a wine-bibber, He does not swerve from His course ; differing from the Baptist, not so much in the matter of fasting as in effecting the true change of mind through a higher love to Himself—the bridegroom. So little of an ascetic is He, that He sets forth the joy over the return of the prodigal, under the image of music and dancing, though a tone of holiest earnestness pervades the whole.

Other points in the history of Jesus, which strike us on the first glance as strange, justify themselves on deeper reflection ; for instance, the manner in which He meets His mother, the purifying of the temple, the cursing of the figtree. There is a peculiar stamp of genuineness in those passages which show us that we have to do, not with a being of impassive exaltation, but with one who had a conflict to maintain, who was accessible to temptation, who could have a fellow-feeling of the sinner's need, but who was ever victorious in the battle.

The fact of His baptism does not represent Him, unless we wilfully falsify the accounts, as one confessing sins of His own, but as one stepping as mediator into the sinner's place and fulfilling all righteousness. That he refuses an undiscerning tribute paid to his goodness does not imply that He Himself "most modestly" denies the fact of His being *good*.* Rather, while the higher the moral culture is carried, the keener becomes the moral judgment, and most of all the judgment upon oneself, we find in Christ, on the one hand, an acute perception of the most secret sins, but never the smallest confession of sin of His own nor one prayer for pardon.† Invariably does He present Himself to sinners as the Redeemer come to seek and to save the lost, who would give His life "a ransom for many ;" yea, who did declare immediate forgiveness to the penitent ; and on the way to his death, He testifies that if these things are done in the green tree, what but the fire of the judgment can await the dry ?

None can, indeed, wholly evade the impression of the moral dignity of Christ. Even Strauss endeavours to do justice to the loving tenderness and gentleness of Jesus, praising them as indiscriminating kindness—a feature of his temperament developed by His

* Compare Dörner on the "Sinless Perfection of Jesus," 1862, p. 13 ; and my remarks in "Essays in Defence of the Christian Faith," second ed. p. 145.

† Keim has some beautiful remarks on this subject in his "Historical Church," second ed. p. 108.

view of the Heavenly Father. We pass over the perversity of this explanation, or rather of this setting aside of revealed truth. But the very character of Jesus is here delineated in a manner which, through its one-sidedness, is untrue. There was, indeed in Him an inexhaustible fountain of love and kindness, but it was a thoroughly holy love; there was, indeed, kindness for the meanest sinner and the bitterest foe, but blended, that it might be true kindness, with the most inexorable earnestness of truth and righteousness. Else why, side by side with the gladly-welcomed hallelujahs, have we the stern denunciations of woe? Why all the words about judgment, perdition, hell, wailing and gnashing of teeth? Why the narrow way, and the few that find it? No, not indiscriminate kindness but grace and truth are the first characteristics of Jesus.

Strauss, indeed, does not attempt to deal with a sinless Christ. The supposition of sinlessness appears to him fatal to every historical treatment; for to waver and to fall, to know the conflict between the reason and the senses, between selfish and unselfish aims, is to him an essential element of human life, and even the best and purest man has to accuse himself of many a failing, many a sin of hastiness or neglect.* In the life of Jesus there is assuredly no indication of violent inward conflicts, and of recovery from manifold error; and yet these things leave life-long traces, as we see in natures which have come out purified from such fiery ordeals, as for instance in Paul, Augustine, Luther. Jesus could not then have been of such a frail nature as these, but supposing him still to have been the subject of errors and failings, he must have possessed so naturally beautiful a disposition, that it required but to develop itself without the need of conversion or the beginning of another life.† This is, then, the classification of men, which we must learn. Sin belongs necessarily to their nature. Now there are some who lead a godless, vicious life, without compunction or thought of amendment. Of such we do not speak. There are others who bear all their lifetime the traces of a mighty change wrought in their frail nature. Jesus was not of these; but he is a representative of the last class, the beautiful natures, which have their faults as a matter of course, but *propter levitatem delicti* theirs are *peccata venialia*, and they need no conversion. We leave this psychology for the present to stand on its own worth or worthlessness, and accepting the doubtful homage thus brought to Jesus, we ask, Is Strauss in a position really to sustain even so much as this?

For this beautiful nature raises claims and makes assertions about itself, which overstep all the bounds of ill-boasted modesty and indeed all the limits of the merely human. We do not refer to the

* Pages 4, 195.

† Page 208.

declaration of His existence before the world; that is set aside by Strauss, and by many, with the genuineness of the Gospel of John. But even the three first Gospels contain many an assertion which cannot be set aside, and which yet overpass the largest measure allowed for a mere man. The suspicion of interpolation may be urged against one and another passage, as when on one occasion the return of Christ is held in prospect before the disciples shall have gone over the cities of Israel with their mission, in opposition to which Jesus declares on another occasion that before His coming "the Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world."* There is still, however, a substantial remainder, which no critical operations can dispose of, and it is undeniable that Jesus Himself laid claim to be the Son of Man, that is the Messiah, the promised King, not only over Israel but over the whole world, and that in accordance with this He prophesied his return in celestial glory, as judge of the living and the dead, whether sooner or later Strauss himself admits to be a subordinate question. His words before Caiaphas beside point to a solution of this difficulty. It is a course with a succession of halting places.

That Jesus did advance such claims is equally assumed alike by Jewish and Gentile Christians. We should be at a loss to understand their unanimous expectation of His coming to judge the world if some such assurance had not fallen from Himself. Strauss admits, without reserve† that we are here again confronting a decisive point, and he does not seek like others to set aside these declarations of Christ as the misconceptions of His disciples, or to resolve them into vagueness and obscurity, on the pretext that they are oriental figures of speech.

But are they not the utterances of a wicked fanatic? Strauss feels that such an admission must do violence to our accustomed modes of Christian thought, but these must give way before an historical result. He does not suppose Christ to be a deceiver; but high endowments of mind and heart are compatible, he thinks, with no small amount of fanaticism. But it is surely no ordinary degree of infatuation which can lead anyone to connect, as Jesus does, the world's catastrophe, judgment, retribution, the setting up of the Kingdom of Heaven, with His own person; not looking for these from God alone, but declaring that He Himself will come again in the clouds of heaven, and all the holy angels with Him, to awaken the dead and to sit in judgment. A mere man, Strauss justly says, who should look for such things for himself, must appear to us not only as a fanatic, but we must see in him also an unwarrantable self-exaltation, and in Jesus especially a forgetfulness of that modesty with which He waived the

* Matt. x. 23; xxiv. 14.

† Page 236.

epithet "Good master." He supposes again, however, that if Jesus was once convinced that He was indeed the Messiah, He might, in harmony with Daniel's prophecy, assume the office of judging the world as an adjunct to that representation of Messiah. We are only at a loss to understand how this tremendous appendage to the bargain should not have made Him shrink back from it altogether.

There is something singular in this part of Strauss's work. We are elsewhere accustomed to find him speaking without ambiguity, and making his conclusions clear and emphatic. Here it is not so. He leaves the readers to draw their own conclusions. It seems—we are willing to suppose the best—as if he had not himself yet quite cast off all the accustomed modes of Christian thought, and hesitated, therefore, to speak the final word. He even designedly mitigates the reproaches cast upon Christ. He speaks only of fanaticism and of unlawful self-exaltation. It would be more appropriate to call it the temerity of a madman; nor could he stop short of Caiaphas's charge of blasphemy against God—if indeed he had a God who could be blasphemed. The impersonal force of nature truly is not so jealous but that anything may be offered to it by a genius. But surely at this point Strauss must find it hard to fulfil his promise, and to maintain that the man Jesus cannot fail to command our reverence and love. The modern admirers of the man Jesus must feel that the claim He here advances cannot be sustained. Not only His boasted modesty, but His indiscriminating kindness slip from our grasp, for what becomes of either if the gentle Jesus threatens those who reject His word with judgment and the terrors of hell, and declares that He will one day send His angels to gather together all the tares out of the great field of the world to burn them?

What Strauss himself here conceals, Renan speaks out. To him there is, for instance, no saying so offensive as the unmeasured claim of Christ, that, at the sacrifice of all the holy ties of natural duty, men should live for Him and love Him alone. "Whoso loveth father or mother, son or daughter, more than Me is not worthy of Me." This word of Christ's Renan cannot brook.* He observes, with justice, that Christ here assumes the same position towards the whole of mankind, as Jehovah maintains in the old covenant. He is unjust in overlooking the truth that father and mother, son and daughter, are not abridged of their rights, if we love Jesus above them all and love them only in Him. He therefore rejoices when, after the amiable rabbi had become the gloomy giant and the pastoral idyll had been transformed into the criminal tragedy, the catastrophe comes on, in which anguish and blood expiate the transgression, and the half-crazed female disciple happily initiates the

* "Life of Christ," p. 312.

apotheosis. It certainly needs, not to speak more strongly, a degraded taste to relish such food as this. And we shall find ourselves, on the whole, constrained to admit that the attempt to write a Life of Christ on the theory that He is simply a natural man, has its unquestionable difficulties, not on the ground of what we do not know, but of that which is incontestably stated. Even if we set aside the assertion of absolute sinlessness of Christ, what consistency is there in a theory, which represents Him on the one hand as so pure and noble, so loving and loveable, so meek and lowly, so intelligent and wise, so calm and gentle, that every heart which knows Him only from the written word, is constrained to yield itself up to him, and then shows Him, on the other hand, advancing claims so unlimited, so superhuman, so unnatural, that if He had no right to them, they could be nothing less than the most audacious blasphemy, the most insane infringement on the Majesty of God? Is not this the darkest possible enigma—the miracle of unbelief, which we are asked to accept, while we reject the miracles of faith? a logical, moral, and religious monstrosity, a historical impossibility, as Dorner has styled it,* and we may well wait for the counter proof.

It is time that we should look to the ground of these theories and ask, is it indeed so fully established that there are no such things as miracles? Renan does not for a moment maintain this. He assures us, more readily than Hume, but following in the same track, that he does not repudiate miracles in the name of one system of philosophy or another, and does not, therefore, assume that miracles are impossible, but only insists that we have not as yet any instance of a sufficiently attested miracle, none, that is, which has been tested before a select body of scientific men, and according to the prescribed rules of experiment.† He does not perceive that a miracle would cease to be a miracle as soon as it ceased to evade all law, even the law of experiment. He does not perceive further, that in the case of the man born blind, for instance, if the history is true, it is enough for him, without any learned process, to be able to say, "Whereas I was blind, now I see," and that this fact of experience no commission in the world could shake.

Even Strauss assumes this pretext‡ for his doubts as to the accounts of the Resurrection, that none of them is so testified and accredited as to justify a belief in a fact without example. But how in the world should such an attestation be produced? It is obvious that the design is to raise the demand for evidence, even higher and higher, even if the sword of Brennus must be thrown into the scale, and in order do make the fulfilment of the condition impossible.

* "History of Protestant Theology," p. 139.

† "Life of Christ," p. 51.

‡ Page 289.

And why so? Because the objection that the accounts do not rest on sufficiently reliable testimony—attested though they be by a man like Paul—is in truth only a pretence, while the real and sole ground is the pre-supposition—may we not say the foregone conclusion?—that “Miracles are impossible; therefore there are no miracles.”

This is elsewhere admitted without any disguise, but on grounds obviously very insufficient. All philosophical modes of thought, Strauss informs us,* in so far as they have any claim to the name of philosophy, are unanimous in the rejection of miracles. What then are these? The answer is materialism, pantheism, and even the more severe scientific theism, which answers, however, in the description to that which was formerly defined to be Deism. This is stated in the “Life of Christ for the German People,” and it seems to be taken for granted that a people of thinkers will receive such a statement; that to the question, What philosophy is there worthy of the name? it will accept the answer, First of all, materialism: the system, that is, which derives the living from the dead, spirit from matter, reason from the irrational.

An unquestionable indication is this of the direction in which progress is tending in certain scientific circles; namely, back to theories which can boast indeed of the venerable age of centuries, but which did not number a Plato and Aristotle among their adherents.

That pantheism will pronounce the same judgment as materialism on the question before us is obvious, for though it may give nobler and more ideal names to the force of nature, and may use more practical language about it, it yet recognises no God, apart from the world, and lands us, as Guizot says, “en pleine athéisme.”† But theism, as Strauss represents it—let us rather give it its more ancient designation, deism—allows God to have worked once, that is, in the beginning of creation, in the fullness of His own glory, but leaves Him for ever after bound by His own single act. He must, then, since no other could have done it, have robbed and divested Himself of His own freedom.

We understand how these systems should deny a miracle. But it is needful, first, to prove that they are the only systems possible, or that any one of them is that of true science. Such an onus of proof rests at least on those who desire to examine for themselves, and are not content to allow Strauss to take the trouble for them. Let us then look into the question.

Let us be led through the creation, so full of wisdom, to the knowledge of the wise Creator, and deriving from our own conscience an

* Page 147.

† “Meditations on the Essence of the Christian Religion,” vol. 1, p. 105.

insight into the being of the God who is the author of conscience, we understand that God, the Eternal Spirit, and the God of all spirits, is a God of freedom, in which it is comprehended that he is a God who, without any change in His own Being, can introduce changes in the created. One main preconception, by which theism is ever threatened with a relapse into pantheism, is this, that no kind of change can be conceded in God's operation. For, granted that God at some definite point of time introduced a mode of operation not previously employed, and He becomes Himself involved in that which is directly opposed to His nature—change. But if this is to be avoided at any cost, then it follows that not only the creation generally, but every particular branch of creation, must have had no beginning, and man, for example, and his history, must have been from all eternity. For in the creation of man, whether this took place by a wholly direct or indirect operation of God, there was, in any case, the introduction of an operation not previously existing. If, then, the eternal existence of man cannot reasonably be maintained, the possibility of the introduction of change in the operations of God remains indisputable, even though man be shown to be only a new creation within the already created.

If this be true, then it further follows that the idea of nature has not the unlimited and all-comprehensive import which so many of our contemporaries, influenced by the tendency of our times, without further proof, assign to it. There is, indeed, a grand conformity to the law of action and reaction, which embraces the most various members of creation, and is equally wonderful in its simplicity and in its thousand-fold diversity. But to presuppose the universe, determined in its present condition, from everlasting to everlasting, and closed, therefore, against the entrance of any new influence, is a groundless and unsupported assumption. In such a case, the universe, as it was without man, must have barred the way against the entrance of man.

The assertion that no new operation of God can be introduced into the world being thus shown to be in contradiction to undeniable fact, it is further objected that it is unworthy of God to intervene by miracle in the course of nature, on the ground that He thus declares His own work to be in need of amendment. We ask in reply, But what if the work in question is one of which it was no essential condition that it should be perfect at once? What if the work in question is one, to which a task was committed, to be worked out in its course, a task which, in the fullest sense, admitted of diverse issues? But such was the actual case, when God created beings whose development was not determined by an inviolable law of necessity—who were rather called to decide their own moral, and, in the highest sense, religious destiny.

And if this is the case with only one part of the creation, then that part is not from the beginning perfect, and simply because it is a part, therefore equally the whole of the creation is not from the beginning perfect. Perfect, indeed, it is, as far as required for its commencement; but not perfected as, according to its own development, it is to be.

If, then, good and evil are not one and the same thing, and if man, to speak now of him, could decide for or against God, for or against his moral and religious destination, then necessarily a different element must be introduced, according as man decided for good or for evil. The anthropology of the pantheists, answering to their perverted theology, does not recognise this distinction. We observed in how lax and naturalistic a manner Strauss speaks of evil. With him, faults and aberrations, in however many gradations, from the coarser to the finer, belong obviously to the nature of man. But unless we allow ourselves thus to obliterate the fundamental contradiction between good and evil, we are constrained to say: God Himself, inasmuch as He is the original Good, must administer His goodness in justice, consequently in diverse ways, according to man's own decision for good or evil; and must annex to this decision, in the one case this, in the other case the contrary consequence, for man's whole condition. Hence a new element of change is introduced into His operation.

Thus the God of freedom calls into being the free creature. He wills, renders possible, suffers his self-decision. He places Himself in a certain relation to this self-decision; in one relation in the one case, in another in the opposite; and this not only as a matter of feeling, but with the addition of corresponding external consequences. Nay, more, He places Himself in a twofold relation even to the evil development of the creature, in that of the judgment, and in that of grace. This we do not discover of ourselves. Only through His revelation of Himself can we learn to know Him as the God of grace, to know our Creator as at the same time our Redeemer, who heals the unhappy breach, who raises from the condition of sin and death, who leads mankind to a goal, which, even at the beginning they could not have reached, and from which they have wholly fallen away. God, however, through the work of redemption, designs to bring them to this goal, even to His eternal, heavenly kingdom. This is a consummation other than the mere natural development of the human spirit, which is but the learning to a certain degree to know and to control nature and self, and to rejoice in this unfolding of life, till the Power which called man into being brings him to nothing again.

But this is the one central miracle around which our whole question revolves. It concerns the kingdom of God, under its head

and king, towards which the whole history of God's dealings with man was already tending in the Old Testament, which in the fulness of time was set up, and for the eternal perfection of which we wait. This is the one great connection of the whole revelation of redemption. He who rejects miracles, denies this divine action. He denies the God of freedom, and if he is logical, also the freedom of man, and acknowledges as the one universal rule only the law of nature; that is, the inevitable necessity of the present development of the world, with the including of all the woe of sin, all the desolation of death, and without any prospect of deliverance. This he does, although no science gives him the right to declare that the present development of the world is the original, unalterable, first and last order of things, and that there neither is nor ever will be another nature other than that which now presents itself.

This is the ground, confessed or unconfessed, on which the denial of the evangelical history of Jesus is based. But thus the historical fact of Christianity and of the Church is robbed of any satisfactory explanation. Every effect must have its sufficient cause. Now the Church of Christ has been upheld from the beginning by a consciousness of peace with God and of redemption. The cause of this effect we can find in Jesus alone. This Strauss cannot do. For how should a man, who was good indeed, but not faultless, and who was further so thorough a fanatic, be a Redeemer? How should he redeem men through an assumption which was in itself the highest crime? Strauss is, from his point of view, only logical and honest when he says, "We may speak no more of a Redeemer, for another is our God."*

In Strauss's method there is an evident progression, or rather a retrogression, towards Reimarus. Thirty years ago he laboured to represent the myths of the New Testament as poetical glorifications of Christ, not to be traced to any special design. Now Bauer has so far influenced him, that he allows much more room than formerly to conscious and intentional fabrication.† Even when he still speaks of myths, the idea is no longer the same; but as with Renan, when he speaks of legends, we find on one page a tale, arisen no one knows how, out of some Old Testament image, and on another page one said to be a deliberate invention. Nor is the reproach of conscious untruthfulness at all confined to the disciples of Christ, but the false view of His majesty as Judge of the world, and of redemption through faith in His person, his disciples had taken from His own untrue assertions.

The choice is infinitely simplified. This is the great service which science lends to faith.

* "The Christ of Faith," etc. p. 213.

† "Life of Christ for the German People," p. 159.

There are indeed not a few who will not go so far as Strauss; they do not entirely repudiate miracles; they place faith at least in many portions of the three first Gospels. One thing, however, they cannot accept, namely, that Jesus should not only have proclaimed Himself as the Messiah, Saviour, and Judge of the whole world, but also as the very Son of God from all eternity, as is distinctly and expressly declared in the fourth Gospel. It is true that Paul maintained the same thing; and how can this be accounted for without the certainty that Jesus Himself had so spoken of Himself?

And if the first Christian Church, if Peter and Stephen addressed their prayers to Jesus; if, from the beginning, a brief description of Christians was, "Those who call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ;" if the seer of the Apocalypse glorifies Him as the Alpha and Omega, "the first and the last," the "beginning of the creation of God," then we see that the Gospel of John does not stand alone. Nor is it enough to speak of the Alexandrine philosophy, in which the ideas of Philo are so essentially different from those of John, though he is also treating of God as the Logos. Let it only be observed what violence Keim* is obliged to do to the teaching of the Evangelist, in order to assimilate it to that of the Alexandrine philosopher.

But assuredly, the riddle of riddles, about which we ask how shall we interpret it, is this: How could the growth in age and knowledge, in wisdom and stature, coincide with self-consciousness which could look back and say, "Before Abraham was, I am;" and which could speak of the glory "had with the Father before the foundation of the world"? Of those who undertake to deny the fact, some, like the Socinians, seek forcibly to twist the passages referring to it; others lay them to the charge of the Evangelist, on whom they thus cast the burden of a large and extravagant arbitrariness, although the words of Jesus, which he gives us, claim to be the words of eternal life. Others strike out recklessly, and on account of these sayings they repudiate with them the whole of the fourth Gospel. It contradicts, says Keim, all our knowledge of human nature, derived from ourselves or others. But does the Christ of the first three Gospels fit in then so exactly to the framework of these ideas of human nature thus derived? The Son of Man, who will come in the glory of His Father, who will appear to sit in judgment on all nations, surrounded by His angels, over whom He is exalted as Lord,† nay, from whom, even while on earth, all miraculous power proceeds, to whom such dignity is ascribed, who manifests Himself in such works—who and what is He? Can He to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, who places His own name between

* "History of Jesus of Nazareth," p. 124.

† Matt. xvi. 27; xxv. 31; xiii. 41, 49. Mark xiii. 22.

that of the Father and the Holy Spirit in the baptismal command, can He be a lesser being than He is set forth in His own declarations recorded by John? Is not Dorner right when he says: "In these" (that is, in these declarations in John,) "Jesus has only ascribed to Himself that which is the sole adequate ground for the claims which He makes"?* Evangelical Christendom will then scarcely desire to exchange the Son of God and man for the mere "exalted" Jesus, or even for the "high-stalking Ego" of Keim.†

The questions raised are indeed hard questions. To suppose a Divine consciousness, absorbing the human, would be in contradiction to all the traits which have shown us in Jesus a real man. But may we suppose a double consciousness? or at least for a period, a human consciousness, with the voluntary extinction of the Divine? The passages in John, to refer to no others, contradict the latter, and the former appears to imperil the unity of the Person. It may be asked at the outset, "How far can we go in the solution of this enigma?" But we will not ignore the goal because we may fall short of it. We take as our starting-point one word of the first Evangelist, which Strauss, in his theory, declares to be an interpolation, because it extends a hand to the fourth. Not only is it said, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son," but also "No man knoweth the Son but the Father;" we continue in the same sense, "and he to whom and in so far as he will reveal Him." That is, by no possibility can we learn to know the Father or Son, except by their own manifestation of themselves. They will be first fully revealed to us when we shall know as we are known. But even here, we ask, Do we then understand a deified man better than an incarnate God? Albrecht von Haller wrote to Bonnet: "I do not admit that we possess an exact knowledge of the nature of our spirit or of the Godhead. We know of the one and of the other only certain properties; therefore, I can allow no weight to doubts (as to the manner of the union of the Godhead and manhood in Christ) based upon nothing but our want of knowledge, in face of the definite declarations of Revelation.‡

We sum up that which has been advanced. He who writes a life of Jesus has to represent Him as a historical personality; the turning point of the history of mankind; as a human personality, the ripe fruit of Israel; not, however, as a merely natural, but as a miraculous man—as the son of man, who is the Son of God. Why, if such a One has lived upon the earth, should not the history of His life be related? If its roots reach back into eternity, if on it depends the eternal future of us all, then we may find in this life that which we

* A. A. O., p. 840.

† "The Historical Christ," second ed. p. 84.

* See the French original, "Albrecht von Haller as Christian and Apologist," 1865, p. 104.

find nowhere else—the firm support and certain goal also of our life, but, above all, the great Alternative.

Could we show that unbelief itself labours under a burden of more grievous difficulties, we yet own that such arguments in themselves alone will bring no one to belief. They may be effectual to remove some obstacle out of the way, but to leave no more room for contradiction, to constrain all to believe, this they will never effect. This would be to change the nature of faith, and also its position, as pointed out by Jesus Himself to the little flock for all time. That which decides is the inner experience, by which even the wise and prudent become the babes to whom the Father in heaven reveals these things.*

Albrecht von Haller speaks as one of such when he writes, “All is lost, and Revelation is in vain, so soon as we allow ourselves the freedom of choosing out of Revelation only that which we please. Repeated self-examination has further convinced me how great is our ruin, and how small the hope which we dare build upon our best actions. I have searched my heart, and ever found that self-love was either the cause of the good action, or stood by and approved it. Love to God especially, that first and most natural of all man’s duties, is almost entirely wanting, or exists only on the surface or in the reason, and not in the heart. I feel deep within me that from the moment in which I doubt of reconciliation through Christ I am nothing more than a heathen, a Chinese, who thinks himself agreeable to God because of certain good qualities, mixed as they are with a thousand faults, and that I forget the eternal repudiation of evil which is inseparable from the purity and holiness of God.”

Not to forget this, and to walk daily and earnestly in this path of self-examination, this it is which brings us to prize and know and apprehend Christ Jesus. “Thou hast the words,” we then confess with Peter, “and not the words only, but the power, of eternal life.”

* Matt. xi. 25.

THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRIST AS A MAN.

BY DR. PH. F. KEERL,

LIC. OF THEOLOGY AT LEUTERSHAUSEN.

MY theme—the moral development as a man of Jesus Christ the Son of God—has been described as the stirring question of the day, and so, in truth, it is, although in another sense than that usually associated with it. The principles on which the various Church Confessions rest have as their deepest basis the view taken of the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. If, therefore, a unity of confession of the Son of God were attainable, it would follow, as it appears, that the barriers which divide the various confessions must fall, if not at once, at least gradually. All pious hearts must at length gather around the truth, shining in unclouded light. We look with the more confident hope for this unity, because the Lord himself holds it in prospect before us, in the words (John 10—16): “There shall be one fold and one shepherd;” and the Apostle (Eph. 4—13) writes prophetically of a time, obviously to be realised on earth, when all the “members of the body of Christ shall come into unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God.” This end will, however, be reached only when we return to the simplicity which is in Christ, and His word alone becomes again the “the light to our feet.” By that word alone, and not by confessions, do we arrive at the whole full truth, but with it also we attain oneness of spirit. From that word are derived, as I hope, the following thoughts and observations on this great problem. A thorough and comprehensive treatment of it is, however, not possible, in the short time allotted. It is principally to theses needing proof and aphorisms deduced from a wider connection that I ask your kind attention.

Permit me, first of all, to state the problem in its full distinctness and comprehensiveness. The Lord himself testifies (John 5—26): “As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself.” According to the connection, the Lord possesses this life also during his sojourn upon earth. He is the Son of God, because it belongs to Him, and He would cease to be that Son if he had in any way divested Himself of it. How could He also, if

it were not so, say so emphatically of Himself during His earthly existence: "Because I live, ye shall live also" (John 14—19); or call Himself "the Living Bread come down from Heaven" (John vi. 33—58)? The same significance is in the expressions: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." "I am in the Father and the Father in Me" (John xiv. 9, 10). "I and My Father are one" (John x. 50). "All mine are thine, and thine are mine" (John xvii. 10). No mere ethical oneness is here spoken of. For when the Lord says in John xvii. 22: "The glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given them (that is, the disciples) that they may be one, even as we are one," it is perfectly clear that the oneness of the disciples, as of the Son, with the Father, has its ground in the glory. He does, indeed, pray in John xvii. 5, for a restoration of the glory which He had with the Father before the world was, but this petition can have reference only to the *former*, corresponding to the essence of His innermost, deepest life and being. The Son of God had laid aside the *form of God*, but not the *being of God*; He had taken upon Him the form of a servant, but in that form had precedence, that by which He is the Son, the Life, or the inner concealed glory of the life, by virtue of which He is "the Light of the World" (John x. 12); "the Truth and the Life" (John xiv. 6). The life of God, even in the form of the servant, cannot be without inner concealed glory. Finally, to bring forward only two more passages, we read in Col. i. 19, ii. 9: "It pleased the Father that in Christ should all the fullness of the Godhead dwell." That this "fullness of the Godhead" dwelt not merely in the original, or supernatural and glorified, Son of God, is clear from Col. i. 20, according to which the Lord, only because in Him dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead, reconciled by Him all things to Himself through the blood of His cross. Only as the Son of God, in the full sense of that word, could He effect redemption. The same testimony is given by John in the beginning of his Gospel: "The Word was made flesh;" that is, not He transformed Himself into flesh, but He, the Logos, in the totality of His Divine being and life, appeared or came in the flesh, as the same Apostle (John iv. 2, 3) authoritatively explains those words.

Not less certain is it, however, from Holy Scripture that the Son of God was "made in all points like His brethren" (Heb. ii. 14), or accepted the whole conditions of man's life in body, soul, and spirit. This is the impression made by the declaration of Holy Scripture. It speaks of His body and blood (Matt. xxvi. 28); of His soul (Matt. xx. 28; John x. 15); of his human volitions and actions (Mark ix. 30; Luke v. 13; John v. 30); it tells us that he suffered hunger (Matt. iv. 2), thirst, and weariness (John iv. 6); that He was moved with compassion by the misery of the multitude (Mark ix. 36); was filled with anger at the desecration of the sanctuary (Matt xxi. 12); felt sorrow

and fear at the approach of death (Heb. v. 7); was inwardly stirred, angered, grieved in spirit (John 33—38, xiii. 21, xii. 17; Matt. xxvi. 38). In the same manner, He followed from His birth the laws of human development, without sin. His body, like His soul, unfolded gradually, and there was a successive mental and moral growth in connection therewith. His organisation of soul and body was, therefore, precisely like that of His brethren. He would not be our brother in the full sense of the word if in *this respect any difference existed between him and us*.

Now it seems to be absolutely impossible—and this is the assertion maintained by those who call themselves the scientific, as well as by the Kenoticks,*—that the Son of God, the God-Man, in whom dwelt the Divine being and life in its absolute totality, and the whole undiminished fullness of the Godhead, should yet pass through a human, and therefore gradual development, and progress from stage to stage of moral perfection.

In order to bring this problem closer to our comprehension, it is indispensable to consider the creation and destination of the first created man, with whom the Holy Scripture places the Son of God in a very close parallel, by the appellation “the Second Adam.” (Rom. v. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 45.)

Man was originally created in God’s image and for his likeness. (Gen. i. 26, 27.) This image can, in the general, be no other than that to which we, as the result of redemption, are restored, since we are to be like the image of the Son of God. (Rom. viii. 29.) We are told in Gen. i. 26, 27, that man is this image; how he became so we learn from Gen. ii. 7: “And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.” According to the traditional explanation, the words “God the Lord formed man,” have reference only to the forming or creation of his body, and the rest, “He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,” to the communication of the created spirit. We hold this to be incorrect, but can only mention here a few opposing arguments. It will be generally acknowledged that man stands in a very close and concrete connection with the earth which bears him and by the fruits of which he lives. Not only the sophists, but also divines of the Church, as, for example, John Gerhard and Auerstedt, have designated him the epitome of the earth—nay, of the universe. The earth is the concrete premiss of the womb in which his body was conceived. But just so also of his soul. According to Gen. i. 24, the earth brings forth at God’s command living animals, and each after its kind. The soul of the beast was not, then, a supplementary creation; he rather received it, like his bodily orga-

* So called, seemingly, from their view of the meaning of Phil. 2, 7; ἐκένωσε.—*Editor*.

nisation, from the earth. It is an error to regard the earth as a *corpus mortuum*; such a thing could not possibly proceed from God—the essentially Living One—or be created by Him. The earth is a created image of the being and life of God; for only on this supposition can the “invisible things of Him from the creation of the world be clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.” (Rom. i. 20.) The earth, therefore, possesses a life, which, however, takes a definite form through the Divine creative word in vegetables and animals, and rises to even higher grades, according to the destination which each of these is to fulfil in the organisation of creation. Must we suppose man, then, to have been created on a different plan of operation? Does not the life of the soul in the animal stand in near relation with that in man, though the latter be specifically distinguished from the former by the fact that man possesses not only consciousness, but self-consciousness, and is exalted to the life of a person? Is the bond that connects man with nature and the earth simply a physical bond, and would he not be at once severed from earth by his own proper nature, if his soul were the product of an absolute creative act, and not of a relative, that is, of such an act as merely determined the already existing powers of nature to the creation of the soul of man? If the body is a separate creation, into which subsequently the soul is breathed, then soul and body stand in no organico-dynamic connection; they are outwardly in opposition; the soul could be in no way influenced or determined by the body, and could enter into no connection with the outer world. Would not this mode of creation need to be repeated in every case of human generation, and necessitate God’s breathing into every embryo a created soul? In what contradictions would this supposition involve us! Shall the beast have the advantage over man in the power of reproducing itself body and soul? And is not the germ of the soul in man subject, like everything else in nature, to a process of development? And does not this fact indicate that it must be derived from the father? Does not the mutual connection between body and soul, the mutual influences under which both grow and are developed together, point to a most intimate and, in a certain sense, even an indissoluble union between them? But we leave these questions, and only point attention to the fact that it is not said “God formed the *body*,” but “God formed *man*.”

We are men, however, only by virtue of the personal soul, as the animal is an animal only by virtue of the animal soul, with which, as well as with its body, it came forth from the earth. Into man God breathed, not the breath of life, as it is falsely translated, but *the spirit of life*, נִשְׁמַחַ חַיִּים. If man is renewed and restored to the image of God, only through the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, then, as he was created in and for that image, he must have originally, and

from the first, received that spirit. This appears also from John, xx. 22. Through their intercourse with their Lord and Master, more especially, however, by His personal testimony after His resurrection, the disciples were brought to a faith in Him which could not be shaken. So the Father had sent Him, so He sends them to be His witnesses and representatives, and for this work He breathes on them, and says, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit." They have actually received it, but only the first fruit of the Spirit—the promise of the Father, the Spirit of Glory, could only become their portion when the Lord Himself had again taken possession of His glory, and had sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high. In the passage above cited, the same word is used with which the Septuagint have translated the Hebrew "breathe into." The first created man also needed the Spirit of God, if he was to fulfil the command to keep the garden; if he was to withstand and overcome Satan. Finally, according to the view which regards the inbreathing of the breath of life only as the communication of a created spirit, the disobedience of Adam becomes an immeasurable benefit, for to this sin we owe the incarnation of the Son of God, redemption through His blood, the gifts of the Holy Ghost, sonship to God, and with it the promise that we, as the brethren of Jesus Christ, shall sit with Him on His throne, as His Father has given Him to sit on His throne (Rev. iii. 21); that with Him we may be raised far above all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come (Eph. 1, 21); for where He is in the glory which He possessed before the world was, shall they also, whom His Father hath given Him, be with Him. The immeasurable act of Divine love, the incarnation of the Son of God, which is not a temporary but an ever-abiding fact—for He retains His manhood, although transfigured, even in glory—is thus made dependent on the accident of the Fall, and the latter, on this view, receives a significance which is in positive contradiction with the tenor of Holy Scripture. For nowhere in Scripture is the Fall regarded as the condition by which man is raised to a higher dignity; but, on the contrary, as the cause of vanity and death, which have become his. Sin can never and in no wise be the cause of higher good, else Paul would be wrong when he condemns the foolish saying of some, "Let us do evil that good may come," by adding the words, "whose damnation is just." If, finally, the words of the Apostle (1 Cor. xv. 46) are brought forward as an opposing argument, "the first man, Adam, was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit;" the fact is overlooked that the last Adam was made a quickening spirit through his obedience. The first man was made a living soul by the addition of the Spirit of God, but he failed to make this, through his obedience, a personal possession. He could only become a quickening spirit

through his obedience, just as now believers, through the obedience of faith, receive in themselves a fountain of heavenly water, and from their body flow forth streams of living waters.

If, then, the soul of man received the Spirit of God, then manifestly it must have been organised in its creation for their reception; or in other words, man was originally created for the Spirit of God, and this Spirit is the complement by which man answers the Divine design, and fulfils his destiny. Except on this supposition, the Spirit of God is only externally superadded to the soul, and can enter into no organised union with it. Rightly, therefore, Augustine exclaims, "Thou, O Lord, hast created us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it rests in Thee." Through the fall, man has lost the Spirit of God; but, because he was created for that Spirit, a restless yearning has remained behind from his loss, a longing and sighing, which can find no satisfaction in the things of this world, but only in Christ, the Lord of the Spirit, and in the Spirit of Glory, which he receives through faith in Christ.

We have in these observations the basis for the proof of the oneness of the two natures in Christ (although this theological formula is not entirely correct), as also for the possibility of the thoroughly human development of the moral nature of the Son.

The Kenoticks hold a self-emptying of the Logos, a voluntary abnegation of the power or form of the Godhead, because they think a human development of Jesus Christ only possible on this condition. Apart from the fact that Holy Scripture in no way justifies such an assumption, nay, testifies to the contrary, such an explanation contradicts the idea of the Divine life and being, and would resemble in a measure an ethical suicide, since the Logos must divest himself, not only of his attributes, but also of his being, his self-consciousness and personality, hence also of love to his Father and to the sinful world, if indeed love is a free and voluntary determination of the personality. If the Lord had thus shorn himself of power, then the impulse to union with the human germ of the life in the womb of Mary, and the possibility of the communication of himself to it, would be utterly wanting. But we cannot enter upon a closer criticism of the teaching of the Kenotic doctrine, and think it needful only to remark that in reference to this problem too little regard has been had to the nature and conception of the soul. Because the Son of God took upon him the condition of human life in body, soul, and spirit, and indeed in the form of a servant, therefore it was a necessity that he should develope himself gradually alike in the natural and moral side of his life. But we say distinctly that he took humanity upon him in the form of a servant, which is evident from the fact that the Lord has laid aside the body of death with all the limitations proper to it, but has not laid aside His corporeal humanity. We must

say a few words in proof of this, and go back from there to the original Bible history.

The first man was, by virtue of the Spirit of God, a living soul, and as such stood in most intimate relation to that Spirit. The possibility and reality of this direct relation of the soul to the Spirit of God and of the Spirit of God to him, was founded on the purity and innocence of the soul. Such an union could only exist between the spirit of God and the soul, because the soul, although reduced from nature, had from the first a direct moral destiny. This is indeed exactly what was to be expected, for that which is directly created by God must in its origin correspond with His holy being. If God's invisible being, His eternal power and Godhead, can be seen in the world, then the world must be pervaded by ethical principles, which can first attain in man their destined moral development. The soul of man, was therefore so organised by God that by obedience to the Divine will, first of all, therefore, by avoiding the tree of knowledge and keeping the garden and with it himself, he should open, by virtue indeed of the same spirit, a free channel of operation for the spirit of God. The moral principles inherent in his soul would thus be sanctified, and would develop themselves in the steadfast conscientious conduct of the man. The *simply innocent* soul by this steady turning to the spirit of God, and by the communication of His living power, would have gone on from stage to stage of sanctification, and thus the possibility of sin within it would have been entirely destroyed. For the abstract possibility of sin lay in the first man, since body and soul were educed from the earth (which even then, with the exception, of Paradise, lay in the wicked one), although both, by the creative operation of God, had been purified from every sinful potency. If then, man had suffered himself to be led by the Spirit of God, and thus made the direct impartation of the same a personal possession, he would have been raised to a higher grade of life. The powers of eternal life would have penetrated the soul, and through it the body, and have glorified both more and more into a habitation of the Spirit of God. On the other hand—and this is the necessary converse—he must, if he gave ear to the father of lies, fall from the height on which God had placed him, (a height which is indicated by the fact that he inhabited Paradise, the place of the special presence of God, and the seat of the revelation of life), suffer the loss of the spirit as well as that of Paradise, and in consequence of his fall and disobedience make the power of evil operative within him, have the light of the same darkened, its life broken and fettered, and his physical nature deteriorated. The soul, as the principle of the life of the body, must necessarily, in its pristine condition, influence the formation of the life of the body, according to the direction which it took and the principles which it embraced. Here, in the fall of man, is the birthplace of the

flesh, which cannot inherit the kingdom of God. We cannot escape this conclusion; for on the one hand, it will not be denied that man came forth pure in body, soul, and spirit from the hand of God, and on the other hand Holy Scripture speaks of a power of evil in the flesh from the words, Gen. vi. 3, "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh," to the complaint of the Apostle in the course of his awakening to a new life, Rom. vii. 18, "for I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) there dwelleth no good thing." In consequence of man's disobedience the soul itself became carnalised, and thus became the principle of the carnal life in the flesh. The direct consequence was Adam's expulsion from Paradise, the place in which Jehovah and life had been revealed. Thus it appears why the believers of the Old and New Testament regarded themselves as pilgrims and strangers; for this earth is a strange land in comparison with Paradise, for which man was originally created. Hence it appears further why the Apostle calls the present conditions of body and soul "the form of a servant," and this fleshly body "a vile body" (Phil. iii. 21), a body of dishonour and of death (1 Cor. xv). We are sinners, and as such come short, not only of the honour, but the glory of God (Rom. iii. 23), which the first man in some way possessed. The powers of the soul as of the body, are, by becoming carnal, broken, and fettered, and therefore the Apostle complains (2 Cor. v. 4), "For we that are in this tabernacle," that is, this fleshly body, which he also calls, "this earthly home of our tabernacle," "do groan, being burdened."

We must realise to ourselves the original condition of the first created man, if we will understand much that appears remarkable in the life of the Redeemer. First of all, we think it necessary to assert that His generation in the flesh could not have commenced in the same way as that of ordinary men. This is not the place to enter more minutely into this subject. Holy Scripture testifies that Mary, the mother of the Lord, was with child by the Holy Ghost (Matt. i. 18—20); "for that which was conceived in her was of the Holy Ghost." It was not the Son of God, as such, who was generated of the Holy Ghost, but the human germ of a life fructified in Mary with which the Logos joined Himself in the closest union. This is the significance of the declaration, "The Word was made flesh;" "He made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant." As all the creative operation of the Logos is by the Holy Ghost, the beginning of His human life must also be determined by the Holy Ghost. This operation is at the same time to be regarded, as in the case of the first Adam, as purifying the germ of life, for the second Adam, as such, could enter on human life like the first, if not in absolutely the same relations, yet still under similar conditions, and in a similar condition. He is distinguished, however, from the first Adam in that He must needs take upon Him the likeness of

sinful flesh, and must therefore have been begotten and born in the form of a servant, because only so could He by Himself purge our sins. (Heb. i. 3.) By means of this body and its principle in the soul, He was exposed to the conflicts and temptations of desire and distress, without, however, any taint of sin or germ of evil in soul or body. His soul, like His body, was generated of the Holy Ghost, and both developed themselves within the Virgin's womb, with the constant co-operation of the Logos, who, from the first beginning of life, was preparing this soul for His habitation, till this body with the capacities for life, could see the light of this world.

Let us now consider somewhat more closely how the Logos could be united with this perfectly human condition of being, or with this perfect human personality, as from its very origin it was. Man consists of body and soul; the soul is at the same time the principle of the life of the body; it is in the blood, out of which it builds up the body. It stands, therefore in closest union with the body. But this is only one side of its relation. The soul is fundamentally related to God. We are created for Him in Christ, and therefore the conscience is, as it were, the power of the spirit; not of the Spirit of God, but of the human spirit. The soul, therefore, fulfils its divine idea and destiny, when this potency of the spirit is realised as a living power, which can be alone through the gift of the Holy Ghost. Only through Him is man a child and heir of God, a brother and joint heir with Christ. Now here, in this potency of the spirit, is the point at which—to use such an expression—the Logos enters; not, however, without having divested Himself of the form of God, or of the glory which He had with the Father before the world was.

It may now easily be perceived how Jesus must needs develop Himself after a natural and human manner. His soul, and, therefore, also his body, were purified through the operation of the Spirit of God, and thus received the possibility, but the possibility only, of a sinless and moral development. Man here below is born with a passive feeling. Our life develops itself gradually; at first we find ourselves only in an attitude of endurance, but we afterwards enter by our own acts into manifold relations with the outer world. None among us will deny that there have not been children who have continued in baptismal grace. Facts prove this. In such children there is already early present a deep consciousness of sinfulness, as also of Divine grace. In the child Jesus no consciousness of sin could arise from His own personal experience, but there must have awakened in Him, with the first dawning of consciousness, a feeling of His peculiar relation to His Father. We do not, of course, exclude that which would be aroused in Him by the education given by his parents, especially by his mother. Both parents had assuredly not forgotten that which

the angel had said to them of this child, and had kept in remembrance those wonderful events which had taken place immediately after His birth. They regarded Him as a sacred treasure entrusted to them, for the preservation of which from all evil they watched with unwearied care, in whose pure soul they early awakened love to His father, and whom they trained in obedience to their will, as in subjection to the Divine law. Only in a hallowed humble family life, such as was possible only in Israel, regulated by the fear of God, and waiting for the promised consolation, could this child grow up in accordance with His destiny. His mother and His foster father would assuredly from His earliest childhood have made him acquainted with the wonderful election and history of the people to which he belonged, with the revelations given to it as a nation, and the promises it had received, and would have instructed Him in all the laws, statutes, and judgments given by the Lord to Israel, as they sat in the house, as they walked by the way, as they lay down and as they rose up. (Deut. 6.) In His soul, which was in natural and closest union with the Spirit without measure, which he possessed as a direct adjunct, every word, every instruction of His parents, must have left a deep impression. Just so, every word of the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament, with which He early made Himself familiar, must have found a living echo in His soul, and the child and the boy Jesus must have discerned in the nature around Him God's eternal power and Godhead. In this continuous symmetrical growth of the inner and outer life, He gradually developed Himself, but in a progression which was continuous because unbroken by sin. With the growth of the body, His soul also strengthened, and only according to the measure of this development, which was also at the same time a development of His personality, and so attested by his own personal will and knowledge, He grew strong in spirit, that is in His human spirit, for the Spirit without measure could not grow and increase in power. Strong in spirit He could, however, only become, through the appropriation of the powers of the Spirit of the Logos, that is if, in proportion to the development of His body and soul, He made this direct adjunct of the Spirit a part of His personal life. His sinless soul was then a natural soul, which could be made entirely holy only by the right appropriation of the powers of the Holy Spirit, determined by the freedom of personal choice. Sinlessness is something negative, which needs the complement of holiness. Thus Paul says of the Son, Rom. i. 3, 4, that He is born of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power by the spirit of holiness.*

* The objection raised against this assertion, from Luke i. 35, in which the Son of God is called "that Holy thing," is without weight. He is "that holy thing," because in his human nature, body, soul and spirit, He was generated by the Holy Ghost, and is thus from the first distinguished

But this sinless, holy development is itself inconceivable, and a miracle in our eyes. This I am far from denying. The Son of God is the highest miracle of Divine love in history: but must we not conclude from the renewing and sanctifying influences, which proceeded and continually proceed from Him, that this was a sinless holy development? If in His youth He had committed any sin, if His absolutely pure development had been marred by one false decision of the will, contrary to the will of God, He could never be the Redeemer, but would Himself need redemption. We cannot indeed conceive such a sinless development, but only because we cannot know such a development in ourselves, partly also because we cannot represent to ourselves the abiding influence which takes place between a sinless soul and the Spirit of the Logos, moving and acting in the depths of the soul. To comprehend this we must ourselves be thoroughly sanctified in body, soul and spirit. This operation of the Spirit of the Logos was, however, not absolute, but relative in Jesus; and relative in a twofold aspect, being always conditional on the degree of the personal, and therefore of the ethical, development of the soul, as is expressed by the Evangelist in the words: "And Jesus grew in wisdom." Doubtless he was far in advance of other children of his age; indeed he stood among them in His religious relation as an exception; but still this wisdom will not have overstepped the measure of His age; only we must suppose a more exalted measure in his case, because His was a perfectly normal development. Assuredly he was not uplifted by this wisdom, but recognised it as a gift and grace from above; therefore the Evangelist adds, "That He grew in favour with God and man." This operation of the Spirit is further only relative, because the human soul is limited by the fleshly corporeal nature. This is the reason why the full measure of the Spirit cannot shine through it in absolute brightness. We carry the treasure of Divine grace in earthen vessels; we are flesh born of flesh, and this flesh is as a veil by which the glory of a gracious soul is hidden from itself. I am, perhaps, here making an assertion which does not carry your assent. But a simple consideration will prove its correctness. We are, through the Holy Spirit, children and sons of God, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Jesus Christ. This inheritance is the whole universe. He is not merely the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, but also by Him and for Him were all things created, and all power is given unto Him in heaven and on earth." The Lord himself testifies (Luke xxii. 29): "And I from other men, who are conceived and born in sin. This appellation as little excludes a moral development as those which describe the New Testament as holy. The Lord is "that Holy thing" according to His origin, in order that through His moral development in the perfect obedience of love He may become "the Holy One," and thus the Reconciler and Redeemer.

appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me." And, again, in the Revelation (iii. 21), "To him that overcometh will I give to sit down on my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father on His throne." His people are, therefore, to be exalted with Him above all principality and power and dominion, both in heaven and on earth; they are to be kings and priests unto God, and reign with Him for ever and ever. They receive thus a share in the government of the world, according to the measure of fidelity which they have here shown upon earth, and according to the measure of their personal individuality. But what does not this supreme dignity include? What qualities must belong to those who are to fulfil such a destiny? Can such qualities be conceived without the nature whence they spring, and can this nature be other than the Divine, of which believers have been made partakers? (1 Pet. i. 4.) But this Divine nature is the proper original glory of the Son, for He wills that His disciples be with Him to behold His glory and to be sharers in it. But, as he says, "I have given them the glory" (John xvii. 22), then they are already in fact in possession of it, but it doth not yet appear what they shall be, but when it shall appear they shall, in Christ, be like God. Let us add that they who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb, shall have part in the first Resurrection (and by this is to be understood, not the Resurrection at the Day of Judgment, but one taking place previously), and shall themselves take part in the judgment (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3); and we must admit that they must have already received here the conditions of the kingly dignity and destiny; yet they have not all these gifts and powers now in personal possession, and still less can they freely use them.

In this limitation of the life of the spirit by the material condition of the body, the Lord Himself shared during the first thirty years of His earthly career, though in a less degree than is the case with sinners; subsequently in His life there came a release, though only a partial release. This is the meaning of the Apostle's statement, that He came in the likeness of sinful flesh. The flesh and blood He had in common with sinners, but without sin. Nevertheless, the flesh was a veil for Him, which only once during His course on earth, in the Transfiguration on the Mount, was rent asunder. It is plain, therefore, why nothing remarkable or striking is recorded of His early years, although we know from what He says when He was twelve years old, that even in His youth He was fully conscious of standing in an altogether special relation as the Son to His Father. In the stillness and seclusion of His home at Nazareth, He grew up to manhood in apparently humble circumstances, amidst toil and labour for the maintenance of Himself and His family. His thirtieth year marks in Scripture the close of this period, the maturity of the

development of His human personality. Jesus assuredly assumed no singularity during the period of youth, but His demeanour must always have been grave and reserved. Neither the sports of childhood nor the amusements of youth could have any power of attraction for Him. If His destiny was disclosed to Him, at least in its general outlines, in His youth, we can only imagine Him engaged in deep and earnest meditation on it, in study of the Word of God, which He Himself had of old spoken by His Spirit through the prophets, and in devout prayer. Such an earnest self-contemplation explains to us the exact acquaintance with the Old Testament, evidenced in the years of His public ministry by every word of His preserved by the Evangelists, which is the fruit of a close and intelligent study of the same, not indeed in the sense of Rabbinical erudition, but in that sense in which, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, Scripture explains itself. Both His meditation on the purpose of His life, and His research into sacred Scripture by which Jesus even more and more accurately determined His course, were alike sustained by prayer, which was the foundation of His life. In prayer, this vital breath of His spirit, He offered Himself unreservedly in full obedience to His Father, and prepared Himself for the great sacrifice which He was to accomplish. That such a life should be understood by those around Him was not to be expected, even though His mother had a conception of the rich spiritual treasures which, through this constant intercourse with His Father, had been poured into His soul. Thus He stood, alone and unknown, among those around, and thus is explained the surprising impression which His gracious words subsequently produced upon the inhabitants of Nazareth, who deridingly asked, "Is not this Joseph's son?" Neither did His brethren (perhaps by a first marriage of Joseph's) believe on Him, for up to His thirtieth year they had not discovered or observed anything remarkable in Him. The "meek and quiet spirit," which is in the sight of God "of great price," can only be discerned by those who walk before God in the same spirit.

At length the time came, when, by the will of His Father, He was to begin His public ministry. For this, He needed a two-fold preparation. In the baptism in the Jordan, to which He submitted in order "to fulfil all righteousness," the Holy Ghost, under the symbol of a dove, appeared upon Him. The Son of God, the Logos, could not receive the Holy Ghost; as such, He possessed that Spirit without measure from the first; but the man Christ Jesus could, nay, must, receive it in richer measure than hitherto He had. The Logos, the Lord of the Spirit, had, as has been already observed, linked itself directly with the germ of the life of man in the womb of Mary. This direct gift He must needs make a part of His own personal life, by the constant, humble, self-denying obedience of faith. This, in the

strength and grace of the Spirit, was the work of His life up to His thirtieth year. Up to this point He stands in the same relation to the Holy Spirit and His operation, as every believing Christian, only that in Him the relation is absolutely pure and normal, while in Christians, through the cleaving of sin, it is obscured and therefore hindered. This ethical operation of the Spirit of the Logos, was therefore in Him absolutely perfect, and His soul, His human personality, was pervaded and hallowed by it. In this respect, He needed no further anointing of the Spirit, but for the completion of the work committed to Him by His Father, He did. The Scripture, therefore, (Acts x. 18, comp. Luke iv. 18,) ascribes all His mighty acts done in the power of the Spirit to the anointing with the Spirit, as that which not only outwardly preceded them, but inwardly prepared for them, so that this unction of the Spirit appears as the Divine act of ordination for His work as the Christ—for His Messianic career. The baptism in Jordan was therefore as much the conclusion of His foregoing life, and the anointing of the Holy Spirit the reward and fruit of that life, as the seal of the Divine favour. Therefore that voice from Heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," was at the same time the sign of His vocation as the Redeemer.

The question arises whether, by this anointing of the Spirit, His human personality ceased, and its centre of gravity was transferred to the Spirit of the Logos? To this we give a positive answer in the negative. As a man, He received His anointing, and He never, during His sojourn on earth, laid aside His human personality. Its limitations, as they must needs have existed during His earthly life, were not removed, for the Son of God was to walk by faith, and not by sight; although, indeed, in accordance with the idea and destiny which the first man before the fall represents they were widened. Therefore He is called the second Adam. In Him we may see what were the gifts and powers of the first man. In His person, by his loving obedience, He recovered that which was lost. We suppose, therefore, that by virtue of this anointing He became perfectly conscious of His Father's will as to His life's work, as He had already fully realized that the will of God was the perfection of His moral life. As the Father loves the Son, so likewise did the Son love the Father; and as the Father in His love shows the Son all things that He doeth (John v. 20), so He could in fullest consciousness say, "I do always the things that please Him." The purpose of God for Him lay in all its intent and in all its details before His mind's eye, and from this time He knew all that should befall Him. His relation to His Father was now revealed to Him in all its depth. If, from His youth up, He had known Him as His Father, He now recognised with unwavering assurance that He had proceeded from the Father, that from all

eternity He was with the Father, that He had within Himself the fountain of the Divine life, that before the foundation of the world He had possessed a glory with Him, and that He was the light and life of men, inasmuch as He was the express image of the invisible God. On this clear self-consciousness rest His declarations: "I and the Father are One;" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;" "All mine are Thine, and Thine are mine." In His human personality, armed with the might of the Spirit of the Logos, consists His power to work miracles. Though, at the resurrection of Lazarus, the Lord says, "I know that Thou hearest me always," these words are not to be understood as though He received a special gift of power for each separate miracle; they are simply meant to express that every miracle is only wrought in consequence of the will of His Father clearly revealed to Him, and that He was Himself uniformly conscious of having received, as a gift, the power to work miracles. In the humility of His loving obedience, He Himself steps wholly into the background, and the Father to the foreground. "The words," He says therefore, "which I speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in me; He doeth the works." And yet they manifest the power and freedom of His Divine human personality, and are the revelations of His inner concealed glory.

Thus have we also an explanation of the marvels of His intuitive knowledge and discernment, the searching glance of His mind's eye penetrating to the innermost depth of things. We may not regard this intuitive perception, this piercing gaze, as simply an endowment of his Divine nature; He possessed it as a man, though indeed as the purely normal man, in whom the union of the Divine life of the Logos with the human personality, of the "Spirit without measure" with the human spirit, had been perfectly realized, yet without any violation of the limits connected with the form of a servant which he had assumed. For this reason the Lord could not possess all knowledge; that is, the whole universe did not lie in any way naked and open before Him. Such universal knowledge could only belong to Him after His resurrection, when, His redeeming work being fulfilled, the bonds of the form of a servant fell from Him. He shares, in this respect, the lot of His brethren, who shall be partakers of the first resurrection. We repeat, that the Second Adam could be endowed only with the gifts and powers which the first man possessed before the fall. When we are told that the animals were brought before Adam that he should give them names, we are not to infer that he named them arbitrarily, but that the name bestowed expressed the nature of the animal. Such a work implies in Adam an intuitive perception, a vision penetrating deep into the nature of things. On this, His power and dominion over the animal kingdom are based. In this respect the saying, *Scientia est potentia*, is a truth. A further

analogy of such intuitive perception we have in the clairvoyance of somnambulism. This (which is a fact past contradiction) is a diseased state, but remarkable on this account: that in it there is a comparative loosing and liberation of the soul from the fetters of the body, that the former ceases to be bound to the organs of the latter for her perceptions; nay, sometimes even for her active operations; and discerns more clearly the properties of things, if not their final basis. It belongs to the endowment with the Divine Spirit, that the limits of space and time are extended, and even the law of gravity is sometimes suspended. If this is possible, even in the natural state of man, how much more in the Son of God, whose soul was permeated with the powers of His Divine life? This condition, however, is obviously conceivable as one not diseased and abnormal, but, on the contrary, perfectly sound and normal. The natural life of our Lord was already, in its generation by the Holy Ghost, prepared for such a dominion over the body. What we term a condition of ecstasy was for Him, from the time of His baptism, a thoroughly regular and natural condition; and the disciples themselves, after they had received the Holy Ghost in His fullness, possessed an intuitive perception, though not in the same measure as their Lord. Man, as he was first created, is a born prophet, but this, his normal nature, is fettered and marred by the predominance of the life of the flesh, to which he is in bondage, and rarely comes to development. If it were not so, prophecy would be absolutely impossible, or an unnatural condition, and one in contradiction with the nature of man. It would be an illusion of the Apostle Paul's, that he was, as he says, caught up, as it were, unto the third heaven, nay, into Paradise itself, and heard unspeakable things. For this fact, which is not more wonderful than the condition of the Lord after His baptism, rests upon the same principles, namely, on the possibility of the comparative liberation and severance of the soul from the fetters of the body. Very notable is it that Paul adds, "Whether in the body I cannot tell, or whether out of the body I cannot tell;" for in this there is the indication that, in some way or other, the soul was freed from the body. This is not the place to go deeper into this subject. Our task was only to show that the miraculous facts of discernment, of outstepping the limits of time and space, and of the law of gravity, were consistent with our Lord's being a man, only the normal man. He has, as the second Adam, represented upon earth the ideal of humanity in its fullest integrity and perfection. And in the body of those who are His, there exists even now an immeasurable power and liberty, although, in the glory of His operations, the Holy Spirit does not manifest Himself in at all the same fullness as in the primitive Church at Jerusalem. The reasons for this limitation we cannot enter upon here.

The temptation of our Lord in the wilderness also bespeaks His

assuming of a condition thus at once special and normal. We pass by the various explanations, and say it was the mission of the Lord first of all to overcome the world. (John xvi. 33.) He could only overcome it, however, by overcoming the Prince of the world, in whom were concentrated all the powers of malice, deceit, and death, as in Christ were all the powers of love and truth and life. The same task was committed to the first man, but he did not fulfil it. The Lord took it up again, and He, the stronger, overcomes and binds the strong. Satan was compelled to take up the conflict with Him, who had come for the purpose of destroying the works of the devil. During Christ's childhood and youth, temptation came to Him only somewhat in the same form as we experience them, but with this difference, that they never exercised any power over His mind. From His baptism His temptations were of a much deeper order. Paul says (2 Cor. xii. 7), "Lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me." The exalted revelations he had received were those in which he had a glimpse of the wonders of Paradise, and heard unspeakable words full of spirit, and life and glory. He has thus been made a partaker in the highest revelations which man, in this bodily life, can receive. Such a condition could not have been possible, as has already been said, without a loosening of the bonds between soul and body. But his soul was therefore now exposed also to the direct temptation of the father of lies. As his eye had been opened to see the invisible, so could the darkness press also closer upon him. The fleshly body is not only a result of sin, but also a gift of grace, because a shield against the darts of the wicked one. It is a fact that the soul, in its comparative freedom from the body, is much more sensitive to influences from without. Such a comparative liberation takes place in some measure also in advanced Christians. They experience, in an especial manner, the truth of the apostolic declaration: "We wrestle not with flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." As the Apostle must needs experience such conflicts and temptations, so assuredly must the Lord, our forerunner, the Author and Finisher of our faith, encounter the assaults of deepest cunning and malice. The Lord was led by the Spirit into the wilderness in order there to prepare and strengthen Himself in prayer for the fulfilment of the Divine purpose. Here He encountered those temptations, coming undoubtedly from without, which were based partly on His relation to His Father, partly on His mission as the Redeemer, partly on His position to the world. They were temptations of appetite, self-exaltation, and egotistical assumption of rule. In the mental condition of the Lord at that time, when the path of suffering which

He was to tread lay distinctly before His mind's eye, these temptations were as artfully laid as they were enticing. We cannot go further into detail; we only wished to show that these temptations at the commencement of His public career were so necessary, inasmuch as they appealed especially to the human side of His consciousness: the Lord came forth from them victoriously, and thus overcame every further temptation of desire. That the final temptations through suffering came from the same prince of darkness, the Lord himself tells us (John xiv. 31): "The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me." How bitter that cup was which He had to drink, who can tell? In His suffering, temptations came to Him, the depth of which we shall only know in eternity. How great must have been the power of malice and darkness in these assaults, when He himself exclaims "My soul"—the soul which was filled with the Spirit without measure—"is sorrowful, even death!" And this state lasted, as it seems, to the moment of His death, and found its deepest utterance in the words: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me." An objective truth must lie at the basis of this cry, for the Lord could not be deceived either about Himself or His relation to His Father. The Spirit of the Logos bore witness continually with His human spirit, that He was the Son of the Divine love, of which He was also perpetually conscious in its full measure. Here, however, the stream of the Divine life seems to be checked in its flow, because the Lord, as a man, (that is with the Divine power of life which had sanctified His soul to be the perfect temple of the Spirit of the Logos,) was to sustain the heavy conflict, and as the Lamb of God, to bear the curse of sin. Advanced Christians pass through a similar experience. The Spirit of God witnesses with their spirit that they are the children of God, but they are compelled sometimes, without the consciousness of the nearness and love of their Saviour, and without the sensible witness of the Spirit to their adoption, to cling by bare faith to the invisible, as though they saw Him. What they thus experience is only in remote analogy that which the Lord had to prove in the hours of His bitterest anguish and hardest conflict.

And why must He thus suffer? The Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 10) answers: "For it became Him for whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings." And again (iii. 8): "Though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered." Here that which is referred to is obviously not a perfecting of the union of the Logos with the human spirit of the Lord, but only of his moral perfection. This alone remained—that He should endure even these sufferings with the most perfect patience and meekness, and the most self-renouncing obedience of love.

We have then ascertained that it is at least a possible thing to solve in some measure the problem of the moral development of the Lord, if we bring to our aid the indications which Holy Scripture gives us in part of the relation of the Divine Spirit to the human.

Only one question remains for us to answer, and that the most difficult, which is presented to us in the doctrine of the oneness of the two natures in Christ, or rather in the doctrine of the union of the personal Logos with the full conditions of human life in the man Christ Jesus. It is the following:—According to Col. i. 16 (comp. John i. 1—3; Heb. i. 1—3), not only are all things that are in heaven and in earth, in the Son of God, but also are created by Him and for Him, so that He is their operative aim, and indeed in Him and in Him alone all things consist. It is self-evident that it is not a mere passive existence, but one in the highest degree active, which is here spoken of. This explanation is supported by Heb. i. 3, according to which passage He upholds all things by the word of His power. Did then this immanent relation of the world and its subsistence in Him cease at His incarnation?

This we must decidedly negative, since He stands in a necessary, not in an arbitrary or accidental relation to the world—a relation sustained by His personal acceptance of the fulfilment of the Divine counsel, and therefore free and solvable. It follows, however, that this relation, in its whole extent, must have subsisted during His sojourn upon earth. The upholding the world by the word of His power or by the might of His will is a personal self-conscious acting. It is, in a word, the upholding and government of the world, which the Son accomplishes with a steadfast eye to the will of His Father. The government of the world implies the attributes of omnipotence, wisdom and omniscience, and not these only, but absolute self-consciousness, as connected with the Divine nature. As in God, omniscience arises from the absolute knowledge of Himself, and omnipotence from the absolute determination and willing of His own ideal, of His own nature, so also is it with the Son of God.*

If, however, it is maintained that as man the Lord ruled the world,

* It has been maintained in the discussion of this question that Christ, when He took upon Him the form of a servant, emptied Himself, not indeed of His love, but of His omnipotence. This assertion is incorrect. The Son of God, from His immanent and real personal relation to the world could not renounce His omnipotence. Omnipotence also is not a formal or merely voluntarily assumed attribute: it is essential to His being. He could only lay aside His omnipotence by laying aside His nature and life; but then He would not only cease to be the Son of God, He would cease altogether to be Divine, or to exist as a person at all. As man, on the other hand, He was undoubtedly not almighty, because His attributes were limited and bound by the form of a servant. Theology has not sufficiently examined the nature and being of the soul and its relation to body and spirit, and therefore it is too easily misled into untenable assertions.

then those limits of His human consciousness are infringed which must have been upon Him from the first dawn of His human life in the womb of Mary. His human development would then be only an illusion, and the redemption and reconciliation of man, nay, the whole purpose of His coming, would fail.

There remains, then, only the supposition of a double consciousness: a consciousness of the Logos, and a separate human consciousness in a relation to it which we have yet to explain.

It has been already remarked above that the believer possesses far greater treasures in the inner life than he is ordinarily conscious of. This circumscribing of the ordinary or brain consciousness is a feature of the form of the servant—of the life of man in the flesh—which is only exceptionally interrupted or removed, as sometimes in cases of clairvoyance or at the approach of death. A consciousness, a will and perception, cannot be denied to this inner life underlying our ordinary consciousness, for the Ego, or self-consciousness, is nothing real, but simply the representation of something real, that is, of the being of the soul. In support of this assertion we adduce only a few facts. Alexander Hubert (see J. L. Pastarant, "Researches into Animal Magnetism," 1837, p. 100) received a local injury to the brain, from a severe blow, in his fourth year. He was operated upon, but became nevertheless insane, and completely lost his memory. The boy became magnetized and a somnambulist. The most severe attacks of frenzy, in which he often became malicious and destructive, were quieted as soon as the hand of the magnetizer touched him. His memory returned in the state of somnambulism, and he distinctly remembered all that had happened to him in his life. Thus this boy led a wonderful double life; one waking, in which the impressions of the moment quickly passed away; and another in a somnambulist state, in which his whole past life was brought back to him, and he often foretold for several months to come all that befell him. In the same way a somnambulist, of whom Barbarin tells, led a double life at the same time. She fell sometimes, apparently, outwardly into a wholly animal condition. When again in a state of somnambulism, however, she spoke of her spirit as having been, during her times of frenzy, freed from the material, and actively engaged in a pure world of clairvoyance. At *St. Jean de Maurienne*, in Savoy, there lived, as Justinus Aerner tells us, a cretin, who in his ordinary waking condition was deaf and dumb. He often fell, however, into a somnambular condition, without any external cause, and he then spoke very distinctly, intelligibly and reasonably.

In their results these facts are highly remarkable and important. They prove by experience that the nature of our spirit is not dependent on its organs, that the injury or destruction of one organ through which our soul acts may prevent the expression of the capabilities of

the spirit in its external manifestations only, but can have no influence over the faculty itself; that the soul is infinitely more richly endowed than we are able to gather from its expression in ordinary waking consciousness. It proves that the soul may even have a freer activity without its organs, and that in a condition in which it is less dependent upon its instruments, it can develop itself in a different manner. The inward power remains therefore intact in conditions in which diseases of the soul or body prevent its expression; it can even inwardly grow and mature, though the instruments through which it manifests itself become unavailable. Such an activity of the spirit may be supposed, by analogy, in many cases of idiocy, insanity, and second childhood. This comforting view is confirmed by experience in the case of some mental sufferers, who, on recovery, have reached a higher stage of mental and moral development than before their illness. It appears, therefore, probable that they, like the somnambulists mentioned, were active in a manner which did not come within the outer consciousness.

A story related by Schubert ("Symbolik des Traumes," 2nd ed., p. 218,) of a woman who had been twenty years insane, is especially remarkable in this respect. She died in November, 1781, in a small town of the *Untermärk*, aged 47. In her lucid intervals this woman has shown a quiet submission to a higher will, and a pious composure. Four weeks before her death, she at length awoke from her painful dream of twenty years. But those who had known her before her insanity scarcely recognised her now in her changed condition, so ennobled, expanded, and elevated were all the powers and feelings of her spiritual nature, and so dignified her expression. She spoke things at this time with a clearness and an inward perception—things which man in his present condition rarely comes to know, even superficially. Her history excited attention. The learned and unlearned, the cultivated and the rude, thronged around this remarkable sick bed, and all were constrained to confess that if the sick woman, during the time of her insanity, had enjoyed the intercourse and instruction of the most learned and enlightened men of her time, her mind could not have been more cultivated nor her range of knowledge higher or more comprehensive than it actually was, when she awoke from what was to all appearance a long and deep captivity of all the powers.

From these and similar facts we conclude that a double consciousness is not a momentary and passing, but an abiding thing. The deep background of life, the wealth of the soul, appears never or most rarely to enter into the ordinary consciousness. This ordinary or brain consciousness, connected with our bodily organization, is connected with our physical organization, and the soul is inwoven in this as in the surrounding life. As, however, the soul has a relation

to the life of the body, and through it to the world, so it has a relation also to its own deepest spiritual basis, and, in the believer, to the Spirit of God working in him, designed to impart the power of that Spirit as a personal possession. In both directions it works through the will, which is a personal attribute of the consciousness. In the deeper consciousness the horizon of the ordinary consciousness is comprehended, while, on the other hand, the former remains wholly concealed from the latter. The former, therefore, we designate as self-consciousness, the entire unfettered condition of the spirit; the latter as a partial form of the same, much limited in its capabilities.

In a similar sense, the Lord had also a double consciousness—had forms of consciousness related to each other as concentric circles, of which the one is within the other.*

The basis of His human consciousness was the nature of his soul, to which the power of the Logos were absolutely imparted by means of the steadfast relation maintained between them. The soul of Jesus is to the Logos somewhat as the Holy to the Most Holy. The light and life of the Logos, divested, however, of the form and glory of the Godhead, became through His self-consciousness the possession of the soul of Christ. The self-consciousness of the Lord is, therefore, in quality, the same consciousness which He possesses as the Logos, and in this respect the personality of both was identical, only in a manner corresponding with the present condition of the body, by which the soul is more or less fettered. We may, therefore, say that there were not properly two different forms of consciousness, but that the forms of consciousness in the Logos had a much wider range, and correspondingly a much more comprehensive operation, than the form of consciousness in the man Jesus. The former embraces the whole world with all that in it is, even to the very first elements of glory; the latter, on the contrary, is limited to the being of the soul, as it has appropriated to itself the light and life of the Logos, and its

* From the rich literature on this double life of the soul we quote only from J. H. Fichte's "Anthropology," second edition, 1860, the following passages. P. 385. "Clairvoyance in general is a development of the double life in which the two worlds of this double consciousness separate more decidedly from each other and stand the more entirely apart, the more completely the condition of somnambulism is realized. To this we must add the second characteristic but equally universal fact, that in the clairvoyant condition the horizon of ordinary consciousness is included, while the former remains perfectly concealed from and wholly forgotten by the latter. The former we hold to be the full consciousness, the altogether unfettered condition of the spirit; the latter a partial, and in its capabilities, a much limited form of the same." And again, p. 390: "That full and original consciousness is to be compared to the deepest and most thorough awaking, or revelation of man to himself, in which the two halves of his being lie equally clear and open, while in the ordinary day life, which might be perhaps more rightly called an uncertain twilight life, these deeper experiences remain wholly concealed and unapproachable."

operation in the fulfilment of the divine purpose of redemption, which is an integral feature of the form of consciousness of the Logos. As, however, the purpose of redemption rests on the Divine purpose of creation, this could not be hidden from the man Christ Jesus. By virtue of this complete adjustment of the spirit and life of the Logos, the Lord could say with perfect truth, "I came forth from the Father. Before Abraham was, I am. I came down from heaven. I am the way, the truth, and the life, the light of the world." So also can believers say, "We are the children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ; though it doth not yet appear what we shall be." "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." They, in like manner, have adjusted to themselves the Spirit of Christ, and are become new creatures, who no more live to themselves, but to Him who died for them and rose again. They are dead to their carnal Ego, and yet the Ego is essentially the same as before the new birth, only that it has now received a new import.

Still further, the Apostle Paul very clearly points to such a double consciousness in the words, "the good that I would I do not, but the evil that I would not, that do I." He here distinguishes two Egos, the one desiring the good, the other working the evil. The same distinction appears in v. 22 and 23, in which he speaks indeed of an "inward man" as in direct opposition to the outward man, or the law in his members. The expression "inward man" involves more than the Apostle had just before conveyed by the "Ego." It is the conscience stirred to its depths by the law and the operation of the Spirit of God, which confronts the outward man with a power and authority from which he cannot escape. It is notable that this inward man, or the conscience, speaks to him in the form of the Ego. We might designate it the true Ego, opposed to the false Ego, or to the Ego which is untrue to itself. Emphatically, these two Egos, or forms of consciousness, are not those of our Lord; there can be no such contradiction in His nature as in that of the sinful man, warring against the outward nature; yet the same contrast is present, but in another form. What we wish to set forth is simply this: that as the regenerate man has in himself a much greater treasure of the Divine life and of the Divine nature or glory than he is conscious of; that as the conscience spiritually enlightened stands in closest union with the Redeemer, without being fully conscious in daily experience of this life of love; so, or rather in a similar sense, the Lord possessed as the Logos the same fullness of life as the Father, and the glory which the Father had given him, but this fullness He could only recognise and exert in the measure possible to a soul limited by the physical life of the body. Into the full possession of His glory He could only enter when the fleshly form of the servant had been altogether glorified through His Ascension. This He himself points out when He

says in John xvi. 7, "I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you. But if I depart, I will send Him unto you." The fullness of the Spirit of truth He could only pour out when He was glorified again with the glory which he had with the Father before the world was, when the Logos had laid aside the form of the servant at the Ascension and reassumed the form of God.*

* The author's design was to recast the foregoing paper, so as more fully to meet the views of opponents and to establish his own; but he has been unavoidably prevented doing so. He reserves to himself therefore the right of republishing the contents of this essay in another form, with the necessary expansion, so as more thoroughly and fully to establish his assertions.

KEERL.

THE QUESTION OF AN INDEPENDENT MORALITY.

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Two years ago there appeared in Paris a new popular journal, which inscribed on the front of its first number the following declaration of principles:—"There is one law above all others, conformed to reason, written in the heart, whose voice dictates our rights and our duties, whose threatenings deter us from evil. Of this law nothing should be retrenched, nothing changed. No power in the world can free us from its obligation. It needs neither commentator nor interpreter. It is the same everywhere, the same to-day, the same to-morrow; it embraces all people, all times. Not to obey it is to abnegate one's self, to divest one's self of the character of man, to inflict on one's self terrible pain, even when one may escape from all punishment."

Further, the journal demanded, on what this moral law was based; and after having established that it could not be derived, because to be permanent and universal it ought to rest on a fact, patent, undeniable, and universal, it discovered this fact in the instinctive sentiment which every man possesses of his personal dignity, from which flows the idea of right. "This respect for human personality (it added) every man strongly feels to be equally demanded for others, from which duty follows, which is only the right acknowledged in others."

On this basis of the dignity of human nature morality rests. Sovereign and self-dependent, it ought to repudiate all dependence on religion and every sort of philosophy. At this price only can humanity attain, by means of morality, to the unity which religion and philosophy have been hitherto equally impotent to impart.

Such is the programme of the school of which I have to speak, and which, under the name of *MORALE INDÉPENDANTE*, aspires to become the bond of modern society. I am not now to recount the sharp controversies which this thesis has called forth. Combated with éclat from the high position of the pulpit of Notre Dame, it made for many weeks a great noise in France. This is at present lulled, but the question remains not the less worthy of serious examination, and I cannot but be grateful to the Conference for having given it a place among their transactions.

Before entering upon this discussion I ought to declare that in my view there is in it, at one and the same time, a great error and a generous aspiration.

The men against whom I am about to contend have a yearning after unity, and this unity they seek after in morality: there is here a tendency worthy of all respect. They look at our tortured epoch, and the unity they desiderate they believe religion will be always incapable of giving to the world: there is here a grand error. "Ours," they say, "is an age of criticism; the enlightened classes no longer believe. Besides, by what doctrine would you regulate conduct? If by a religion, will you select Mohammedanism, Judaism, Christianity? In Christianity itself, to what communion will you direct us? If by a philosophy, to whom shall we listen? *Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Descartes, Spinoza, Hegel*? Criticism has disturbed everything. But since heaven and the absolute escape from us, we must seek a starting point on earth. But at the bottom of the human conscience there is an immovable fact: duty. In the fact of duty, interpreted according to the scientific method, we shall find the whole rule of life; then we shall have a solid basis. On this basis the right of modern society rears itself. Emancipated at length from all speculative opinions, which will at least charm or console individual minds without having anything to do with the regulation of life, society will at last practise toleration, and the generations that follow us, united in an eternal morality, will bless the memory of the firm and courageous men who, giving to an enfranchised conscience its proper place and dignity, will have laid an immovable foundation for private virtue and the public good."* Let us avow that there is here an illusion, confessedly a grand illusion, and more than once, in reading the pages which it has inspired, we have been moved by the tones of a generous and sincere ardour.

To this observation we will add another. If the idea of God must, in the estimation of a great number of our contemporaries, be eliminated from morality, it is because this idea represents, in their view, the arbitrary, and the arbitrary is the very annihilation of morality. This is a problem which religious philosophy has encountered from the beginning. Is a thing good because God wills it, or does God will it because it is good? This is the question which *Socrates*, in one of the immortal treatises of his disciple, discusses with the soothsayer *Euthyphron*. Let us suppose that the will of God is the only rule of morality; let us suppose that God should, when it pleased him, command lying, and perfidy, and cruelty; it is certain that, in the face of this frightful arbitrariness we could no longer speak of justice; then, in the magnificent words of *Rousseau*, "we should desire that the holy voice of nature, stronger than that of the gods, would make itself to

* Ernest Naville. Bibliothèque Universelle, 1866.

be respected on earth, and crime with the criminals be relegated to heaven." Let us suppose, on the other hand, that God appears to us as subjected to what our conscience calls good: it follows that the human conscience becomes the supreme law, and that, the idea of God descending to the second rank, morality becomes in fact independent. This problem the Christian Revelation disposes of in the most admirable manner, by founding morality, not upon the will of God, but upon his very nature, in the image of which man was created. Have you reflected on those simple but sublime words of the Old Covenant, "Be ye holy, *for* I am holy"?—words which Jesus Christ in his turn reproduced, stamping or marking them with an evangelical accent, when he said, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." By this word you observe that morality is for ever detached from the arbitrary without deposing Divine authority to an inferior place. Goodness thus becomes in our view the very expression of the Divine essence; the Gospel becomes, in the beautiful language of *Vinet*, "the conscience of conscience itself," and morality has found an eternal foundation.

Let us do this justice to the Roman Catholic Church, that, in the tradition of her most illustrious doctors, she has remained faithful to this instruction. Her great authority, *Thomas Aquinas*, is perfectly explicit upon it. God, he says, can only will that which is conformable to His nature. Unhappily, in practice, and above all in ecclesiastical polity, there is a singular deviation from this grand principle. They have made of the will or the glory of God a supreme end, which sanctifies the acts it inspires. The strongly prevalent idea of the necessity of pious frauds, of the holiness of the Inquisition, of the lawfulness of deceit and violence, apology for regicide, in a word, all casuistry, with its monstrous errors, have no other foundation. St. Augustine himself is not clear in this matter, for in one too famous passage he justifies lying, when it may serve the interests of the kingdom of God. When Ravaillac, drawing his dagger from the side of Henry IV., cried out, "May Jesus always be in my heart the conqueror!" he did but obey the doctrine that the end justifies the means; and this doctrine Ultramontane Catholicism has never openly renounced. Hence, throughout half Europe, a divorce more and more profound and irremediable between morality and religion. There is no progress, no legitimate extension of justice, nor more equitable assessment of imposts and public charges, which has not been opposed, sometimes cursed, in the name of God; and on the other hand, no flagrant violation of the liberties of the people, no violation of law, no perjury even, that has not received a ready absolution, that has not been blessed if it tended to the advantage of the Church. The Church being the supreme good, whatever serves it is just; force, violence, deceit, are sanctified when they are inspired by the glory of God;

thus has been formed, under the shade of religion, that which *Mazimo D'Azeglio* called a *conscience artificialisée*. Meantime, in an opposite direction, a lay morality has grown up, which, borrowing its most generous tendencies from Christianity, and preoccupied with the social benefit of the greater number, the elevation of the inferior classes, and the extension of rights hitherto possessed only by the privileged, calls on all sides for popular instruction, science, progress in all its forms. But this morality has also its want of foresight and blindness; unjust to the past, it is full of illusions respecting human nature; forgetful of the gravity of the moral disorder which Christianity calls *sin*; it occupies itself more with social man than with the individual man; it ignores the deep wants of the human soul, and moreover the spirit of opposition leads it to rid itself of all idea and authority of religion. Between these two tendencies a conflict rages, of which we can everywhere discern the burning tract, in politics, in instruction, in science, in literature, in the school, and even at the domestic hearth, where it places in antagonism the mother and the daughter, the husband and the wife.

I have said what I could, I do not say to justify, but to explain the pretensions of this Independent Morality. To say so is only just; besides which, it is well, while admitting what has a foundation in the complaints of our adversaries, resolutely to scatter all misunderstandings which would obscure the debate.

Having said this, I make two preliminary observations on the subject to be discussed which will serve to elucidate the question.

It is not the first time that the attempt has been made to represent morality as being independent of revealed religion; it may indeed be said that this was the scope of the entire polemics of the eighteenth century. In this city of Amsterdam an anonymous book was published a century ago by *Baron D'Holbach*, the title of which was "*Morality founded upon Nature*," sufficiently showing this tendency. But the eighteenth century, in emancipating morality, attached itself either to deism, with *Voltaire* and *Rousseau*, or to naturalism, with *D'Holbach* and *Diderot*. It is not the first time even that morality has been divorced from every system of religion or philosophy, and based simply on human *autonomy*; all *Kant's* efforts tended to this point. In fact it is certain, that if *Kant* has introduced into morality the idea of God and of a future state, as postulates of practical reason, to render its obligation more venerable, and especially to fortify it with their sanction, he nevertheless declares, that even without these postulates, morality retains its authority. *Kant* is then, in one sense, the real father of Independent Morality, but in desiring it to be independent, he does not pretend to separate it from religion; on the contrary, by the two ideas just mentioned, he provides a relation, which he deems necessary, between these domains.

The school of which I am speaking to-day assumes another attitude altogether. It aims at substituting itself definitively for religion, in the practical direction of humanity.

My second remark is, that in the subject we are examining there are two distinct parties. In the first place, there is the general, and as I shall show, the ancient idea, that morality should be set free from all religious and metaphysical systems; in the second place, the altogether novel experiment to make morality grow out of the principle of human dignity, to found duty in a word upon right. But if the first of these ideas has rallied to itself, as cannot be doubted, numerous adhesions, it is not so with the second. Sustained exclusively by the journal of the party, it is vigorously combated by a great number of the partisans of the Independent Morality, amongst whom two groups of adversaries are especially to be distinguished: the old Saint Simonians, who are unanimous in bringing the idea of love into the constituent principle of morality, and the Positivists, who base morality on the double sentiment of *egoism* on the one part, and *altruism* on the other—a barbarous word which *Augustus Comte* has given to the old Christian virtue which we call love.

Having made these observations, I shall first examine the general subject of an Independent Morality, from the double point of view of History and Logic.

I will then analyse the particular principle upon which the school I am opposing pretends to build up morality.

To this analysis I shall oppose that of the facts which in my view constitute moral action, and prove that these facts are unfavourable to the thesis of our adversaries.

Lastly, transporting the discussion to the special territory of Christianity I will endeavour to show what is its natural attitude as confronted with the school of the Independent Morality.

A large and beautiful programme, to the development of the principal characteristics of which I must confine myself.

Let us then, in the first place, interrogate history, and demand if it is true, according to the thesis of our opponents, that the law of morality is everywhere the same, amongst all people, in all times.

History replies, that in all times, in all places, among all people, the sentiment of duty exists. Everywhere man finds in the depths of his conscience a voice which lays him under obligation. The nature of this obligation may vary infinitely, but the obligation itself is universal, because it is instinctive. It is in vain to allege here the monstrous deviations of the moral sense; for in order that a sense may deviate it is necessary that it exist. In killing his aged father, the savage wishes to save him from the sufferings of old age; if he had killed him sooner he would have been a parricide in his own view as

well as in ours. In consuming herself on her husband's funeral pile, the Indian widow wishes to rejoin him in the eternal *Nirvana*; it is a duty which her misguided conscience requires. "We have not waited for the arrival of the white man to tell us that perfidy is a crime," said the Africans who dwell on the shores of the *Zambesi* to *Livingstone*. In no human language, not even in those which degenerate races stammer, are words wanting to express the moral ideas of right and wrong.

In making this assertion, I speak in harmony with the Gospel. You remember the memorable words of St. Paul: "When the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." The whole instruction of Jesus Christ rests on this idea. If this is all that the partisans of the Independent Morality mean to affirm, they tell us nothing new, and their thesis is Christian.

I know that they have not always taught in this manner. Certain Christian apologists have denied that the law of morality is innate, in order the better to show the necessity of a revelation. They have done so from three points of view: some from exaggerating the corruption of human nature; others from accepting the system of sensation as the source of ideas, and, with *Locke*, making morality an affair of education simply; and a third party from affirming, with *Bonald*, and the French traditional school, that moral ideas are derived from an external and primitive revelation. I have not now to refute these three systems, the principles of which I repel; it is enough for me to say, that while they believed they were serving Christianity, they took a false road. From absolute scepticism nothing can spring; if natural conscience is a sheet of white paper, it is in vain to search for the stepping stones or the starting point of any demonstration whatever. In the 15th century a theologian, *Raymond de Sabonde*, endeavoured to prove the necessity of revelation by subverting the first elements of moral certainty. *Raymond de Sebonde* has had no more fervent admirer than *Michel de Montaigne*: and so it should be. Man knows nothing, said *Raymond de Sebonde*, therefore he needs a revelation; *Montaigne* takes the first part of this argument, and you know what he has made of it. *Montaigne* is logical; if man knows absolutely nothing, I defy him to show how he knows that the Christian Revelation is true.

I am aware that this apologetic method is now generally abandoned; Evangelical Protestantism, by its best representatives, recognises in fallen man the existence of a moral conscience; Rome has solemnly condemned the traditionalist school—but let us say in passing, that if in theory Christians are almost unanimous in acknowledging that

a sense of moral obligation is innate in man, they often practically forget it, when it has to judge of acts which their religious faith has not prompted. It is the constant temptation of the sectarian spirit (and which of us can believe himself to be entirely free from it?) to attribute to inferior selfish motives the conduct of those who obey convictions foreign to their own; a culpable tendency, which Jesus Christ appears to me to have condemned in the parable of the Good Samaritan. And here I fully subscribe to the words of one of our profoundest thinkers, *M. Charles Secretan*: "We deprave our religion when we unfavourably prejudge the conduct and the intention of persons who do not participate our opinions."

I admit then, without reserve, the universal authority of moral obligation; and I will here make concessions to nobody, for in this general sense Christianity always admits it. But the school which we combat does not stop here; it affirms that the law of morality is the same everywhere, the same at all times, and that apart from all belief it remains identical with itself, and imposes itself equally on all. But, in an historical point of view, from which we are now considering it, I do not know a statement more untrue and superficial. I marvel that I should have to show it to be so.

What! the law of morality always the same! It is, then, we who have been dreaming as we read history! Let us take the most elementary principle of morality, the respect due to human life. Is it true that for centuries, and among civilized races, human sacrifices were practised without protest, and practised to a frightful degree? Is it true that in obedience to an instinct from which we revolt, thousands of mothers offered without remorse their first-born children to their execrable idols? Is it true that slavery, which can be justified by no theory of human races, was practised without hesitation, and declared to be conformable to human nature by *Aristotle* and by *Plato*? Is it true that passions, which modern conscience denounces as infamous, reigned in the finest ages of Greek civilization, were eulogized by poets, commented upon agreeably by philosophers, and turned to account by legislators? Is it true that these are virtues which have their date in history, and the entrance of which into the morality of modern times can be distinctly determined? You speak of the equal dignity of men, and quote complacently the words of *Seneca*, *Homo homini res sacra*; and forget that when *Seneca* wrote these great words there had been for twenty years in Asia, in Greece, and Rome, a Christian Church, in which slaves and their masters, poor and rich, prayed together, and called each other brethren. But who will venture to say that this thought was comprehended by antiquity? When *Plato* exclaimed, "The pure Greek blood flows in our veins with no mixture of barbarian blood; thence also in the bosom of the Republic itself, the incorrigible hatred of what is foreign;" when

he advised the exposure of the sick slave, what notion had he of the equal dignity of man? Are you ignorant that the forgiveness of enemies, unless it were for political ends, was absolutely unknown to antiquity? "It is the mark of a brave man, a man of a great heart, to hate his enemies well," said *Plato*, and *Seneca* treats pity as a mean sentiment, unworthy of a free man. Need I mention that the entire social system of the Hindoos rests on the institution of caste, that is on the avowed denial of this natural equality of right, from which it is pretended that the Independent Morality springs? I could continue this melancholy enumeration, but that I apprehend you are as well acquainted with it as myself.

One of the favourite arguments of our adversaries is this: collect together, they say, a certain number of men of different religions; when they have well discussed their dogmas, propose to them a simple question of morals, ask them if such an action is good or evil, and you will presently find that there is a Buddhist conscience and a Christian conscience, a Catholic morality and a Protestant morality. We willingly accept the challenge. To this areopagus, thus composed of Chinese, Hindoos, Turks, and Christians, we will propose questions relating to polygamy, to slavery, to the right of revenge, to the lawfulness of murder in certain given cases; if the reply is uniform, we declare beforehand that we are conquered. And yet at the present time the conditions of the trial will be favourable to our adversaries; the principles of Christianity are in fact at the present time so diffused through the world, that public opinion is everywhere under its influence. The "salt of the earth" has made its savour to be felt, even in the bosom of Pagan nations; they have adopted many of the social principles of Christianity, which are most useful because they are most true; and thence a certain average of moral opinions results which might almost inspire the belief that the human conscience has everywhere dictated the same laws. In order to judge the question properly it is necessary therefore to consider the world of the past. We have done this; we have gathered the testimony of history; to those who tell us that the law of morality is always and everywhere the same, we reply that for ages virtues which lie at the foundation of our social system were ignored, that for ages actions which opinion now discards were committed without protest.

I know by what reasoning they will try to escape from these crushing facts. They charge upon religion, upon sacerdotal traditions, all those deviations from the law of morality which cannot be denied. But is this explanation admissible? Is it true above all that religion can be at the bottom of all these disorders? In many cases I do not deny it. Human sacrifices, for example, were instituted to satisfy a religious instinct. But is it the same with immoralities of another kind, which no religious belief could provoke? The

explanation then is insufficient, and when it is applied to all the monstrous things that have been specified it is utterly valueless. Upon what, then, in fact, does it rest? Upon the following reason: *moral instinct will always be infallible, if religions do not lead it astray.* But it remains to be shown why it allows itself always to be led astray by them. Besides, what are these religions? To the last century religion appeared as the invention of priests, and in this view it might be opposed to the sentiments of nature. Do our adversaries still place it in this point of view? We do not wish at this point to bring a charge against their intelligence, but they reason as if they so placed it. They know, moreover, that after religion is made to be the invention of priests, it remains to be shown who invented the priests. (It is just like the case of the elephant upon which, in the Hindoo cosmogony, the world rests, and we demand what supports the elephant?)

Modern criticism has won a legitimate title to glory as it has sought for the origin of religions in the human mind; as it has shown the religious instinct to have everywhere originated the priesthood instead of being originated by it. Do our adversaries admit this result, which is become an historical axiom, and which they so well know how to turn to account when they undertake to explain naturally the monotheism of the Jews and the advent of Christianity? If they admit it, they doubtless acknowledge that the religious instinct is identified in its origin with the moral instinct; this, we may say, is another historical axiom. See, then, at this point, into what their explanation of the deviations of the law of morality resolves itself. "The human instinct would be infallible if the human instinct did not go astray." This is the vicious circle out of which we defy them to escape.

It is in vain, then, that we search in history for a morality which is uniform and always identical with itself. It is with this as with certain chemical elements, hydrogen for example, which nature never suffers to be free, and which science obtains only by analysis; so that, what they call natural morality, recalls, singularly to us, this pretended natural religion which the eighteenth century tried to isolate from all the beliefs of humanity, a religion altogether ideal, to which nothing is wanting but—existence.

Logic here comes to confirm, by explaining, the testimony of history. It says to us by the voice of simple good sense that morality necessarily depends upon the general idea which is entertained of human life. For example, suppose that in my view, as in that of *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*, happiness is the end of existence, it is evident that my morality will thereby be influenced. The least advanced student knows, as well as *Montesquieu*, that one of the most powerful causes of the decline of Rome was the growing influence of Epicurean maxims. Suppose that

science leads me to see in the negro race only a variety between the ape and man, it is evident that, while continuing an adherent of the theory of human equality, I am by no means obliged to accord this equality to those who do not pertain to my species. Suppose that physiology convinces me that what we call free will is an illusion, and that at bottom my will is always and everywhere fatally determined by the organization of my brain, do you mean to say that the idea which I have of my responsibility will not receive a shock? Suppose that evil appears to me to be a necessity, tied, it may be, to my material organization, or to my finite nature, or to the badly constituted relations of human society, is it not evident that I shall soon see before me three clearly defined theories which draw after them three moralities? Would you have a striking example of what I advance? You will find it in a curious passage, which has been mentioned by *M. Ernest Naville*—a passage modified by its author under the exigencies of public opinion, but which in its first form contains the whole doctrine. It is by the French translator of *Mr. Darwin*; in his preface he wishes to show us the entire revolution that flows from his system. “The law of natural selection applied to humanity,” he says, “makes us see, with surprise and grief, how false have hitherto been our political and civil laws, as well as our religious morality. It is enough here to have recourse to one of the smallest vices: the exaggeration of the pity, the charity, the brotherhood in which our Christian era has always sought after the ideal of social virtue; it is the exaggeration of devotedness itself, when it is deemed proper always and in everything to sacrifice the strong to the feeble, the good to the bad, the healthy in mind and body to the vicious and ill-favoured. What results from this exclusive and unintelligent protection of the weak, the infirm, the incurable, the wicked, themselves, all who are the disgrace of nature? The evils with which they are afflicted tend to perpetuate themselves, and to multiply indefinitely; the bad increases instead of diminishing, and tends to augment itself at the expense of the good. How many of these creatures are there incapable of getting their own livelihood, who lean with all their weight on the arms of the strong, and who in society, where they languish a burden to themselves and to others, take up more of the sunshine than three healthy persons!”

If this has any meaning, it means that enlightened society ought to concern itself less about the afflicted and leave ill-constituted children to perish. This is the practice of *Lycurgus*, and the dream of *Plato*, coming in the name of science to demand a place in modern legislation; only since these great thinkers were misled by their theory of the ancient state, Jesus has appeared blessing little children, and making the poor, prisoners, and the sick, his representatives; that grand thing which calls itself charity has made its advent;

woman has been elevated, hospitals have been founded, the chains of the slave have been snapped, and the poor instructed. Thus, these reveries themselves are now no longer dangerous, and the lady who has had the frightful courage to attach her name to this passage has been obliged to retract it under the pressure of public opinion. But should these ideas become acclimatised in our schools, who will be bold enough to say that morality will not feel it? I could multiply examples; those I have instanced may suffice, and they warrant me in the conclusion that moral obligation remaining identical with itself, morality has been hitherto bound up with the laws, manners, traditions, religions, philosophical and scientific systems, of different countries and different ages. The exceptions confirm the rule. The individual may be better than his principles; he may also be worse: a man professing an immoral doctrine may not on that account be the less pure; another who acknowledges the sublimest standard may perpetually violate it in practice; and a superficial observer, seizing on these examples, concludes that doctrines have no influence on manners. But let him enlarge the circle of his experience, let him no longer look at individuals but at families, and not at families but at nations, he will then distinctly see that moral tendencies are determined by beliefs; just as on the globe the course of rivers, and by a natural consequence the life and fertility of the countries through which they flow, are determined by the direction of the great chains of mountains, as the Atlas, the Andes, the Alps, or the Himalayas. So the destinies of nations, their civilization, their manners, their life, depend entirely on those great aspirations of the soul which we call religions, on those great names which rule history: *Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Mahomet, Jesus Christ*.

Thus we have run through history, and we nowhere find the Independent Morality. Our adversaries will no doubt concede this, for no theory can weaken this universal testimony of facts; but they will reply that the past ought not to be the rule of the future, that what has not been hitherto, may be now, and that the time is come when morality, disengaged from all religious and philosophical systems, will assert its independence.

The pretension is bold. One would think that the universal experience of mankind ought to establish a legitimate prescription respecting such a thing as morality, in which each man is actor and judge; but they will not bow to prescription, and we must follow our adversaries into the domain of theory, where they have chosen to place themselves.

The attempt then is now made, for the first time, to arrive at unity by means of morality: by a morality disentangled from all religious and philosophical systems. Very well! Our adversaries ought at least to agree that if the end is beautiful they are not near

its attainment, for as soon as they cease to attack, as soon as they begin to build up, division begins in their own camp; and this division, let it be observed, takes place as to the very principle of morality itself.

On what foundation do they rest it? We have said, on the dignity of human nature, that is, on the right of the individual. They suppose that the recognition of this right by every man for himself necessarily infers the recognition of an equal right in others; and this is what they call duty. From rights and duty thus established, they pretend to deduce the whole system of morality. It is true that we are still waiting for this new morality: for after two years' existence the school has not advanced a single step.

But is their principle indisputable? So little, that it has already been and is still warmly contested. A slight examination will serve to show what questions it raises, and how far we are from that unity to which it professes to conduct us.

It is an undoubted fact (we have already shown it) that man possesses the sentiment of moral obligation. But is it true that this sentiment affirms itself, first of all, by the faith of every man in his own personal dignity? On all hands this is denied. It has been said after a very high authority (*Kant*), that the sentiment of duty precedes in the human mind that of right. The Positivist school is of this opinion; I believe a profound analysis would confirm it. The purely defensive right is common to us with the animal that defends its prey; in this instinct, which I share with the brute, I do not see the slightest scintillation of moral sentiment, which will make no appearance but with duty. Let us, however, concede to our adversaries that the sentiment of right or of personal dignity should be the starting point of morality. Is this fact so simple as they take it to be? Does it not immediately raise a capital question: In what does my dignity consist? Will it be said the answer is easy? Presumption only will say so. Man in fact is a social being: he is born the member of a body which is called a family, a country, humanity. But society, whatever view we take of it, is constituted by each individual giving up certain rights for the good of all: the right of the father is not that of the son; the right of the husband is not that of the wife. So many are the problems of extreme delicacy which perpetually divide philosophers and legislators, and now environ me when I attempt to settle this first question: In what does my dignity consist? Listen to the conclusion of a German thinker, who, like our adversaries, founds morality upon the rights of the individual. "Let human kind and humanity," says *Max Stirner*, "disappear and vanish, with the ancient God. What would become of general ideas and fixed principles for a true philosopher? What would become of general sentiments such as of the family, and coun-

try? Whatever restricts liberty, right, morality, love, brotherhood, a common interest, are but forms and disguises of the ancient God.. Since there is nothing real but the individual, there is nothing beyond my existence. The individual reigns in all the power of his individuality, and *egoism* completes and ends in atheism. True philosophy is and can only be the code of *egoism*. Behold its end." I would not impute a revolting cynicism to our opponents. I only place them in this dilemma: if individual right is the only basis of morality, I defy them logically to oppose any valid objection to this conclusion; and on the other hand, if to escape from this you would limit individual right, you would not be able to do it but by means of new principles, which suppose a view of the totality of society; that is to say, a doctrine, a philosophy in short, to go to the bottom—which you do not wish. This, in fact, is what our opponents are forced to do. Individual right is not sufficient for them. "The right which we claim for ourselves," they say, "we also claim for others; we owe them this, and it is what constitutes duty." Very well! I affirm that this new principle raises questions of doctrine of all sorts. Is it true, first of all, that the sentiment of equality of rights is instinctive in man, and can be affirmed as an axiom? To pretend this is to contradict all history, which shows us that all ancient societies, without an exception, were founded upon the denial of this equality. Admitting, however, that equality of rights is a human instinct, another question remains to be established, which is closely connected with it. Who are our equals? Are they all men? The Polynesians, as well as the civilized? Blacks as well as whites? Women as well as men? The child as well as the man? What will you reply to the polygenist, who, resting on natural history, affirms that certain races are inferior, and that between the animal and man there are only degrees? Would you appeal to your own sentiment? What would that prove against a contrary sentiment?

It comes to this: you have received from Christianity the idea of the unity of the species; upon this idea, which was unknown to antiquity, you have grafted that of the equality of rights, so that in your first steps you, who repudiate doctrine, are rightly convicted of being a doctrinaire.

This is not all: in your principle is implicitly included another idea, that of human liberty. "Man is under obligation," you say most reasonably; "then he must be free." I agree with you, but this fact of liberty, is it likewise as simple as you suppose? You are here in presence of a school which knows only the action of natural forces; which does not conceive of determination without motives, and which finds in these motives the entire explanation of the fact which you call free will. This school is at present represented by a considerable number of *savans*, and in the past by thinkers who are regarded as the most

rigorous logicians which philosophy has known. How is this to be repelled? Apparently by maintaining by all possible means the fact of liberty; that is, by attaching you to a clearly defined doctrine, which has its place and its name in history.

I will pursue this analysis no further. It entitles me to draw the following conclusion: either the principle of our opponents is absolutely formal and void, or it is of value only as it borrows its foundation from established doctrines, which are called human liberty, human equality, and it lives and dies with them. In one word, to say that the moral sentiment is a sufficient basis of morality is to say that the seed suffices to form the plant, independently of the soil, the heat, the rain, the dew, and the sun.

Hitherto we have examined only the first two formulas of our opponents. What then will be the case if, leaving generalities, they consent (which they have not yet cared to do) to formulize the new morality they pretend to constitute, starting from the sole principle of the dignity of the individual?

It is in vain, then, that they oppose unity in morality to religious diversities, since as soon as they rise above the simple moral sentiment, which we affirm as energetically as they do, differences arise in their camp; systems already count by dozens; with every new principle they formulize, grave and numerous divergences spring up. I will only mention one; but it is one of supreme importance. Is love an integral part of morality, or not? Some affirm and others deny it with equal vehemence. But it is, meantime, a point in which they ought to come to an agreement when they pretend to substitute something else instead of religion for the direction of humanity.

At the point at which we are now arrived we may judge what there is of importance in the attitude which the school we are opposing has taken up as against religion. From the beginning it announced that, leaving alone philosophical and religious doctrines, it offered to their disciples a common ground on which they might meet. Christians and deists have turned a deaf ear, and that it understands. He who firmly believes in the existence of God, and consequently that God is the source of all good, can neither think of morality nor act as if God had no existence. They have strangely abused analogies. Our adversaries often ask why, since other sciences have become independent of the Divine idea, morality should not? Singular question! When in physics I examine the external properties of bodies, when in chemistry I analyze their composition, when in astronomy I study the mechanism of the heavens, the idea of the First Cause may remain absent from my mind. But in morals is discussed the law of my will, and the agreement of my will with the will of others. But is it not evident that if I believe God to be the

author and the end of my existence, the harmonic centre of all wills, I cannot abstract myself from him, either in theoretical or in practical morality? Apart from the Divine idea, I may have a social morality, a juridical code more or less perfected: but a morality worthy of the name—it is impossible. Let us dismiss even all theistical ideas; I am a Positivist, convinced that I can see in the world nothing but forces obeying the law of motion, which has its equivalent in heat; the Independent Morality invites me to adhere to it, and says, "Come to me, you preserve your system." I accept the invitation; but no sooner have I given my adherence than I am required to declare that I believe in human freedom. How can I do it without my system being overturned from top to bottom? If I accept human freedom I am no longer a Positivist. In short, to abstract from morality the doctrines and beliefs which lie at the foundation of the life, of the understanding, and of the heart, is a desperate attempt, which must always be in antagonism with experience and common sense.

What, then, must be thought of the neutrality to which this school pretends in reference to all doctrines—the equal and profound respect which they declare they bear to all? There is a concealed irony in this which it would be more worthy of them to renounce. When we hold by human liberty, when, in fact, we make it a fundamental principle, how can we remain neutral in regard to materialism, which denies it? When we believe in the equality of men, how can we look with profound respect on Brahminism, which places on a theological idea the eternal separation of castes? When we set out with the dignity of man as the foundation of morality, we cannot respect a doctrine which justifies slavery. When we teach that the avowal of his sentiments is a right inherent in every free being, we must hate everything relating to the Inquisition. I do not then admit the sincerity of this pretended respect. It bears too much resemblance to contempt.

I have reached the limits assigned me. Unable to continue my demonstration, I content myself with indicating, in conclusion, how it would be possible to show by another method—I mean by the analysis of moral facts—the impossibility of an Independent Morality.

At the basis of the fact of morality we have obligation, which supposes liberty; but liberty draws with it a general conception of the world, a belief, in short a system. Let us take another step. I am under obligation. To whom am I under obligation? This is the first question to be solved. I can be under obligation only to myself, to others, to the order of things, or to God. Each of these systems has had its advocates; but each of them supposes a general doctrine, which involves in morality very grave consequences. One step more. To this first question another is linked: to what am I under obligation?

It is not enough for me to know that it is my duty to do good; I require to be informed as to the nature of the good. Here it does not suffice to have definitions: the good has for its distinctive character, according to *Kant*, the universality of law, or, according to the *Stoics*, conformity to nature, which should be, according to the beautiful definition of *Jouffroy*, universal order. What I still want to know is, What is this law, this nature, this order?—all of them questions which in a thoughtful mind suppose a doctrine, a belief. This is not all. I do good, or I do not. What shall be the sanction of my obligation? Many sanctions are put forward: the censure or the approbation of conscience; the consequences of actions in the interior life of the actor, or the effects which they leave behind them, public opinion, legislation; lastly God—the witness and the judge, not of actions only, but of intentions as well. I do not enter upon this discussion. I content myself with establishing that some sanction is a capital element in moral action, and that it is arbitrary to repel by “estoppel” the idea of the future life; consequently on this side again it is impossible to isolate morality from some religious doctrine. Lastly, in order to accomplish the good, I need power, I need succour; to cancel my faults I have need of reparation. Under the whole heavens these two aspirations of the human soul have produced prayer and sacrifice. I do not discuss them, but here again I affirm that morality has no *à priori* right to set them aside; and that if she gives them a place, however small it may be, there is again an opportunity opened to philosophy or religion.

I do but trace here the outlines of a large analysis, embracing what I call the elements of moral action; but these outlines are sufficient to show that a profound idea of morality excludes its independence.

I conclude; but you will have observed that the arguments I have hitherto used might come from the lips of a Mohammedan as well as of a Christian, of a philosopher as well as of a believer. It will be permitted to me, then, to place myself upon a Christian point of view, in order to say a last word upon the question with which we have been engaged.

I shall astonish no one by saying, that from the Christian point of view the question of an Independent Morality can not even be entertained. What is, for the Christian, the principle of goodness? It is God. God, known as supreme love. Goodness, then, will be God reigning by love; in other words, the universal harmony of all beings with God, and, by logical consequence, of all beings with each other. From the absolute point of view of Christianity an action is not good unless it tends to this harmony; unless it is inspired by love to God and one's neighbour, in which is summed up the whole moral law. To bend this principle is, in the eyes of a Christian, to subvert morality. No doubt, apart from, or rather below, this great principle, there will be

here a relative goodness ; every action which, apart from the idea of God, tends to the development of the individual or to the good of his brethren, is goodness of this description ; but if the Christian properly estimates these individual actions, if he detects with religious care all the elements of the good dispersed in humanity, and first of all the universal sentiment of moral obligation, he will no more be able to conceive of morality apart from God, who is its centre, than the astronomer will be able to conceive of the planetary system of which our globe forms a part, without the sun which is its centre of life.

But if, starting from this general idea, we examine Christian morality, we shall find that, founded upon a certain conception of God, it attaches itself by a firm adhesion to a doctrine of which God is the object. Study attentively these facts of Revelation, of which our dogmas always give an imperfect formula—creation, for example, or redemption : you will find that the morality is there entire, as the oak in the acorn, as the infant in the germ. Religious science, in order to facilitate its analyses, can separate morality from doctrine, and in another order, works from faith ; but to the view which penetrates deeper into the essence of things these arbitrary divisions vanish ; it is impossible to say where morality begins, where doctrine ends ; all morality is in doctrine, as all works are in faith. If man so often separates them in his life, the fault is not in Christianity, in which they are joined. The whole law is included in those grand words of St. John : “ God is love.” This is the generating principle of morality ; it is twenty-four centuries since human wisdom foresaw it, when by the mouth of Pythagoras it taught that the law of universal life is harmony. In opposition to the school which founds an isolated morality upon individual dignity, we affirm that the principle of harmony is in God.

PRESENT STATE OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN GREAT BRITAIN IN RELATION TO THEOLOGY.

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OF all departments of natural knowledge the sciences of the human mind come nearest to religion, and of all the mental sciences Moral Philosophy stands in the closest relation to Christian Theology. The reason is obvious. It is the province of moral philosophy to unfold the laws of man's moral nature; of his motive powers generally, such as the emotions, the will, and especially the moral faculty, or the conscience. Now, the Christian religion is especially addressed to man's moral and spiritual nature. It comes to us as a revelation from God, unfolding and manifesting more fully to us His moral perfections, and making known a means of reconciling man to his Maker, and renewing his soul in the likeness of God. Christian theology, by which I mean a reflex systematic exposition of the truths of God's Word, has ever conducted theologians, whether they wished it or no, into moral discussions; and ethical philosophy has consciously or unconsciously exercised an important influence upon the construction of systems of divinity. The Christian religion has contributed new elements, in particular all the evangelical graces, to ethics; and a high moral philosophy, specially a high estimate of the law, has ever tended to foster high views of the justice of God, and deep views of the nature of sin, and of the necessity of an atonement. The two have thus acted and re-acted on each other. It may be instructive to consider the present relations of moral philosophy to theology in Great Britain.

In Great Britain, as in France and Germany, we have two contending schools of ethics. These correspond very much, though not altogether, to the two grand schools of philosophy, which have divided Europe since the days of Descartes and Locke—I mean the sensational or experiential, and the *a priori* or rational. The former of these was founded in our country by Hobbes, and has been continued by Hume, by Hartley, and by James Mill, and the living representative of it is Mr. John Stuart Mill. The other school has also had its representatives in Great Britain in such men as Cudworth, Clarke, and Coleridge, and in the Scottish school of philosophers embracing Reid, Stewart, and

Sir W. Hamilton; none of them, however, except Coleridge, taking up such high *a priori* grounds as Descartes and Cousin in France, or Kant and Hegel in Germany. Neither of these schools has been in itself either Christian or anti-Christian; there have been believers and there have been unbelievers in both. The tendency of the one has been to materialism, and consequently to a disbelief of the doctrines both of natural and revealed religion. The tendency of the other has been, as we see in Kant and Clarke, to rationalism; or as we see in Spinoza and Hegel, to pantheism.

In our country the tendency of all schools of philosophy has been to become ethical. The sensational school has represented mankind as capable of being swayed by no other motives than those derived from pleasure and pain; its morality is utilitarianism, and its theology, when it has a theology, commonly omits the eternal justice of God, and all the doctrines dependent on it. The other school has certainly been the most favourable to religion and to a high theology. In standing up for something native and necessary in the mind, it has ascribed to man a high moral capacity which at once perceives the distinction between good and evil. Our most eminent ethical writer belonging to this school is Bishop Butler, whose "Sermons on Human Nature," published in 1726, constitute an era in the history of moral philosophy in Britain. He established, that man has in his very nature and constitution a moral power different from our personal and benevolent affections; and that this power is not only in the mind, but declares itself to be supreme there. Our higher moralists, and in particular the Scottish metaphysicians, have acknowledged their obligations to him, and carried out his principles. Belonging to this school, we have had in the last age, Chalmers in Scotland and Whewell in England, the latter, however, taking many of his views from the German school of Kant.

I hold that there is an inherent and essential distinction between good and evil, just as there is a distinction between truth and error. Gratitude to God is as certainly a virtue, as that "things which are equal to the same things are equal to one another" is a truth. Rebellion against God is as certainly a sin as that "two parallel lines will meet" is a falsehood. I believe that the mind sees at once and intuitively the distinction between good and evil, as it sees the distinction between truth and falsehood. This it does, by means of a power which we call the moral reason or conscience. But if there be such a power in man, native, constitutional, and heaven-implanted, it guarantees the existence of a moral governor. It points, too, to a day of judgment and of final retribution. And if there be an essential, an indelible, an eternal distinction between good and evil, and if sin be of evil desert, and deserving of punishment, the question is irresistibly pressed upon us, how is this sin which God hates,

and must hate, to be forgiven, and how is man, who has committed the sin, and is conscious of guilt, and sensible of alienation, to be reconciled to God? Human reason can give no intelligent, no satisfactory answer to this question. All its investigations only conduct into ever-thickening darkness and gloom, in which fears and doubts have their appropriate dwelling-place. Who is worthy to open this sealed book, to unfold this mystery? When this question is put, all creation continues silent and abashed. The depth saith, it is not in me, and the sea saith, it is not in me. The thoughtful mind is not satisfied till it hears God himself proclaim, "Deliver from going down to the pit, for I have found a ransom." The anxious spirit would weep like John till such time as it sees the lion of the tribe of Judah taking the book, and breaking the seals. The scripture doctrine of the atonement thus fits in very beautifully, as was shown long ago by Anselm, to the holy character of God on the one hand and man's felt wants on the other. I am sure that one of the most convincing evidences in behalf of the Christian religion is to be found in its adaptation to man as a sinner and alienated from God. This is felt by every one who feels the binding obligation of the law, and who feels that he has broken that law. Many eminent writers in our country, such as Butler and Chalmers, have dwelt much on this branch of the Christian evidences, and have expounded, in a reflex and philosophic manner, what every one conscious of sin spontaneously feels. Not only so: a high view of man's moral nature tends to produce an orthodox theology. I am aware that systems of divinity should be constructed out of the Word of God, fairly and honestly interpreted. But divines who take low and inadequate views of the moral law will ever be tempted to explain away those passages in which Christ is represented as truly a sacrifice for sin, and suffering in our room and stead, the just for the unjust. We find in our country that deficient views of the atonement have commonly been associated with imperfect representations of the Divine law and of the evil desert of sin. On the other hand, a high moral theory has ever tended towards an orthodox creed in all matters bearing on the Divine justice, on the punishment of sin, and the expiation of human guilt through the righteousness and sufferings of the Son of God.

These statements will show this conference what view Protestant divines in Great Britain are disposed to take of a specially French question. "Is there a morality independent of the Gospel?" We answer at once, and without hesitation, that there is a morality prior to the Gospel, and in a sense independent of it. The Bible does not make human beings intelligent: it finds them so, and addresses them as such; it says, "We speak as unto wise men, judge ye what we say." Just as little does it make men moral and responsible agents: it finds them so, and speaks to

them as such : " Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right ? " " Which show the work of the law written on their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." The Scriptures do not profess to prove the existence of God : they assume it, and come to us as a revelation from God. Just as little do they propose to establish the reality of good and evil, or the distinction between them : they pre-suppose this, and address all men as so far capable of knowing and appreciating it. We rejoice therefore in the demonstrations by such men as M. Jouffroy, M. Cousin, and M. Saisset, of an independent morality, of a morality having the sanction of our moral reason. We think it of great moment in dealing with educated or thinking men, to be able to appeal to the fundamental truths which these men have shown by an appeal to consciousness to be in our very nature and constitution. We can say, as I once said to M. Cousin in a letter which I had occasion to write him :—" You acknowledge that there is an indelible distinction between good and evil, that sin deserves punishment, and I ask you to consider and answer the question, how is sin to be forgiven and man to be reconciled to God ? " You have no such lever in dealing with those who have espoused a low materialism and sensationalism in philosophy, or a narrow utilitarianism in ethics : and we must guard against seeming to join them in their systems. For as they are not prepared to allow that there is anything which is in itself essentially evil, anything requiring and demanding punishment, so you cannot ply them with any argument fitted to convince them that they need a Saviour, or prepare them for believing in a supernatural revelation.

So far, we Protestants of England cannot agree with those Roman Catholic writers of France (I believe they are not supported by the wiser men of their own communion), who deny an independent morality, and would thus cast us helplessly on the authority of the Church. We believe in a moral law antecedent to the Gospel, a law which includes all men under sin, from which the Gospel remedy delivers us. We believe that this morality, shown on independent evidence to have a foundation in the nature of things, points to the need of a Redeemer, and thus furnishes valuable internal proof in favour of the divine origin of Christianity. We are sure that this independent morality joins with the Word of God, in condemning much which we find sanctioned by the authority of the Church of Rome.

But on the other hand, while we stand up for a morality independent of the remedial system of salvation, we do not plead for a morality which renders the Bible unnecessary, or which can justify the sinner apart from the Gospel. At this point we separate entirely from our mere academic philosophers who uphold not only the independence, but what is a very different

thing, the *sufficiency* of an ethnic or natural morality. The opinion generally entertained by British Protestants has been expressed by Bacon:—"As concerning divine philosophy or natural theology, it is that knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God, which may be obtained by the contemplation of His creatures; which knowledge may be truly termed divine in respect of the object, and natural in respect of the light. The bounds of this knowledge are, that it sufficeth to convince of atheism, but not to inform religion." We stand up then for the need of a supernatural revelation. For, first, the Bible gives us clearer views of God and of duty than the natural conscience does, and thus becomes one powerful means of rousing the moral monitor from its lethargy and making it fulfil its proper office. The fact is, a just sense of sin, such as shuts us up into the Saviour, is very much a product of the application of the revealed law—for "by the law is the knowledge of sin"—always, however, of the law as applied to the conscience, and finding a response there. Secondly, and more particularly the moral law, whether revealed by our moral nature or in the Scriptures, provides no remedy for the breach of the law; on the contrary, it leaves us helpless under the condemnation which it pronounces. The natural conscience thus leads us, when we follow its guidance, into darkness, out of which it cannot conduct us. It may prompt us to cry for the light, but does not itself supply the light. We should rejoice when that light shines upon us from a higher region. Then, thirdly, mere natural ethics have not been able to furnish our young men with motives and strength to enable them to resist temptation, or to save a community from falling into fearful immorality. As the result of the whole, the felt weakness of this independent morality school is making it give way before a sensationalist and materialistic philosophy, which threatens to have very extensive sway over the rising generation in Great Britain, as well as in France and Germany.

In the last generation—the generation now advanced in life, and passing away from the stage of time—the *a priori* philosophy had considerable sway in England. It owed its influence largely to Coleridge, Whewell, and others, who drew from the German school of philosophy, founded by Kant. But of late years there has been a strong reaction against it, against its method, its spirit, and its results. This has been brought about, to a great extent, by what I reckon the extreme positions which it has taken, in maintaining that the mind has *forms* or *norms* which it imposes on things, instead of holding, as it ought, that the mind has cognitive powers, enabling it to know what is in things; to know, for example, that there is an essential good in certain actions, and an essential evil in others. The reaction has been furthered among religious people by the tendency of the *a priori* philosophy towards rationalism in some cases, and towards pantheism in

others. Certain it is that we have now in England a school with very considerable influence, which starts from sensationalism and tends towards materialism.

That school has sprung partly from the British school of Hobbes, Hume, and James Mill, and to a still greater extent from the French school of M. Auguste Comte. I call it the British Section of the School of Comte. The leader of it is Mr. John Stuart Mill, who has deservedly a high name in political economy and in inductive logic. He maintains that all our ideas are had originally from sensation, and are manufactured into their present form by the laws of the association of ideas,—these laws being those of contiguity in time and place and of resemblance, of contiguity among, or of resemblance between, things presented to the mind from without, from an unknown external world, working, for anything we know, fortuitously and fatalistically. It is doubtful whether this philosophy allows of any logical proof of the existence of God, or of the immateriality of the soul and of a day of judgment. I do not charge Mr. Mill with being a materialist, his philosophy may rather be described as one of *Nescience*; that is, he maintains we can know nothing as to the reality of things, either of mind or body. But the system tends towards materialism, and is in fact materialistic in the convictions of multitudes, who cannot appreciate the subtle distinctions of the founder of the school. It avowedly does away with all independent morality, and represents the conscience and all our moral ideas and convictions as formed out of sensations of pleasure and pain, by means of associations, which are determined by outward circumstances. The argument for the existence of a moral governor, derived from the law in the heart, powerfully urged by Kant and Chalmers, is entirely undermined; we are left without any proof of the existence of a moral government in this life; and of a world to come we can know nothing.

It might be shown by an extensive induction from the history of the past, that the theology of an age has commonly had a philosophy suited to it. An elevated philosophy has tended to produce a lofty theology, while a high theology has been stimulating a high philosophy; and on the other hand a low philosophy is apt to generate a meagre theology, while an inadequate theology is prone to lean on a low-toned philosophy. For some years we have had a disposition towards a negative theology in Great Britain; and now we have a negative philosophy, corresponding to it and countenancing it. In theology there has been an inclination to omit justice from among the attributes of God, and to deny the expiatory nature of our Lord's sacrifice for sin. And now we have a philosophy which undermines an independent and eternal morality, and throws us back on pleasures and pains, as the elements out of which such moral ideas and convictions as we have are formed. These two are running their course to-

gether ; and we may look for an offspring partaking of the nature of both, to proceed from their marriage union.

In a paper read in 1864, at the conference of the British branch of the Alliance, in Edinburgh, I spoke of the period as one of transition in respect of religious thought and conviction, and I predicted that "people would not remain long in their present state of vagueness and vacillation." Opinion has progressed rapidly since that time, and we are now seeing the issue clearly. People were then trying to stop half way on the sliding scale : they are now made to see that they have no steady footing ; they must either re-mount to the top which they have left, or sink to the base. We are now far beyond the age of the "Essays and Reviews," which made such a noise a few years ago. The writers of these papers are reckoned antiquated by younger thinkers, who have gone a good many steps farther on in the same direction. This advanced school is furnishing articles for our periodical literature, is seizing some of the tutorships and professors' chairs in our colleges, and is watching the examiner-ships in the competitive trials for public offices, which have now such influence over the reading and studies of our educated young men. Parents, ministers of religion, and thinking men generally, should watch with deepest anxiety the effects of such a training. I happen to know that some of our youth have had their hearts wrung till feelings more bitter than tears have burst from them, as they feel that they cannot reconcile their old faith in Scripture with the sensational philosophy or materialistic psychology, in which they are now being instructed. "Before I attended these lectures," said a young man to me, "I thought I had a soul ; but as I listened to them I was not sure whether I had a soul or not." Not a few of those who were sent up to the colleges with the view of entering the office of the ministry, have felt that they could not go on, and so have turned aside to other pursuits : some of them have become active contributors to our literary journals, and are writing against the old orthodoxy and all that is peculiar in Christianity, with the bitterness of personal animosity. Others, with their faith shaken, have entered into the Church only to find how uncongenial the office is to them ; and some of them have fallen before the temptations to which they are exposed, as they found themselves bound to articles which they had ceased to believe, and reading prayers into the spirit of which they could no longer enter.

And what is to be the moral influence exercised by such a training on our young men generally ? There is a combined attempt in the present day to make the Articles to be believed as few as possible both in ethics and theology. Some of the would-be leaders of opinion proceed upon, if they do not announce, the principle, that we are to look solely to what we should do, and not trouble ourselves with what we are to believe.

But it can be shown that men's practice has always, consciously or unconsciously, been swayed to a large extent by their beliefs or convictions—not it may be by their formalized creeds or professed beliefs, which may be formed for them, and may, I admit, have little hold of them, but by their heart convictions—that is their real beliefs. Surely, in the worship of God, and in all the service we pay Him, there must be a belief in Him: "He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." In the very performance of our ordinary duties, there must at the basis of it be a conviction that the duty is binding on us. Undermine the conviction, and the performance of the duty will be apt to cease; or, if it is continued, it will be very much as the effect of an old habit; and the habit will never be produced among the young who have never had the conviction. I hold, then, that there is a very intimate connection between our faith and our works. There is such a dependence in the experience of the individual; and there certainly is such a consequence in the history of communities. I do not for one instant maintain that all infidels have been immoral, but it can be proven that a generation trained in infidelity has commonly become immoral. Train a generation to say that there is no essential distinction between good and evil—no distinction except in the pleasure and pain which they may bring; undermine faith in God and in a judgment day; and you have left nothing to a large proportion of young men to enable them to resist the temptations of life.

But then we are being constantly told that infidelity is not characterized in these times, as it was in former ages, by immoral practices. But those who urge this, overlook the circumstance that the new form of infidelity has not yet had time to bring forth its proper fruits and show its effects; these we cannot discover till we have a generation trained under its influence. We all know what debasing and immoral consequences flowed from the prevalence of the sensational philosophy in France; but these results did not appear till half an age after the time of Condillac, the founder of the school. We cannot see the full influence of the training to which some of our young men are being subjected, till the generation reared has had time to show itself to the world; that is, till the evil has been wrought, and those who have sown dragon's teeth will be made to acknowledge their criminality and folly, only when they find that armed men have sprung up and are working havoc and destruction.

Is a young man setting out in life with a belief only in what this philosophy allows, prepared to meet the temptations which will assail him, the temptations to pride and self-righteousness, and the temptations to vice? Is a generation so fed and nurtured, likely to maintain an elevated standard of purity and

unselfishness, and to resist the vanities and lusts to which mankind are prone. The negative philosophy and theology have not yet had time to work out their full effects; but I believe that we have already too abundant evidence that the moral corruption has begun to work among the upper and the educated classes, that is, the only classes who have as yet felt their influence. And if the influence has already been injurious in these circles, how deleterious must it be when it has time to penetrate the whole of society, and go down in its results (not in its processes) to the lower orders. Meanwhile, what mean these exposures in the pages of our highest literary journals of the coarseness in manner, speech, and conduct of a certain circle of ladies and gentlemen belonging to our very aristocratic classes; denoting a state of things to which he had nothing similar twenty or even ten years ago? Whence the complaints of fast living among so many of our educated young men? Everyone knows that the coarseness and recklessness are associated with, I believe, that in fact they proceed from, a spirit of unbelief and scoffing: it is a matter of fact that they exist in the classes whose faith in Christianity has been undermined. Let me tell some of these journals that they are chargeable, directly or indirectly, with helping to produce the very immorality which they cannot bear when it appears. They profess to wish to have a high morality, but they have done their best to destroy the beliefs from which alone a pure morality can proceed—they have cut down the tree, and they wonder that they have no fruit—they have killed the hen, and then are amazed that they cannot have the golden egg. Some of them have been smitten with an excessive admiration of Thomas Carlyle, (who, again, was greatly swayed by Goethe and the German pantheists) and they are great hero-worshippers, and ever deploring that we have fallen on a low age, and have not the heroes of former times. They forget that these heroes of bygone ages were all men of faith, and owed their courage and their devotedness to this faith—which faith is all the while pictured by these writers in an odious light. Such men as Carlyle and Froude, belonging themselves rather to the past age, but helping to form the present, have pronounced the highest eulogiums on Knox and others of our Protestant Reformers; but then they jeer at the creed which made these men what they were, and undermining the faith of the past, they do not profess to be able to furnish anything to take its place.

The question is pressed upon us—what is to be done to meet the evil?

In answering it, I must confess that I do not expect the evil to be counteracted by the mediæval, or as it calls itself, the Catholic reaction which has set in so strongly in the Church of England. I am quite aware that this Church revival sets before

it a very high moral model, and it has a strict discipline. But the tendency of the reaction is evidently towards the Church of Rome; and Popery, so far from being able to wrestle with infidelity, has been gendering it in all countries under its sway. The sceptic points to the unbelievable dogmas and intolerable pretensions of the Church of Rome with a sneer, and justifies himself in rejecting all religion; while the great mass of the people standing at a distance and viewing the combatants, and not knowing what to believe, content themselves with securing as many as possible of the pleasures of this world. In Oxford, mediævalism and infidelity stand at this moment face to face, and the one tends to produce the other—as they have long done on the Continent of Europe.*

(1.) In this contest, philosophy, more particularly ethical philosophy, has a work to do. It must show that the ideas and convictions which we have in regard to moral good, and the distinction between good and evil, cannot be furnished by associated sensations: but are sanctioned by our very constitution, and the God who gave us our constitution. The process by which they affect to generate our moral beliefs is like that of the old alchemists, who, when they put earth into the retort, never could get anything but earth, and who could get gold only by surreptitiously introducing some substance containing gold. The philosopher's stone of this modern psychology is of the same character as that employed in mediæval physics. If they put in sensations only, as some do, they never have anything but sensations, and a "dirt philosophy," as it has been called, is the product. If gold is got, as it has been by some, it is because it has been quietly introduced by the person who triumphantly exhibits it. In opposing the error it must be shown that we are under law to God, and the unbending nature of that law must be upheld at all hazards. You Hollanders know what havoc would be wrought in your industrious and prosperous country if the ocean could but succeed in breaking down these dykes of yours, against which it is ever beating; and we admire excessively the skill and zeal you have shown in keeping up your defences. But greater evils, personal and national, will rush in upon us like a flood, if we allow that law, which God has set as our defence, to be broken down. Again, that law must be used to show us that we need an atonement; and as a schoolmaster to shut us up into Christ. We must see that in our theology there is ever a deep moral element. It must be farther maintained in all our preaching, that we are specially under law to Christ, and bound to cultivate the evangelical

* We know what influence has been exercised by the older movement in revival of confessional, &c. I advise the friends of Oxford to look narrowly into the *moral* results of the later infidel movement. I have trustworthy letters on this subject, but they are marked *confidential*.

graces of faith and repentance, and to exhibit the virtues of the Christian life, such as purity and self-sacrifice.

(2.) But the evil will never be cured by mere philosophy. It is to be met, as the errors and sensualism of ancient Greece and Rome were, by an exhibition of Christ and his doctrine in all its fulness and purity. This was reckoned by the ancient Greeks, as it is still reckoned by the modern Greeks, as "foolishness;" but it is truly the power of God, a power from God, and a power in man supplying motives, and giving strength to enable him to conquer temptation, and to rise to holiness of life. We have found in our country that in very proportion as the old faith of the Gospel has been preached simply and faithfully by our ministers, and believed in by the people, so has been the elevation of moral tone and practice in the community. I could fondly dwell on this topic, but the space allotted to me is exhausted, and the general theme must come up in other papers.

I have thought fit to exhibit some of the false notions that have risen up, or are rising up in my country. But I do not wish to leave the impression that I am speaking in a spirit of despondency or of fear. The English mind has always been peculiarly sensitive as to the practical tendency of every philosophic doctrine. It was in reference to its bearing on morals, that British thinkers, English and Scottish, first saw the defects of the philosophy of Locke. And when the British public begin to see that this new philosophy tends to undermine the fundamental principles of morals, it is certain that they will turn away from it with loathing. Its triumph is only partial for the present, and can only be temporary. And as to speculative infidelity, I am here to testify that never were the churches of Great Britain, as a whole, in a state of greater liveliness, or better qualified for meeting the evil. Never were the Bible and good books so extensively read by the common people; and there must be no fewer than fifteen or sixteen thousand ministers preaching the Gospel of salvation from Sabbath to Sabbath, with more or less liveliness, in the pulpits of Great Britain and Ireland.

England owes to Holland a debt of gratitude, which it can never repay, for affording an asylum to our Protestant liberties when they had to flee from our country. Nor can I, as a Scotchman, forget that for a hundred years, from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries, our theologians came over to Holland to learn wisdom from your great divines. And now, if Holland, our most excellent neighbour, and tried friend at all seasons when our Protestant liberties were endangered, asks after the health (moral) of Great Britain, I am happy to be able to answer, "Thank God, we reckon our general health sound, and we hope to be able without difficulty to throw off these pestilent humours, which are at present somewhat impairing our vigour."

THE SUPERNATURALISM OF THE BIBLE AND PHYSICAL LAWS.

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Among the bold assertions to which the so-called Modern Theology has recourse is this: "The ancients had not the conception of *Nature* as we have it."

That this is not true of *all* the ancients, at least—not, for example, of the Greeks—is proved by the well-known lines of a poet who certainly did not think much either on theology or philosophy, and who, therefore, bears all the clearer testimony to the existence of this conception, because he brings it forward incidentally. I refer to Anacreon and his verse, well known to every student:

Φύσις χέρατα ταύροις
Ὀπλὰς δ' ἔδωκεν ἵπποις.

κ. τ. λ.

"*Nature* gave to the bull his horns, to the hare his swiftness, to the lion his strength, to man courage; and as *Nature* had no similar qualities to bestow on woman, she gave her beauty, which is more than all the others."

Now it is quite certain that there was no Goddess *Physis* in the whole of Mythology. Anacreon speaks here of *Nature* exactly as a poet of the nineteenth century would speak of it. And that he does speak thus of it in a convivial *chanson*, which was to be intelligible, not only to the philosopher, but also to every guest at a symposium, shows plainly that this idea of *Nature* was a familiar one to the Greeks of that period.

But what does not apply to the Greeks, might yet be true of the Hebrews; and that is really maintained. "With the authors of the Bible," it is said, "there is no trace of *Nature*. Everything in the Bible is the direct operation of God. God sends the rain, and scatters abroad the hail; God clothes the earth with plants, and gives to parents their children," &c.

I do not deny that the direct agency of God is often mentioned in

the Bible, and much is ascribed to it; but still, I do not therefore grant that no trace of the idea of nature is to be found in the Bible: in that Bible, where belief in *miracles* at all events reigns. For, where there is belief in miracles there is also a certain idea of Nature, be it more or less correct. When a man acknowledges a miracle, he also acknowledges a something which does *not* belong to the category of miracles, something which is not miraculous, but natural.

Time would fail me to sustain this assertion with many examples; I will therefore only mention two. Although every child may have been recognised as a gift from God, and the birth of every man traced back to the will and operation of God, still the birth of Ishmael was regarded as a simply natural occurrence, the birth of Isaac as a miraculous one. And, although they may have adhered rigidly to the conviction that God sends the rain out of the treasures of heaven, they saw nothing miraculous in the periodical return of the early and latter rain, and yet considered the three years' withholding of both in the time of Elijah as something miraculous.

The contrast between the natural and the miraculous has always existed, and still exists. But in our days it is carried to the utmost extreme, and exalted to a strife between Nature and the Supernatural, between Revelation and Science. And the dispute is already decided, if we may only believe the expressions of the one side: "That no miracle could happen, that no direct Divine revelation is possible, because everything that is supernatural belongs only to the credulity of ignorant times. This is what science has now settled once for all: thus it is decreed."

But when science in general is personified as a whole, we speak absurdly; for science to us children of men is not a whole. It has many branches; if we wish to be faithful to the truth we must not speak of science; we must speak of various sciences. The science of chemistry is something quite different from the science of literary criticism; optics is something different from chronology.

It is particularly the physical sciences which men think they will be able to set up in opposition to the existence of the supernatural, and thus to the possibility of a special revelation, to the facts of all miracles, and thus to the Bible and to Christianity. The natural sciences are to destroy faith.

It is against this assertion—often expressed in other words, but always with the same tendency—that I intend to enter protest.

In order that I may not be misunderstood, I declare beforehand, that I pay homage to the physical sciences and all their branches, and that I am ready to accept all the results and consequences of natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, geology, or whatever else may be reckoned as belonging to the physical sciences, without hesitation. All that is well-established in physics is to me an infallible oracle, which

no one can in the least degree question, unless he would draw upon himself the accusation of the most stupid ignorance, and thus be condemned to silence during the discussion of these matters, or at least not to be listened to.

It is to me incontrovertibly certain, that if one were in a position to prove on scientific grounds the unfoundedness of miracles, revelation, and the supernatural, no intelligent man would be able any longer to believe in miracles, or revelation, or the supernatural.

But (let this be said in parenthesis) man has not yet reached so far, and will never reach this point, however far he may go in scientific knowledge, and however firmly this knowledge may be grounded; and this I hope to prove.

The absolute authority which I attribute to the declarations of science will, perhaps, appear somewhat paradoxical; this paradox will become still greater when I express my equally absolute faith, not only in the unchangeableness of the laws of nature, but in the fact that they cannot in any single case be violated; whence it follows that from the first moment of creation nothing ever has happened or can happen against the laws of nature.

A faith which has shown itself on a thousand scaffolds, and at a thousand stakes, can, for that very reason, never appear ridiculous in itself; but it is also true that, not the faith itself certainly, but a theology based on the faith, has in many ways made itself ridiculous by definitions, apologies, or expressions of other kinds, in which a violation or revocation of the laws of nature was recognised. For to everyone who understands physics such definitions or apologies will be simply ridiculous, whether he be the most devout Christian in the world, or the most godless man who was ever born upon earth. For so far as space and time reach—forward into the most distant regions of the endless heavens, and backward into the earliest æons of antiquity—the same laws of nature manifest themselves, unchangeable in the greatest matter and in the least. To the thinking Atheist an interruption of these laws is an impossibility, because he acknowledges no God, but only these laws themselves as eternal and absolute; to the thinking believer in God such an interruption is likewise impossible, because he knows his God to be the Wise, Almighty One, to whom all His works have been known from all eternity. To presuppose or accept any case as possible, wherein God, in order to accomplish His purpose, should be compelled, even for a moment, to set aside the laws framed by Himself, would be as much as to attribute to Him the fallibility of an earthly king, and to assert that at creation He had made a mistake in the laws of nature, because He had not taken into consideration all events which He yet, by virtue of His omniscience, was able to foresee. He who possesses the true fear of God will hold firmly that God, for the accomplishment of His own

ends, is in no respect compelled to break His own laws, that is (because these laws are *His* work), to destroy His own work. That this frank and unconditional recognition of natural laws and their inviolability puts a strong weapon into our hand against all superstition and superstitious tendencies, is self-evident; this, however, I only mention incidentally.

But with superstitious faith will not true faith also fall? Does this absolute acknowledgement of nature leave any room for the supernatural?

In order to settle this we must first be well aware of what we are to understand under the name of the *supernatural*; and this will be modified by the idea which we form of nature; for the supernatural is that which is above nature. We may describe nature, then, as the combination of things in their subjection to law, or connection according to law. That matter, even in the smallest atom and the so-called imponderables, belongs to this nature, no one will question; and the laws and forces which meet us on and in matter are called, in their combination, the laws and forces of nature. But there exists a *something*, which goes beyond these laws and forces, which even, in a certain sense, is in a condition to rule over them without its occurring to anyone to call this something the *supernatural*; yet many think they have done away with the supernatural altogether, if they have shown, or have tried to show, that this something in nature in *one* point is not unlike to nature itself. It is the human mind; whose personal will in many cases invades the sphere of nature; it does this indeed by means which themselves lie within nature; for instance, the falling of a free body is arrested, but it is through the natural means of the medium which lays hold of the body; but yet we must not rest in this medium because the first cause of this interruption, the thought of man or his will, must act directly on the material part of his own body: in the outstretching of the hand or the utterance of the command that another should do it.

But it is said further, that in the sphere of mind the law of order rules just as it does in material nature; in this sphere, too, all happens according to unalterable, inviolable laws; and when one has said this, he thinks he has proved that nothing supernatural exists. We know how this conformability to law in the sphere of mind is used to deny that the individual man is destined to perfection,—to maintain that a man is no more to be blamed for his evil deeds than a field for its bad crop.

We cannot, however, enter here into the psychological disputes of what is true or not true in respect to this conformity of the mind to law. That the operations of the mind are thus generally conformed to law we admit, without asking here further how or what this conformity really is; but even if one has such views of these laws of the

mind that he incorporates or annexes the whole sphere of mind to that of nature, yet he has gained nothing. With the annexation of Venetia and Sicily, Italy has not gained Rome. The question still remains, whether there is not *something* or *some one* over this nature, however extended it may be.

But we have to-day to do with the proper laws of nature, and if we ask whether the existence of the supernatural is incompatible with these laws, we must give the most decided negative to this question. And to establish this view we must just consider the subordination of material nature to mind, which has already been mentioned. Many things happen which would appear to us to oppose the laws of nature if we did not know the cause of them. But if we knew *all* second causes, there would yet remain *one* thing,—the *will*, the *person*. That my hand, which by virtue of the laws of nature would hang down motionless, is raised, is in the first instance the consequence of my will. My willing spirit must then have the power to act upon matter, nay, more, to work directly upon it—whatever means may serve it for this purpose, whether nerves, or the animal soul, or something else, it matters nothing; there must be a first, direct operation, and because all these operations of men upon nature cannot be proved to be impossible, because thousands of them are seen daily, therefore man has no right to deny the possibility that beyond the human spirit and its will, another Spirit and another Will may exist, which can in the same way, with means, and even without means, act upon nature.

He who acknowledges this Spirit and this Will is, in fact, a supernaturalist. He believes, consequently, in the possibility of a miracle; for he must certainly admit that this Spirit whom we call God, can at least act upon nature just as we do, and certainly without subverting the laws of nature, just as we influence nature *without* breaking her laws. If the water of a lake is emptied out through a mill, every one sees that the human mind, which wished to carry away the water, has been busy there. So, when the water of the Red Sea was driven back by a wind, this was a proof to the Israelites that the will of God was active there. *How* God, who is a spirit, acts on nature, we understand truly just as little as we understand how our spirit acts upon our body. But that God *can* act upon nature as we act upon it, we can well understand, and such an act of God's, which brings to view that God Himself is working, we call a *miracle*. And just because a miracle is nothing else but an act of God, analogous to our acts, for that very reason it is a groundless objection against miracles to say that they are contrary to the laws of nature. Undoubtedly, something takes place in every miracle that *would* not have taken place, and in many cases *could* not take place, through the laws of nature; but it does not

follow that this is *opposed* to these laws. According to the laws of nature iron would not swim upon water, and could not. But if I plunge in, seize, and hold it fast on the surface, the iron remains on the surface, without a single law of nature being violated. And if the Almighty, the God invisible to the mortal eye, does the same, is then the law of gravitation violated? No; the iron remains just as heavy, the earth draws it down with equal force; but, if God holds it back, it will not sink. Whether God in this thinks it well to employ means or not, is one and the same thing; even on the supposition that He does employ means, the first cause of the swimming of the iron is still the will of God which operates upon matter—and that an active will working upon matter is not incompatible with the laws of nature is proved to us by thousands of things which we daily see or ourselves do.

And if we still think of the laws which are admitted to rule the sphere of mind, well, then no philosopher will be able to prove that a personal God could not show Himself acting on the sphere of mind without breaking the laws of mind.

It is right for us, in reply to those who deny miracles, to say that we do not know rightly what is against the laws of nature and what is not, because we are only now beginning to know a little about nature. They, on their side, hope that upon a complete acquaintance with nature no miracle will be considered possible. There is no need of *that* now; if we come to know the whole of nature, physical and psychological, in all its secrets, yet we shall still, in cases where the will of God acts, worship the God of Israel, “who alone doeth wonders,” and is exalted over nature, its Lord and Ruler, who makes Himself known in the wonder of His revelation as the Mighty and Wise One, who can rule His creation without destroying or confusing that which He has created.

APHORISMS REGARDING REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION ON THE TERRITORY OF CHURCH AND THEOLOGY.

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I.

The three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Reformation in the sixteenth century is witness to a Revolution on the territory of the Christian Church and of theological Science of which history furnishes no parallel. Since that Revolution, on the one hand, is most deeply lamented, and, on the other, unconditionally applauded, it is not a work of supererogation to test it by the spirit and principles of the Reformation itself, and thereby place clearly in view the eternal-essential difference between Reformation and Revolution. Indeed, in this respect also, Satan, ever again, transforms himself into an angel of light. (2 Cor. xi. 14.)

II.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was, in its nature and being, neither a simple renewal of Apostolical Christianity, nor an unrestricted emancipation of the individual conscience, nor a deplorable apostacy from evangelical Christian principle, but a vigorous purification of the Church of the Lord, necessary in her deeply degenerated state, producing results of incalculable benefit, and therefore even now, in its seventh jubilee year, not to be mourned as a disaster, but celebrated with grateful though chastened joy, as a new revelation of the Lord of the Church.

III.

The Reformation, begun by the courageous faith of Luther and his supporters, is not yet perfect, either on the territory of the Church or of Theology. The returning jubilee year may safely be regarded as a call for advancement, all the more urgent from the earnestness of the times. Only along the path of a continuous renovation will evan-

gical Protestantism fulfil its lofty destination for the kingdom of God and of the world. Nevertheless, we shall not say "renovation" of everything regarding which the people say it is "renovation" (Is. viii. 12); much rather must we look with intensified circumspection, in the midst of the confusing wrangling about words of the present century, so as not to salute enemies as friends, or ally ourselves with those whom we ought vigorously to oppose.

IV.

As promoters of the work of the Reformation must be considered those who steadfastly build on the great principles from which both the German and Swiss Reformers set out,—who continually seek to define these principles more correctly, to maintain them more vigorously, to apply them more and more so as to be suitable for different spheres;—who constantly seek to test and purify its confession by God's Word in the Holy Scriptures; who endeavour to help the Church in continually giving clearer and more powerful expression of her faith, and proclaim the great works of God in Christ, according to the light and necessity of the present age.

V.

They must be considered as opponents of the work of the Reformation who openly gainsay the form and fundamental principle of the Reformation in the sixteenth century; who in regard to the only way of safety, on the most essential points, give a positive nay to the yea of the Reformers, and preach a gospel which neither these nor the Church Fathers, the martyrs of the first centuries, nor the apostles and prophets of the New and Old Testaments, would have acknowledged as theirs.

It is customary in our systematic theology to make a distinction between the formal and material principle of the Reformation. To the question, "How is knowledge of the truth acquired?" or "From what source is it derived?" the first replies, "From Holy Writ."

To what great principle may all others be traced as their unity?" the second answers, "God, the only source of salvation."

VI.

Although every vigorously promoted Reformation, in its results, necessarily leads to Revolution of opinions and external conditions of life, and these last in return can prepare the way for new Reformation, yet Reformation and Revolution, fundamentally considered, are not in degree only, but also in nature and kind, distinct. And this difference may all the less be overlooked, in proportion as the apostle of the one may more easily adorn himself with the mantle of the other.

VII.

The difference between the one and the other principle does not always meet the eye with equal rapidity and distinctness. According to the nature of the thing and the testimony of history, it is possible to begin as a Revolutionist and end as a Reformer; or, on the other hand, it can be that the Reformation current degenerates into a Revolutionary movement. On that account great circumspection is necessary, especially for the Church of our days, in judging those who labour in the midst of her or in the service of Science, so as not hastily to reject, as false doctrine, what, if rightly used, might perhaps be an aid to a deeper knowledge of revealed truth; or, on the other hand, lest a depth of Christian wisdom should be supposed to lie in ideas, behind which much rather a depth of Satan is concealed. (Rev. ii. 24.) But a weighing and testing of the spirit on these points is not impossible, in the long run, provided the eye has been enlightened by the Holy Ghost, and the only true touchstone be employed.

VIII.

Reformation and Revolution: on both sides there is denial and confession; but on the one, the spirit that confesses, on the other the spirit that denies, has the upper hand. Both will build: but the one with preserving and confirming, the other with overturning, the foundation which has been laid. Both will cultivate the garden: but while the one removes the creeping plants and destructive moss from the tree which is a century old, the other lays the axe to the root. Both will contend for truth and right: yet here the right of God, there the sovereignty of man, is the rule or point of starting. So long as Reformation is true to its principles it fights with spiritual weapons only: Revolution probably contends with the fleshly arm, and, if necessary, with the sword. The one has as ally the *réveil*, the other the *révolte*.

IX.

Reformation and Revolution:—metamorphosis is coupled with both; yet in the first case that metamorphosis has a normal, human character, as the development of a child progresses into the boy, the man, the father; in the other, the transition has a diversified, not unfrequently a wild, romantic colouring, like the little tales of the children's world, in which the bear becomes a prince, or the prince is metamorphosed into a bear. The first indeed happens as a result of evolution, the last of substitution.

X.

Reformation and Revolution:—the saying of the Lord, "Out of your words will I judge you," is peculiarly applicable to both. The

spirit of Reformation is marked by a steadily deeper apprehension of, and humbler confession of, sin, on the one hand, and of grace on the other. The spirit of Revolution gives the preference to two altogether different words,—the little words “I” and “No.” This is not wonderful, since the last maintains that man, though imperfect, is nevertheless originally good, and that the fundamental cause of natural and moral evil lies in outward circumstances; while the first represents sin as personal guilt, with all the results which unavoidably flow from that acknowledgment. At times the army is mingled together, but the representatives of the opposing principles necessarily separate as soon as the great question is plainly brought forward, “What is, and whence came, moral evil?” The last words on the left side can be no other than “*Eritis sicut Deus* :” the last on the right, “*Soli Deo gloria*.”

XI.

Reformation and Revolution:—doubtless, under higher direction, the last can also lead to blessed results. It is a true saying of a Christian thinker (Franz v. Baader), “When God will do something good, He willingly lets the Devil take the initiative.” In its tendency, however, the triumph of the Reformation principle can only be beneficial: that of the other only pernicious. Reformation is the unfolding of a temporarily latent living principle: Revolution an unchaining of a hitherto fettered and dying power. The former is the storm by which the air is purified: the latter is the lightning-bolt by which the cedar is felled. In Revolution the power of selfishness is manifested and strengthened: in Reformation the fruit of self-denial and ministering love is seen. By temporary triumph, the former gradually has its conscience destroyed: the latter, by painful strife, advances towards final victory.

XII.

Reformation, which preaches freedom, but founded on a higher principle of unlimited submission, is in no part the mother of Revolution, on the territory of the Church and Science, but rather its irreconcilable enemy. The Reformation principle, represented by Luther, did not kindle the wild fire of Muntzer and his followers, but checked and extinguished it. If Luther were again to appear, we may rest assured that he would take up no other position, over against all who ask no freedom, or more freedom of obedience of faith to the Word of the Lord and His Apostles.

XIII.

The Reformation, which temporarily calls in Revolution as an ally, injures nothing so much as its own cause. The friend of the first will be an enemy to the last. Reformation promoted in the spirit of the

Apostles and Reformers is the most powerful means for checking the pernicious stream of revolutionary ideas both in the Church and in the world. This, however, she can do only by satisfying the necessities which her rival makes manifest but cannot appease.

XIV.

Each true Reformation of the Church is sooner or later united with a Reformation of Theology, and also the reverse. But as a rule the first is not to be expected to flow from the last, but rather the last from the first. Doubtless, the life is in no small degree dependent on the doctrine, but still the true doctrine is first born out of the new life. The more the Church of Christ is an *Ecclesia fidelium*, the more will Theology manifest the character of a *Theologica regentorum et victorum*.

XV.

The ultimate aim of reformatory efforts, both on the territory of doctrine and life, must be, not that Christianity should be modernised, but the spirit of the time christianised.

XVI.

Thorough renovation of Church and Science, as a rule, only comes to pass in the way of decisive separation, the delaying and avoiding of which, at any price, would expose the sufferer to the still greater danger of decay. To be Irenical, is, on that account, an invaluable, but not unconditional, much less the highest praise, for the Evangelical theologian. The full victory of the Reformation principle is not to be obtained by peace at any price, but by contending against every foe.

XVII.

In the continued strife which she must wage for her existence, the Gospel Church of our time also may not cease from keeping a watchful eye on her opponent at Rome. The mark-worthy phenomenon that Rome always considers infidelity as the natural result of Protestantism, and usually shows itself less severe in respect to apostates than to apologists of Christianity and Reformation, constrains the latter to put forth intensified watchfulness. So long as Ultramontanism does not break its alliance with Jesuitism,—continually opposes itself anew to the whole spirit of modern society, and also to the most moderate demands of its own friends, answers with the inexorable *non possumus*,—no peace, even no truce, is to be expected from that side.

XVIII.

Yet the worst enemy which the Reformation spirit of the nineteenth century has to contend with is by no means to be sought on the other

side of the Alps. The hour comes, or rather now is, when, at all events on the territory of Science, and by-and-by also on that of the Church, the words of Strauss, the greatest apostle of infidelity of this century, spoken thirty-five years ago, shall apply:—"The opposition of Catholicism and Protestantism, how much soever its roots may have fixed themselves in the variety of people's character and political forms, is, on the territory of Science, folded up into total absence of doubt. On scientific territory, the orthodox Protestant theology differs much less from the orthodox Catholic than from the rationalistic or even the speculative theology within its own confession. Where the contest is for autonomy or heteronomy of spirit, there the less important question, whether the principle of that heteronomy should be in the Church or the Bible, can but excite little interest." The Evangelical Church is not exclusively, but chiefly, to seek within herself those enemies with whom, in our days, she has to contend, and chiefly out of her own treasury must the weapons be taken which she employs.

XIX.

The enemies which, in our time, stand most in the way of a normal Reformation of the Church and Theology, are modern naturalism on the one hand, and the antiquated orthodoxy on the other.

XX.

Modern Naturalism, not only in its results, but also in its principles, is in irreconcilable strife with all purely reformatory efforts which are fundamentally moral. True re-creating of the forms of the Church and of Theology to meet the necessity of the times is only to be expected on the territory of a steadily ennobling super-naturalism.

XXI.

The anti-supernatural denial of a God who is unconditionally Lord of his own creation, and who has accompanied and sealed by miracles His Revelation of salvation to a sinful world, is neither religious nor Christian nor purely Protestant; but much rather a radical destruction of the common ground on which Religion, Christianity, and Protestantism are built.

XXII.

Indifference about all doctrines, which has become to many the leading article of their meagre creed, must not be regarded as a healthy manifestation, but a sad degeneracy of the spirit of Protestantism. Even so is it a sad misunderstanding of the spirit, when people set themselves against all submission to regularly constituted authority. The nature of the thing and experience show that men

may change the rule to which they submit, but that it is impossible in the long run to withdraw themselves from all authority.

XXIII.

It is not to be regarded as Reformation but Revolution when, instead of preaching the Gospel of salvation for the lost, the recommendation of the perfect piety of Jesus is set before imperfect men. Not to His generally religious, but to His special character as the Saviour, does the Gospel of the Cross owe its victory over the world. Modern theology, which, instead of Christ, as the Saviour, places on the foreground the man Jesus as ideal, and makes Him into a modern Rabbi or theologian of His times, unavoidably leads to the conclusion that Christianity itself, as it has been understood and confessed by the holy, general Christian Church of all ages, has become altogether antiquated.

XXIV.

The modern theology of our days has, in a moral point of view, just as much right of existence on the territory of the Evangelical, as German Catholicism on that of the Roman Church, and in its present form, certainly cannot reckon on a longer existence than her spiritual relation. The only difference is that the Evangelical Church, in its present transition period, according to her principles, has not with dictatorial rule cast out of her society that which already bears within itself the seeds of dissolution, and out of the martyr's crown would only obtain a heightened, though shortlived, prestige. *Patiens quia æterna.*

XXV.

Even if the Naturalism of the present day, by a fortunate inconsequence, should escape the abyss of Materialism and Pantheism, it is in itself really, in the long run, powerless to satisfy the deepest necessities of the heart and conscience. So soon as it honourably gives up using the language of Theology and the Church, to which, on its own peculiar stand-point, it has no right, its poverty appears under the glittering ornament. Undoubtedly, the continued choice of that language is an involuntary homage to the faith which is so keenly fought against. On the other hand, however, in the deceptive play of which many modern theologians permit, a danger lurks, for the individual and social morality, which cannot be earnestly enough considered.

XXVI.

The endeavour of many noble minds and great hearts to deliver religion from the everywhere increasing materialism by giving up the supernatural character of Christianity, is at the best an illusion, the

untenableness of which becomes each day more apparent. The history of the last years convincingly shows that with the disappearance of faith in the divinity of the Gospel the religious life of many has retrograded in a miserable manner, and that He who denies the Son, in the long run, also has not the Father. He who, as needless ballast, throws overboard the historical and dogmatic parts of the Gospel, and only retains the generally religious, has no doubt made the vessel of the Church not a little lighter, but just by so doing has rendered her less fit to brave the sea and storm. Not the casting out, but the maintaining, of its supernatural character, must raise Christianity to the religion of humanity.

XXVII.

Humanity has not made Christianity, but Christianity has made Humanity what it now is on the highest stand-point of its spiritual development. What is merely human may, therefore, not be called Christian, but everything that is purely Christian is, over and above, truly human. Christianity recreates and developes humanity, yet only because it is from God, and in its character partakes both of the Divine and human. On that account, it can but little attain to its worldly-historical destination, so long as its Founder is only regarded as the great Son of Nature, in whom Humanity saves itself; so long as it is not understood in all its force, that the Word really became flesh. The first is a gigantic error, from which naturalism can only be saved by breaking off from the principle on which its existence depends; the other a very glorious truth, which orthodoxy must yet and always go on learning to acknowledge and apply on every territory.

XXVIII.

Even as little as from a self-contradictory and already traditionary naturalism, is progressive Reformation of the Church and Theology to be expected from an antiquated orthodoxy which clings tenaciously to the forms of the past, and, blind to the terrible conflict of opinions going on around, is continually showing that it has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. In the name of their traditionary opinions the Jews crucified their Messiah, and would have prevented Him from leaving His grave in eternal freedom and beauty, if the truth and the life had not been more powerful than the official tombstone.

XXIX.

Heterodoxy is not always the expression of what is in itself untrue and absolutely unscriptural. On the contrary, we frequently see in heterodox systems an opinion, neglected by the opposite side, come to its powerful though one-sided development. Orthodoxy, on the

other hand, is not a dead capital, which passes, as an inheritance of the past, from one hand to another, but a living ideal, at first slowly approached to, and finally the more fully attained, according as the Confession in which it finds temporary expression experiences continually a fresh Bible-baptism and the searcher of the Scriptures a fresh spirit-baptism.

XXX.

The great fault of the theology of orthodoxy is, not that it is too old, but much rather that it is not old enough, since it does not number three hundred and fifty, but only two hundred years and less; in other words, bears more of the stamp of the re-born scholasticism of the seventeenth, than of the fresh Reformation spirit of the sixteenth century. For many years the tendency of systematic conservatism has been to make the Church and Theology stand still in the way of their divinely decreed development, hindering in its turn the reformation of both, and contrary to its aim, by the re-action which thinks it necessary, calling forth, sooner or later, revolution.

XXXI.

Narrow-minded orthodoxy cannot possibly be opposed, with good result, by a high-minded liberalism, in comparison with which it has rather an undoubted right; but only by a healthy, liberal spirit, and a living Evangelical orthodoxy, which does not regard anything human as foreign to itself, acknowledges the divine on each territory of its revelation, and recommends Christianity just in that form in which, as a rule, it meets with the greatest opposition. With the motto, "Old and new, but above all true," in her escutcheon, by the labour of unshaken faith, and in the communion of holy love, must this orthodoxy overcome the spiritual powers with which she contends.

XXXII.

In the wide-spread work which the science of faith sees laid on her, in an ever-increasing measure, the sympathy and confidence of the best part of the Church are to her an essential life-necessity. It is the more deeply to be deplored, although easily to be understood, that, just, from that side, the development of science is too much looked upon with pain, or the eyes of distrust. The orthodoxophobia and the miraculophobia of many of the modern school is an obstinate, sickly phenomenon, but the photophobia (aversion to light) of many of the orthodox party, can scarcely be hailed as a rejoicing sign of life. Fear for science is not the fruit of a great, but of a miserably little faith. Yet it appears that there is here not only an unbelieving rationalism, but also an unbelieving orthodoxy. May the Lord graciously preserve His Church from both!

XXXIII.

The sharp opposition between Religion and Theology, which, closely connected with former confusion of both, is now praised by many as the highest wisdom, can in truth in the long run neither do good to Religion nor Theology, but must much rather, in its lawful consequence lead to the undermining of the Christian Church and the degradation of theological science.

XXXIV.

Irreconcilable separation between Believing and Knowing is also, according to the experience of our time, equally pernicious as the constant confusing of both. The Theology of the future can only be that which, on the one side, continues to recognise the difference of both, but, on the other, restlessly strives to reconcile them and to make the Gospel always more esteemed from the Christian gnosis, which it already is for the most inward faith, how much soever it cannot dissemble to itself that reconciliation is never absolute here below, but at the highest can only be approximately attained.

XXXV.

It is too often forgotten that Christian Theology, from the nature of the thing, is a progressive science, but at the same time shows a reproductive character. On her territory, true progress is not to be thought of without continually returning to the unchangeable principles of all Religious and Christian knowledge, which have been repeatedly acknowledged and established anew. Meantime it has to be guarded against confusing a living reproduction with mechanical unchanged restorations. A true theological examination is like a musical composition, which never loses sight of the key-note and theme, but brings the chief thought nearer to its highest expression and harmonious idea by continuous new sounds, even by introduced discords.

XXXVI.

The development of Christian Theology shall progress the more prosperously and work with the more blessed results in proportion as it, by the examination of the doctrine of salvation and life, more directly proceeds from God as He has revealed Himself in Christ, in whom are "hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;" in other words, in proportion as it shows not only a more Christological, but Christocentric character.

XXXVII.

The development of Christian Theology will not a little depend on the place which is given to the doctrine of the Moral Sense. Misunderstanding of the right and power of conscience leads to a dead

orthodoxy : over-estimating that right and power, to modern rationalism, and the submitting of everything to the decision of conscience. It is, therefore, in the highest degree desirable, as well that the inner agreement of Science and Conscience, on religious and theological territory, should be placed better in the light, as that it should be freely acknowledged to be impossible either to deduce from conscience the historical substance of the revelation of salvation, or satisfactorily to vindicate it before that tribunal.

XXXVIII.

The miserable blindness in which many, even with much theological science, err in regard to the great main point of the Gospel, is a perturbing proof of the literal truth of the elementary instruction given to Nicodemus by the Lord, that without being born again it is impossible to see the kingdom of God ; while the stumbling-block which this declaration always raises, and not the least among the teachers in Israel, may be called an additional surety of its divinity and justness. In a very sound sense it can be supposed that the theology of the pure heart shall be the theology of the future, provided only that it never be forgotten that the pure heart is also a gift of the grace from above, which in its turn furnishes the palpable proof of the reality and power of the supernatural.

XXXIX.

The spiritual man judgeth all things (1 Cor. ii. 15), and is therefore, as theodidect and theologian, not only qualified and entitled, but even obliged and called, to the wise exercise of criticism, both of the origin and substance of the Revelation of Salvation. Only then, along with injustice, does misery begin, when she who keeps the door will dethrone the queen ; in other words, when the whole practice of Theology has, at the end, degenerated into a dialectic criticism, which asks philosophy what history, all or not, may be, and always, under the promise of qualifying, finally destroys its own object. No Christian theologian can think a testing of his principles by criticism questionable, if only preceded by a criticism of the criticism, and that, besides, it is never forgotten that criticism can rectify or vindicate but never produce faith.

XL.

Next to a free, that is, a not philosophically prejudiced criticism, a powerful apologetic is, in our days, more than ever necessary. Not only science, but also the Church of the Lord, need deliberate maintaining, most of all, of the testimony and chief facts of the Christian Revelation of salvation against the contradiction of unbelief. Considered from this point of view, next to the preaching and catechising,

fixed apologetical lectures are, for advanced Christians, a positive necessity of the time. This popular scientific apology of religion, Christianity, and reforming, shall the better attain to her beautiful aim in proportion as she bears the character of a living testimony of faith, which estimates the negation of unbelief neither too low nor too high, and satisfied whenever she has shown more clearly all the folly of denying and the reasonableness of acknowledging the controverted chief point, transfers the peculiar duty of the conviction to the stronger who comes after her, and whose shoe latchet she is not worthy to bind.

XXI.

Also, without actual combating of error and unbelief, the preaching of the Gospel can and must be a powerful apology for the cause of Christianity, and contribute richly to the continued reforming of the Church. To be in a position to do this, not only perseverance in and increasing of the preaching, but improving and perfecting it, are necessary. The Church of our days is even less served by men like those who were always fruitlessly taking captive silly women, of whom Paul speaks (2 Tim. iii. 7), than by others who preach her faith without its having, in truth, become their own.

XLII.

It is of considerable importance for the building up of the Church that the public preaching should continually ally itself closely with the word of the Holy Scriptures, not employed mechanically, but dynamically ; not purely *recitando*, but *reproducendo*. The claim that the preacher shall absolutely be bound by nothing except the decision of the individual conscience rests on a miserable misunderstanding, both of the essence of Christianity and of the Church. He who bids farewell to theology and the pulpit because his conscience testifies that internally he has broken with Christianity and the Church, stands morally infinitely higher than one who wishes to remain at any price, and, conservative in respect to his own position, violates, in a miserable manner, the continuity of the consciousness of faith and the life of the Church.

XLIII.

Although the preaching of the Gospel in the Churches of the Reformation is and must remain the chief point, yet the purifying and improving of public worship is a question of the time, which cannot be too earnestly considered. Shall the whole man be properly edified, the satisfying of good taste and the sense of the beautiful is a demand of the Protestantism of the present day, much more frequently repeated than attended to as it is fit. Meantime it must be seen to with the greatest circumspection, that the superabundant satisfying of that

demand does not, along the way of sensualism and ritualism, lead to the path of error of crypto-Catholicism.

XLIV.

The Church that understands her calling is not only obliged to take care that the public worship or pastoral office, but also the school, are maintained (Heidelberg Cat., Answer 103); in other words, that the Christian principle is, as powerfully as possible, maintained and applied in the instruction, particularly of the elementary schools, in order that, in the strife of principles, the apparently neutral national school may not be a sectarian school of unbelief. On this territory also, the demand that morality should be independent of religion is as absurd as the opinion that religion should remain independent of theology, or this again independent of the holy writings. The purely reformatory effort continues mindful of the words of the Lord:—"What God hath joined together let no man put asunder;" while, on the other hand, the revolutionary has chosen for its motto:—"Divide and Reign."

XLV.

Where the Church, even by the most spiritual means, has developed herself in a spiritual point of view, she is ripe also, in her organization, for approaching to the ideal of Christianity and reforming, and for gradually becoming a People's Church, a union of those come to majority and priests, in a condition to discern and choose to whom she will entrust her highest interests. The maintaining, however, of an indisputable orthodox principle on this territory, cannot possibly be a blessing to her, so long as the moral conditions of the application of it, that is, so long as the true life and spiritual unity, are wanting. It remains also a hopeless endeavour to conceal and stop, by the most excellent organization, the boundless confusion and increasing division in doctrine and life. And it may at least be called hazardous to desire an absolute emancipation of the Church from the State, so long as the Church is not in a fit condition to stand by herself, and just, perhaps, the moral influence of the State, within proper bounds, preserves her from absolute disorganization and decomposition.

XLVI.

However well prepared, in these different ways, for the strife, the Evangelical Church can scarcely hope ever to celebrate a fourth centenary feast of the Reformation, unless she shows a continually increasing power in the life. Science alone cannot stop the false science in her midst, but science united with life. Tired of long controversies, the spirit of the time stands, in some measure, in the position of the Theatre Director, in the prelude to Goëthe's *Faust*, to the Poet, when he says, "Enough of words, let me at last see deeds." Then only, but

certainly then also, shall Apostolical Christianity vanquish modern Humanism, when it appears that the Christian has all that is noble and worthy of estimation that the Humanist possesses, and yet something more which flesh and blood do not reveal. For that reason, also, the work of unfainting faith can only, with the desired result, be perfected in the exercise of holy love.

XLVII.

The crisis, through which the Church and Theology are at present passing, necessarily prepares the way for new separations, but also for new combinations ; for, in the same Church Community, the Confessors of the Gospel, who hold fast to the supernatural on the territory of Religion and Christianity, are already inwardly separated from fellow-members, who regard Religion only as an interesting phenomenon in the human soul, life and Christianity purely as a natural fruit of the tree of humanity. On the other hand, is it not natural that, in the various Church communities, all those are steadily approaching more closely to each other who adhere firmly to the faith in a personal free-working God and a special Revelation of Salvation in Christ, the upright acceptance of which they consider absolutely necessary to the salvation of souls ? If thereby the external separation walls of a former period may still remain standing, is a question of a tolerably indifferent, in a great part administrative financial, significance.

XLVIII.

Real union cannot be made by diplomatically setting aside confessional points of difference which are esteemed important. It is born by brotherly conversation and a continually deeper apprehension of the disputed questions ; the result of which is, that from behind the diversity the concealed unity comes step by step to the foreground. That shall certainly happen in proportion as each confessional disputed question is conversed about, not from an abstract juridical, but from a living, Christian, pneumatical, stand-point. Meanwhile, so long as external unity cannot altogether be realised, with the maintenance of truth and freedom, it must not be promoted along the way of fusion, much less of annexation, but of confederation.

XLIX.

In proportion as the union of the faithful becomes more manifest, it cannot be otherwise than that their strife against the world must increase. Perturbing signs already proclaim an apostacy and a revelation of the mystery of unrighteousness which shall make it impossible for the Church, in any other manner than as her glorious Head, to enter into glory by suffering. Many wish for eminent consecrated persons who, in the increasing enlargement of thoughts and positions,

can speak of the true time-word on the field of Church and science ; and this is, in this contest of affairs, excusable, even when it looks for appeasing on a way of error, provided that it is not united with ungrateful depreciation of what the Lord has already really given to His Church. In its deepest ground, this desire is but an unhealthy form of the desire for the coming of the Lord, and without which an apocalyptical outline of the spiritual life, building up on reformatory activity, is not at all imaginable in our time.

I.

Meantime the apocalyptic expectation has also to watch that it does not become an optimist, sensual Chiliastic or Millenarian one. Scarcely comes the morning of a brighter day, before the evening has still deeper descended. No labour of faith, no communion of love can altogether save the world from the threatening judgments of God. We strive for Reformation, and seek to stop Revolution in her sinful ways, and the Lord of the Church prepares a Revolution on a great scale, which shall smooth the way for the last and most glorious Reformation. Yet, so long as its hour comes not, we can only strive faithfully and in company for the pledge that has been intrusted to us. It is only laid on us to stand and oppose the enemy ; vanquished he shall not be before the end. **MARANATHA**, He comes who says, "Behold, I make all things new."

DISCUSSION.

A short discussion arose upon the papers read by *Dr. Keerl*, and *Dr. Herzog*, and one in the evening of the same day on the Aphorisms of *Professor Oosterzee*. A brief report of these is subjoined.

The Honorary President, PROFESSOR LANGE, intimated that he wished to offer a few remarks on *Dr. Keerl's* address, but first invited those of others.

REV. VAN RHYN thereupon rose and said:—

That he had listened to *Dr. Keerl's* address with great interest and attention. His closing words had made a profound impression upon his mind, *Dr. Keerl* maintaining that in the way pointed out by him the mysteries connected with Christ's two-fold nature can be satisfactorily explained. He would be happy to hear some further discussion on this subject, for it is one of pre-eminent importance, the whole conflict between belief and unbelief being in reality concentrated in the person of Jesus.

Professor LANGE recommends the address of *Dr. Keerl* to the most serious reflection of the members of the meeting. It contains deep theology, and has, therefore, not drawn that measure of attention that the intrinsic value of his essay deserves. It is a subject that has largely engaged *Dr. Keerl's* thoughts and attention, and he has also written on the subject in publications of larger and smaller extent. The union of the Divine and human nature in Christ is an old problem; manifold have been the ways wherein men have endeavoured to solve it. Lately some theologians have tried to solve this question by adopting a change, not in the human, but in the Divine nature of the Lord. According to this opinion the Divine omnipotence has, when Christ came into the flesh, receded behind his love; and Almighty God has, in a manner, in his love restricted his power. But we cannot say that this is really the solution of this question, and we stumble on a fresh difficulty, which is, we then must assume a change in the unchangeable nature of God. This certainly is not *Dr. Keerl's* view of the subject. But there is something else which the speaker thinks *Dr. Keerl* has left rather indistinct in his address. According to *Dr. Keerl's* opinion a difference must be made between a *purified* and a *sanctified* nature. At his birth Christ possessed the first, and obtained the second by His voluntary obedience. He does not quite understand this difference.

Dr. KEERL hereupon enters into a further explanation of the terms employed by him, by once more reading several parts of his essay.

Professor LANGE desires to return his thanks to Dr. Keerl for the explanations given, and declares that now he can perfectly agree with the views adopted by him.

The PRESIDENT has also some remarks to make on the address of Professor Herzog. His speech was exceedingly attractive and instructive. But it seems to him that Professor Herzog has not sufficiently explained which method he wishes to see followed in reference to criticism: whether the *analytic* or the *synthetic*? Criticism should be exercised according to certain fixed laws, dependent on the principles of positive faith and life. The all-important question: Do we believe in a living God, or in a blind power of Nature? will always exercise a dominating influence. Some general principles ought to be fixed for criticism, so that there may be some centre-point. Here, too, the *δὲς μοι ποῦ στῶ* (give me where to stand) is of great importance. If the Professor's essay had elucidated this point somewhat more, it would, according to Professor Lange's opinion, have possessed still greater value.

Professor HERZOG declares that he is of the same mind as his colleague as regards the manner in which this subject must be apprehended; but he had deemed it unnecessary to point this out more specifically, or to enlarge upon it.

BARON VAN WASSENAAR thanks the honorary president for the able way in which he has conducted the proceedings. Considering the deep interest evinced by the members for theological subjects, it is pleasant to consider that the conferences of the coming evening will give them ample opportunity to renew the theme of theology. He hopes the Alliance will prove of real benefit to the cause of science and knowledge.

EVENING MEETING.

Professor RIGGENBACH of Basle presided.

The President opens the discussion on the Aphorisms, and inquires whether anybody has any objections to raise against them.

Rev. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE has two objections against the *second* of the Aphorisms. Professor Oosterzee says, the Reformation is a new revelation of the Lord of the Church. According to his opinion, it would be more correct to say, a new revelation of the *Holy Ghost*; for the latter has taken the place of the former in the Church,—is become his substitute. The Reformation was, moreover, mentioned as possessing a *twofold* principle (a *material* and a *formal* one): *justification by grace, through faith*; and the latter (*faith*) is not only subjective, but objective in its kind. The *subjective* and *objective* are here one.

Professor HERZOG does not agree with the preceding speaker that the distinction of the two principles is inaccurate or unphilosophical. The question is here merely, Which of these two principles has the greater preponderance: justification by faith, or the supreme recognition of the Holy Scriptures as the standard of the Christian doctrine and life? Luther united the two. The true doctrine of salvation he drew from and

based on the Word of God. Hence the speaker, as far as it regards his own person, would give the preference, at least of priority, to the formal principle. If we maintain, first, justification by faith, and, therefore, secondly, the authority of the Scriptures, as containing this truth, we do not admit the just claims of the latter. If, on the other hand, we put, first, the acknowledgment of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore, secondly, the true character of faith, we uphold the claims of the Holy Scriptures against the Roman Catholic Church. Both principles must always be brought into the closest possible agreement.

Professor LANGE says that the Apostle Paul merged the *ten* commandments into *one* commandment of absolute love. St. Paul possessed a profound and perfect insight into the *unity* that bound these two principles together. The two are in reality *one*. Thus it also is with the two principles of the Reformation. They can be merged into one, and this is what Mr. la Saussaye has most probably wished to say.

Dr. DE PRESSENSÉ is quite of Mr. de Lange's opinion. The two principles are in reality one, but, after becoming one, can be divided again; they are arteries that flow into *this* heart of divine revelation (the true *Cor Ecclesiæ*), but which afterwards divide again. He, too, does not regard the principle of faith as a *subjective*, but as an *objective* one, and thereby he gives his complete acquiescence to the theses of Dr. Van Oosterzee. He judges rightly that revolution only arises there where the reformation remains at fault. Revolution is caused by reaction, by not acknowledging the claims of the time and of the people, by obstinately opposing every kind of legal and natural reformation. Hence the Reformation is to be distinguished, not only in its *degree*, but also in *principle*, from *Revolution*. The *latter* overthrows all things by sheer violence; the *former* steadily pursues its course, but to remain true to its nature and principles, it must always be *progressive*. Reformation must never forget that its grand object is to combat *reaction*. It is reaction that leads to the ruin of the Gospel; it is reaction that, excited by the excesses, causes and augments revolution, thereby calling forth the very revolution it desires to suppress. The speaker, therefore, wishes a more powerful and united co-operation towards the development and continuation of the Reformation. Such a kind of *liberalism* is the best, the proper, the only kind of conservatism. This is the only way in which the device, "Je maintiendrai" can be applied to the cause of truth, for truth can alone be upheld and maintained by *development*. Truth can only be said to live when it is *progressive*, but dies as soon as it becomes *motionless*. Let us fervently pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost, that divine fire from on High, for that Spirit which, entering our hearts and sitting upon our tongues, illuminates and enkindles. Without that spirit, which leads us deeper and deeper into the truth, we are nothing. "My brethren, this meeting must aim at acknowledging the legitimate and divine right of liberty, in order to follow up the work of the Reformation, in order to prevent the sad consequences of Revolution."

Rev. FR. DE ROUGEMONT thinks it is very necessary that a very close distinction should be made between the two principles mentioned. The formal has, in reality, only to do with the *method* of the Reformation. The *material* is the foundation of its doctrine; the other has only refer-

ence to its outward reform. The Reformers came to the knowledge of the truth by means of the way indicated by the same. As far as it is possible we should guard against a confusion of terms. What do we wish: reformation or development? But both, in reality, are one and the same. At present we have got to develop, and not to reform anew. If we wished the latter we must, like Luther, produce or create *new things*. And, in fact, the chief principle of Christianity is not, strictly speaking, justification through faith—however precious we may deem this doctrine to be—but the Divinity of the Lord.

Rev. VAN RHYN asks if in these Aphorisms there is not some confusion between the *historical* and *philosophical* view of the history of the Reformation. The questions concerning *one* or two principles, concerning the difference between *development* and *reformation*, appear of less importance to him. *Nitzsch* says very properly, the Christian Church desires *union, mission, reformation*, and the latter continuously. From the very beginning the latter was necessary, already at the first synod at Jerusalem, and such still continues to be the case. His former life as a sailor induces him to employ here a simile that seems very appropriate. The damages done to the ship of the Church must be every time repaired, every day the ship must be cleaned; and, moreover, it must be a special care that the ship keep on her right course, in order to reach the good haven.

Professor CASSEL desires to draw attention to the cutting contrast, to the incompatible character of Reformation and Revolution. The inestimable blessing of the latter can only be really valued by experiencing what the contrary—revolution—signifies. In a certain sense, revolution is the antipode—the other pole of the Reformation; the negative of the other positive one. Revolution is the result and effect of the denial of the truths belonging to the Reformation. The calling and motto of reformation is, steady opposition against the senselessness and hollowness of revolution. Materialism is revolution: Christianity is reformation; the power of money is revolution; the power of the mind is reformation.

Professor VALETON opines that Mr. *de Rougemont* makes too great a distinction between *reformation* and *development*. The only means to continue the Reformation with success is the union of *criticism* with *faith*. The one is not inimical to the other; both are fruits of the Holy Spirit, that renews the whole man, and therefore also sanctifies and illuminates his judgment, and teaches him to distinguish between truth and falsehood, between what is eternal and temporal and formal. Let us follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and there will be, as a matter of course, reformation and development, according as it may be required.

Professor VAN OOSTERZEE does not deny that both principles of the Reformation can philosophically be made one, but it is his opinion that in reality and practically they may be separated. He certainly thinks that his expression, “new revelation of the Lord of the Church” is correct and maintainable. The writings of the new covenant speak of different, of various, revelations of the Son of God, at the destruction of Jerusalem, His coming and judgment, and so forth. The Reformation may be considered as belonging to such. But it is a difference chiefly in words and form. He acknowledges, and emphatically too, that the revelation of Christ in the Reformation has taken place through the medium of the Holy Spirit.

Mr. KOENEN, though not a divine, ventures to speak on this question. He deems a continuous reformation necessary, emanating from the same principle as that of the sixteenth century, though somewhat modified in its direction and tendency. The characteristic features of the Reformation of the sixteenth century were, first, the supreme authority of the Word of God above the words of man; second, a full appreciation of the merits of Christ in opposition to those of man. At present the glorification of the Holy Spirit is placed on the foreground. The idea of the supernatural is one and the same with the glorification of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures and in nature.

Professor LANGE says that the operation of the Holy Ghost and the revelation of Christ can be as little divided, as the two principles already mentioned so often. He points to the Word of the Lord, that the Holy Ghost shall not speak of Himself, but of whatsoever He shall hear, and Jesus says, that the Spirit shall take of His. He confesses to feel very grateful to Professor Van Oosterzee, not only for his ingenious Aphorisms, but also for having given rise to the important discussion resulting at present from them.

Professor VAN OOSTERZEE is likewise happy to have given rise to these discussions, although his theses have not been written as for a debating society to discuss them. His principal object was to show that the friend of reformation must in principle, be an enemy to revolution, that is in the sense given to that word by the Christian-historical school. And he has thereby especially in view the enemies in the bosom of the Church herself—modern rationalism on the one, and antiquated orthodoxism on the other side. He desires his words may now, and at all times, prove by the power of the Spirit, a two-edged sword against these two extremes.

Professor BRUMMELKEMP has some objections against the twenty-fourth thesis. Church discipline is entirely overthrown thereby. Why should a Protestant community not be permitted to exclude a person on account of a difference in dogma? That opinion, however universally it may be adopted, is highly dangerous. The Church, by foregoing the right of Church discipline, loses the scriptural foundation on which she stands, and leaves the sphere in which she is really called to breathe and live.

Professor LANGE thinks this to be a very delicate question; here is a knot far easier to cut asunder than to undo. We must consider the state of matters as it really is; and the historical way whereby the present condition of things has been travelled over. Every act of excommunication is dangerous. In uprooting the tares we run the risk of tearing up the wheat too. The Lord gave the Church an example. He saw through the satanic inclination of Judas, but He does not on that account exclude him from the number of His disciples, nor does He take the bag from him. The measure must become full, then the breach takes place, and Judas leaves!

Professor BRUMMELKEMP declares he is by no means convinced. The principle of Church discipline may not be abandoned: else the Church acts like the world. We read, "Let both grow together;" but this refers to the field of the *world*. The Church is, on the other hand, a holy body. He who pertinaciously clings to error ought to be expelled.

The example of Judas is not quite applicable here. Judas pretended to be and wanted to pass himself off for a faithful disciple. Jesus had to treat him—though he himself perfectly saw through him—according to what he outwardly seemed to be. Thus Simon the Sorcerer was likewise baptized; but afterwards, when it became *evident* of what *spirit* he was, he was no longer tolerated.

Professor OOSTERZEE defends his assertion. The Church may not, with dictatorial power, expel what already bears in itself the germ of dissolution. Here the question is not *de jure*, but *de vocatione ecclesie*. Whatever the Church may do from a *judicial* point of view, from a *medical* one she may not. And what person or persons would she then, after all, have to excommunicate?

Rev. VAN RHYN entertains some objection against the 43rd thesis. According to his mind it does not say enough. What must be here understood by *deeds*? There are also such things as *passive deeds*. Most probably the compiler has not sufficiently considered the passive deed or action of voluntary self-denial, self-sacrifice, of martyrdom, in the Church. The Lord has herein given us an example: let the Church follow it. It is *after* the wheat has fallen into the ground, and (seemingly) dies, that it brings forth abundant fruit. The Evangelical Church should exclaim with Thomas, "Let us also go, that we may die with him."

Professor VAN OOSTERZEE says, that he too thinks that Christian endurance and suffering is, of all acts of faith, the greatest. Hence, in another thesis, he pointed to that suffering which leads to glory.

Professor ASTIE does not agree with the declaration that the Church is called to suffer only. If the Church is wrongfully attacked, she must know how to defend herself. She may not suffer herself to be trodden under foot. This the Dutch of olden times perfectly well understood, and they would not bend to Alva. If they had, the Netherlands would have become what Spain now is. The story history teaches us we ought well to take to heart.

Rev. M. ROGNON observes that the Church has a human right, vindicated by the Reformation. She is called to fight for truth and love. The Church has the right to watch over her own existence. She may not put up with everything, she must stand up for her rights. Therefore, the right of excommunication must be maintained. We may not bend our necks under every kind of yoke that others may feel inclined to put upon us.

DE ROUGEMONT is an advocate for endurance. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual, and therefore all powerful in God. But endurance, too, has its limits. The Christian is at liberty to defend his political rights, but let him well consider before leaving the path of endurance. De Coligny passed three days and nights in prayer ere he took up arms, to which his wife pressed him. But then he indeed did so.

FELIX BOVET says that we must avoid confounding the defence of our political rights with warfare for the Gospel. The history of France very clearly shows us the dire consequence of mixing politics with matters of faith. The struggles of the Huguenots has been of no advantage to French Protestantism. The use of arms has never proved a blessing to the Gospel.

Mr. H. J. KOENEN is of opinion that the history of the United Nether-

lands teaches that the combat for religious liberty, for liberty of conscience, united with the defence of political rights, can be crowned with a blessed result. True, there was a difference in the state of things between France and Holland. In this country God gave a leader, like Moses against Pharaoh : that leader was our William of Orange.

Rev. M. BERSIER has always regarded it as a most striking instance of Divine inspiration when St. Paul admonishes to be subject to the powers that be, for this was quite against the spirit of Judaism. And yet it seems unreasonable that the Christian should never be allowed to defend his holy rights by means of external force. In opposition to the consistent doctrine of Calvin, as regards this matter, Knox put forth one still more consistent. If tyranny be given of God, the republican power that can oppose it is likewise given of Him. We are, however, not living under the sway of a Nero. Times are changed. We may not passively sacrifice our civil and religious rights and liberties ; and not only in Holland are these rights enjoyed. St. Paul, when at Philippi, claimed his rights as a Roman citizen.

The PRESIDENT says that it is not sufficient to cite the case of the Apostle Paul. Later he wrote 2 Cor. xi. It is necessary to distinguish political from Christian rights. Patriotism is something else than mere zeal for the rights of conscience.

Professor VAN OOSTERZEE, in answer to Mr. Rognon, says :—Yes, he believes *patiens quia æterna* is a most excellent motto for the Church. For the members of the Church there is no better road than that of the Lord, “through death unto life.” God grant that we may never see such a general apostacy that the confession of the Christian should be followed by persecutions, and the martyrs be the only true witnesses ; but then there would be for the Christian no other choice left but the motto, “Untergehen ist auferstehen” (loss of all, loss of life, is resurrection).

Professor LANGE is of opinion that it must much depend from “Gottes Walten in der Geschichte” (that is, God’s overruling in history,) how we are to act. Dr. Dorner of Berlin had written on this subject, and he came to the conclusion that the Christian’s duty is to maintain and to defend our moral rights against every unjust attack, as a property most righteously obtained. Such a *holy* right is the liberty of conscience. But political citizen rights stand in the closest connection with these. They may not be thoughtlessly abandoned. If the thermometer of suffering and endurance pointed to such a degree, that there indeed seemed no means of escape, then, but only then, and not before, would it be necessary to speak of giving up—that is, sacrificing—our rights. An opinion as to *when* we are to become martyrs is a very difficult thing to give, but this is certain : no sacrifice is good except the one rendered to the Lord, and not unto the evil (injustice and tyranny).

Dr. DE PRESSENSÉ fears he has not been understood. Professor Lange has, however, already spoken in his defence : in a strictly religious sense of the word, the having recourse to the use of arms is in opposition to the doctrine of Christ. But the influence of Christianity on the world has also been spoken of. The state of society now is very different to that of the first centuries. We have social rights. And if the Christian is called to suffer as a Christian, he must as a citizen help to maintain his rights.

The greatest believer will surely be the most courageous champion in the cause of liberty. Who would venture to declare the American war of liberation to be illegal? The Evangelical Alliance certainly not. The name of Washington, the noble leader of the champions of liberty, is plainly visible in this assembly-room, and this fills him with pleasure. His is a glorious example. Christianity is the kingdom of the *weak*, but it is also the kingdom of the *strong*.

Dr. KOGEL wishes to declare that he agrees with Rev. *Van Rhyn's* opinion on this matter. St. Paul protested and opposed the injustice done to him, but only after he had endured imprisonment and stripes. Nowhere is the Christian commanded to seize the sword. True martyrdom is not submission to fatalism, but it is the act of taking up the Cross and following after the Lord. Calvin's coat-of-arms was a hand with a heart, with the motto: "To thee, O Lord, I sacrifice it." The motto of that shield ought also to be our war-cry.

Professor VAN OOSTERZEE returns his thanks to the meeting for the important discussions his Aphorisms have led to. He will, in conclusion, express in a few words, the complete contents of his theses; and he does so by declaring that he has desired to give an idea of the relation existing between Theology and the Church and the Spirit of Revolution. The only means of salvation for both, so that they do not fall a prey to the spirit of revolution is a continuous reformation, by a normal development of the principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Mr. KOENEN expresses his thanks to the President for the able manner in which he has led the discussions, and sincerely hopes that in the course of the following days many such important debates may again occur.

Professor HERZOG closed the meeting with prayer.

III.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN SOCIETY; BY REV. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, ROTTERDAM.

UNIVERSALITY OF CHRISTIANITY, A WITNESS FOR ITS CENTRE; BY PROFESSOR LANGE, BONN.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY; BY REV. EDWARD STEANE, D.D., LONDON.

SAME SUBJECT; BY PROFESSOR ASTIÉ, LAUSANNE.

THE SCHOOL AND THE BIBLE; BY REV. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., PARIS.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN HOLLAND; BY M. DE NEUFVILLE AMSTERDAM.

DISCUSSION.

CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALITIES; BY M. DE ROUGEMONT, COUNCILLOR OF STATE, NEUCHÂTEL.

RELIGIOUS NATIONALITY IN CONNECTION WITH HOLLAND AND THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE; BY M. G. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, THE HAGUE.

CHRISTIANITY AND LITERATURE; BY REV. L. F. BUNGENER, GENEVA.

CHRISTIANITY AND ART; BY DR. L. R. BEYNEN, THE HAGUE.

CHRISTIANITY AND SCIENCE; BY M. J. H. GUNNING, JUN., THE HAGUE.

DISCUSSION.

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN SOCIETY.

BY THE REV. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE,

OF ROTTERDAM.

I.

AT the opening of a meeting for the discussion of social questions, it is not inopportune to treat of one of a general nature, a question of principles, what may be denominated emphatically the Social Question. I mean the relation between the Christian principle and the principle of modern society. Is this relation a relation of sympathy or of antipathy? The principle which governs in the institutions of the modern State, which always rises afresh from the strifes and blind experiments of our age, an age bent on reforming everything, and calling before its tribunal every tradition, and whatever appears to have received the indelible consecration of history, how are we to judge of this principle? Is it, or is it not hostile to Christianity?

On the other hand, the Christian principle itself, the principle of which the Christian Church is the development and manifestation, this principle taken in its original purity and disengaged from all admixtures, is it hostile to the aspirations of modern society? Does it absolutely condemn the wants, the desires, the pretensions even which have sprung to light in those social revolutions that for nearly a century have formed the materials of history? In a word, does there exist between the modern spirit and the Christian spirit a natural incompatibility, an absolute antagonism? Does modern society no longer want the Church, and has the Church nothing for modern society but its anathema? "We will not have this man to reign over us;" "Is this the language which the nineteenth century throws in the face of Christ, and does Christ on His part assume in relation to the present age the attitude only of a Judge; has He nothing to say to it but what is contained in the words, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven"?

Need I insist on the importance of this question, and how immense are the consequences it involves? Important! it would be that if it were only a Christian speculation, if it only undertook to assign to the present age its part and significance in the development of the Church, in the annals of the kingdom of heaven on earth. But this is not a question of the schools; it is a question eminently practical. On the solution we give to it will depend the attitude we shall have to assume in the world, the interest with which its strifes will inspire us, the part we shall take in its affairs. It is in truth the question of knowing how we ought to profess the name of our Lord in the actual state of things. How can the Christian be otherwise than deeply interested in it?

Shall I pretend to give a solution which would be at once acceptable of all? Do not believe me capable of it. When even the question shall be resolved by individual conscience, it will still be far from having received an objective solution, evident to all. In fact, it will be only a voice which will be understood in different senses! In the estimation of some, the disappearing of the Christian state in what has been its historical sense since the time of Constantine, and which was still that of the congress of Vienna and of the Holy Alliance, is neither more nor less than a rupture with Christ, the commencement of the grand predicted apostasy. Others on the contrary see in it the dawn of a new day in the spiritual creation, of a day more glorious than all preceding days, and in which we approach nearer to the eternal Sabbath. Some serious political publicists think that society never presented so advantageous a condition in relation to religious faith, while others are alarmed by the apparent weakening of character, and of the moral sense, in consequence of that of religious faith. When the *élite* of our age, thinkers and statesmen, find themselves placed in presence of the age as before a problem of which the very terms are not known, the presumption would be ridiculous to take one's personal belief for the general sentiment. No! it is neither from the novelty of my subject, nor from the point of view under which I wish to consider it, that I derive my boldness to discourse on this question, but simply from my present opportunity. Consider my words only as a testimony to the communion of the faithful of all parts of the world, not only in the same faith, but also in the same prepossessions, in the same strifes, the same spiritual sufferings. For to these strifes of the intellect and the heart the words of the Apostle are applicable "that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world."

To show the relation between these two mentioned principles, it will be sufficient to place them before you. This is all that I shall do, leaving you to draw the conclusion.

Modern society presents two aspects. That which lies on the

surface, which at once rises to view, is something decidedly non-Christian, decidedly opposed to Christianity, if at least Christianity is a morality and a religion; I mean the rule of violence, the right of might, that complex phenomenon which for some years past we have been accustomed to denominate Cesarism.

Cesarism! This word transports us to the worst times of pagan antiquity, to the epoch when society would have relapsed into barbarism, and human nature have been lost in vice, if Christianity, the liberator and regenerator, had not been there to save that which had destroyed itself. Cesarism! I mean the arbitrary and despotic establishing itself on the ruins of liberty, turning to the advantage of one only, or of a few, the moral exhaustion which succeeds the strifes of political parties, gathering the *debris* of society in a state of decomposition, not to breathe into them a new life, but to construct an artificial mechanism of which the entangled wheels roll on incessantly in obedience to the impulse they received at first. Cesarism is by means of universal suffrage the phantom of democracy, the apparent and deceitful incarnation of the national will, the suppression of moral responsibility in everything, and with everybody. Cesarism still further is the systematic demoralization of the multitude, the allurements of sensual pleasures to turn men away from the moral wants which are felt in the depths of the soul—the *panem et circenses*, to make them forget the forum with its manly passions and noble strifes. Cesarism is, in one word, the social organization of moral disorder. If Cesarism should become the definitive rule of society, the ideal of the dominion of the world would be attained, the programme would be realized which was once presented to a solitary one in the desert, “All these kingdoms and their glory will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me.” You know who this solitary one was, and what was the programme. I do not deny that this will one day be the case; I say one day, for a day; the prophetic passages of the New Testament are express on the subject. I ask, are we arrived at this period already? Are we on the eve of seeing the reign of Antichrist commence? Are the words of the Apocalypse even now receiving their accomplishment; “I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his head the name of blasphemy”?—(Rev. xiii. 1.) I would reply by another passage in the same book, the passage which shows us that the reign of the beast, that is of Antichrist, of the man of sin, will be prepared by the apostasy of the Church, and accompanied by the appearance of the other beast who rises out of the earth, having two horns like a lamb, and speaking like a dragon (ii. 5), and who is afterwards called the false prophet (xvi. 13.) But we do not at present see that Cesarism and the ecclesiastical hierarchy make common cause; on the contrary, they are in a state of antagonism.

While this conflict continues, we may unhesitatingly say with St. Paul, that the mystery of iniquity works, but the power which hinders the development is still active, and the preceding signs of this last manifestation of the power of Satan are not yet visible in the horizon.

But instead of following these apocalyptic indications which, considering the shortness of our time, have already engaged us too much, I desire to consult experience, and I ask if this phenomenon, which we call Cesarism, and which lies on the surface of society, rises from its bosom, and is a faithful expression of it? Do the people salute it as the dawn of a beautiful day, a day of peace, of happiness, of progress? Is the great liberal party, which constitutes the majority in almost all the parliaments of Europe, of those parliaments which, although they are not the pure mirror of public opinion, give, as the consequence of the continual renewal of their members, a better expression of it than is furnished by the results of universal suffrage the day after a revolution or a battle; in sympathy with the tendencies of Cesarism? Oh! that party has, no doubt, with too great rashness broken with the ancient *régime*, it has quite burst some bounds which ought not to have been broken; it has thoroughly blotted out some traditions not venerable only, but also vital; it accepts with too little examination, and with astonishing simplicity, the principles and results of 1789. It may be often reproached with a want of conformity to history, because it does not historically ascend high enough, and truly I do not pretend to apologize for all its tendencies, nor above all to excuse the indifference of many of its members to the concerns of the Church and of the doctrines of the Church, although it has its explanation; I only ask whether political liberalism forms a union with Cesarism altogether homogeneous? Is it true, as many affirm, that the principles of '89 lead to despotism, and that they are the incipient manifestation of that antichristian spirit which culminates in "the man of sin"? If so, our question is solved; for liberalism pervades all minds, it governs social life; if it is antichristian, the principle of modern society is antichristian. But is it so? Whence comes it then that Cesarism sometimes, it is true, meets with enthusiasm, but an enthusiasm fictitious, interested, never true, natural, national? Whence comes it that the people submit to it as a burden, but never accept it, tolerate it here and there as a necessary evil for fear of something worse, but without looking upon it as a definitive government, the normal organization of social life? Oh! I know that Cesarism finds a powerful support in the feebleness of religious faith and of the moral sense among the *élite* of society, from whom we might expect better things. I am not surprised that their scepticism induces them to approve in others, in the multitude, what they repudiate themselves; and that—a new indication of moral depression in minds undermined by scepticism—they find their

account in those hypocritical panegyrics which in the bottom of their hearts they despise. But do these persons form the rule or the exception? Do the liberals pretend to a faith in liberty, in rectitude, in progress, in the future, which they do not possess? Who will presume to say so, and thus to rank the great majority of our contemporaries among hypocrites? No, for my part I must believe in the sincerity of the liberal aspirations of our times; and if the rupture which seems to have taken place between the Church and modern society is a supremely deplorable thing, I assert, looking at the devices which modern society carries on its banners, reading there these sacred words, liberty, justice, progress, peace, and not wishing in any way to under-estimate man's natural aversion to the severe morals of Christianity, I assert that in this rupture, misunderstanding plays a great part, and that it is, above all things, necessary to remove it.

Liberty, I said, justice, progress, peace, are the devices of contemporary liberalism. Great words, but vague. They do not explain the distinctive character of modern society. In order to find the just expression, I quote two contemporaries of great authority. M. GUIZOT calls the modern state *l'état laïque*; the illustrious DE TOCQUEVILLE whose voice seems to carry a double authority now that it is silent, calls the principle of modern society *le principe démocratique*. It is a remarkable thing that these two men, whose political point of view was not the same, but both of whom represent contemporaneous society under its purest and most exalted aspect, and who have studied it, one in the old world of Europe, the other in the new world of America, should describe it by two epithets which fundamentally mean the same thing, but which polemically have a different issue. As a matter of fact, the word *laïc* is opposed to *clerical*, the word *democratic* to *aristocratic*. The former seems to war against the spirit of religious caste, the latter against the spirit of political caste. The first has an ecclesiastical origin and carries us back to the primitive times of the Church, when the word Church designated the *Laos*, the Christian people, and not the clerical institution; the second to the glorious epoch of the ancient republics, the classical epoch of antiquity, the *Demos* of Athens, with their DEMOSTHENES—it is as if his name were a symbol—the illustrious days of Rome, when the word *populus* was not yet the synonym of *plebs*. The first denies the right of the hierarchy, of any hierarchy, to impose itself on society and direct it at its will; the second does not exclude the monarchical principle, but admits it only so far as it is national, the exponent, I do not say of the national will, but of the national life—which is also the Bible idea of monarchy. The first hails as progress the advent of the Protestant principle in society, the second seeks after the principle of civil equality, which was that of antiquity, the consecration of Christian society. The first seems as a necessary consequence of social progress to call for a

separation of the spiritual from the temporal, the second would replace the famous saying of an absolute king, *l'état c'est moi*, with that proclaimed at the revolution—*the third estate is the State*.

You would not wish that I should enter any further either into the examination or the criticism of the different applications of which the social principle of modern society is capable: that principle whose origin is long anterior to the revolutionary epoch, and which after having burst forth in the French revolution in a sudden and violent manner, missing its end by very violence, has only just recovered its equilibrium. I would only contend that the principle has in it nothing hostile to Christianity, and that the Church would be wrong to cement its cause with that of the past, which after all was not the kingdom of God. Permit me to close this first part of my discourse with a quotation borrowed from the correspondence of the second of the afore-mentioned authors. Is it not at bottom a just conception, expressed, perhaps, a little too absolutely, of *De Tocqueville*:—"The infidels of Europe pursue Christians rather as political enemies than as religious adversaries; they hate the faith, as the opinion of a party more than as an erroneous belief; and it is less the representative of God, whom they encounter in the priest, than the lover of power. In Europe, Christianity is regarded only as an element essentially belonging to the powers of the world. Now these powers are falling and it is wrapped in a winding sheet under their ruins. It is the living bound to the dead; sever the bonds, and it springs again to activity."

II.

De Tocqueville here points out a rock, it is that of assimilating Christianity to the conservator of a political party, however respectable it may be. There is another, that of assimilating it to the liberal party. However legitimate may be many of the tendencies of this party, however noble the ends at which it aims, there is too much alloy in its principles, too much of calculation in its methods, too much uncertainty in its conduct, to enable one at once to identify its cause with that of the Church. It is the more necessary to point out this difference since we see everywhere, in *Germany*, in *France*, amongst ourselves, that a party is arising, young, vigorous, and of which it would be unjust and ridiculous to say that it consists only of infidels—a party, I say, which tends to efface every line of demarcation between society and the Church. It is, so at least it appears to me, the great error of the *Protestant Union* of *Germany*, of the modern party, everywhere where it exists; and in so far as it is still Christian, for it stands on a declivity on which it will not stand long, and where neither the name of Christ nor that of Christian has any longer a meaning. But so far as it is Christian does it not incur the risk of confounding the social influence of Christianity with its regenerative principle,

and so of putting the effect for the cause? It is required, therefore, that the Christian principle should be well defined. I admit all that on this side can be said of the necessity of a transformation of the Church. I have no difficulty in attributing her sympathies with modern society to any other cause rather than to a culpable connivance, to recognize in them indications of the love of Christ, what the Scriptures call His divine philanthropy. I humble myself as a member of the Church, with her and for her, whenever I am compelled to acknowledge the justice of the accusations brought against many of her practices by these independent minds, who nevertheless do not break off from her, and who continue to call themselves her children. I do not wish to contest this title with them, nor would I presume to say to them:—Well, accomplish your work, separate yourselves from us, break with this Church which you deem so culpable; we shall be the stronger for losing you. No, I do not see that the Lord has compared his Church to a walled city, I see that He rather calls it a field exposed to all the vicissitudes of soil and climate; and in the Christian armour described by St. Paul, I see all the pieces appear one by one, offensive arms and defensive, but I do not perceive at the end of the list a citadel into which a soldier fatigued and renouncing the contest may retire. But lastly, when I have made all legitimate and possible concessions, tell me what remains, tell me what is the immutable principle which lies at the bottom of all these transformations. It is not the Church, the ecclesiastical institution; she borrows her elements like the human body, from the soil of which she was born, from the air by which she grows. She is local, territorial, national. Granted; we protestants have repudiated the dogma of the infallibility of the Church, and we do not believe that any particular ecclesiastical organization is the body of Christ. It is not dogma. Be it so. We know that this has undergone, that it is continually undergoing changes, and that each new discovery in the inexhaustible mine of Christian truth changes the entire aspect of all that had been discovered before; that every development of Christian thought puts in motion all the condensed parts of it, and melts and transforms them like Alpine ice in Summer. It is not the supernatural, as such: poor terminology of the school, which can never express spiritual realities; and the Church might well complain if she were reduced to expend her zeal in favour of a philosophical term, which is abstract, equivocal, and compromising. Let us pass on then beyond these things and others besides. We hold to nothing formal; but explain to me the permanence of this Church, which is continually changing, the vitality of those dogmas which are always being called in question, the acerbity of the strife between supernaturalists and naturalists, if after all they dispute only on a question of the schools. Show me the principle which, lying at the bottom, explains the per-

manence, the immortality of that which on the surface does nothing but change. Well! it is replied, it is Christ. I understand, I accept with both hands this solution. What do I say? I maintain, provided we understand one another, that it is here we may rest our arms, that here a sincere and lasting alliance may be formed between believers among the liberals and orthodox believers—an alliance which will enable us to unite our efforts for the accomplishment of the grand mission of the Church at the present time. But we must thoroughly understand one another; there must be no mistake! A word, a desire has nothing in itself that unites. But a certain mistrust will creep in as time passes. If I see that the sacred name of Christ is often employed, not to designate the primitive and irreducible matter, producing a separation of the pure and impure elements in the traditional mass, the positive criterion discovering what is true in the work of the Church, in her doctrines, in her scientific and apologetic methods, but as an empty formulary, an algebraic sign expressing no sensible and palpable reality, and by the help of which it is attempted not to explain but to suppress historical and traditional realities; oh! then I am put upon my guard, and I say to him who offers me peace and alliance, explain yourself more fully. Do you mean by Christ the eternal, personal, living principle of the Church, the mysterious but unalterable reality which is the foundation of dogma, and which dogma endeavours to explain, the natural and historical manifestation of the supernatural? Then yes, I am with you, I give you my hand, although you maintain that neither the Church, nor dogma, nor the supernatural, constitute in themselves that sacred palladium which we have to defend. If, on the contrary, the name Christ is a mere title of honour, which, from respect to tradition, you are willing to accord to a rabbi or a prophet, of whom, from the legendary character of the biographical narratives preserved on the subject, it is impossible to form an idea, however general, or if this name is only a symbol to designate something impersonal, the spirit of Christianity, the idea of humanity; oh! then we perceive that there is an abyss between you and us, we are not in harmony, and although we use the same words, we do not mean the same thing.

We must then boldly avow our faith in a Christ who does not spring up out of humanity, but who coming from above, has entered into it, and has become an integral, living, and governing part of its history; in a Christ who is not one of the phenomena of history, but who explains all its phenomena, who is at once natural and supernatural; natural, since creation is not exterior to Him but in Him; supernatural, since He is its cause. But when we speak thus, we do not pretend to proceed in a revolutionary way, and to obliterate the past. It is not necessary to search after a Christ in the desert and out of the Church, to make Him descend from heaven, or rise from

the depths ; that is to say, to undervalue the labour of ages, by which it sought to become like him by thought and by experience.

This is why we, Christians of Holland, children of a country in which the Reformation was eminently and decidedly Calvinistic, and where Protestant traditions have never been broken, in calling this assembly together wished strongly to avow our attachment to a national and historical Church. We were desirous to show in what manner we understood alliance in Christ, not, that is, as a deviation from history, but as a consequence of fidelity to the historic principle itself. We do not leave our respective Churches, not even for an instant, when we proclaim, without reserve—it is not the Church, it is Christ alone that unites us. We know that He dwells in all the Churches, and that He has His people in them. We believe that the Reformed Church is still a living Church, and has a future, that Calvinism has not spoken its last word ; and no less do we believe that the treasures of mysticism and of Christian speculation are not exhausted, of which the Church, following in the steps of the great Luther, is the guardian. We have no hesitation in acknowledging the Christian mission of the Independent, the Baptist, and of every denomination of dissenters. We know that without them both Christian individualism and missionary zeal would languish ; that it belongs to them, above all, to maintain this sacred fire in the spiritual temple. But still, in all these things, in all our Churches, with their dogmas, their institutions, their apologetic methods, it is Christ alone that we seek for. This is our beginning, our middle, our end, the way, the truth, and the life. Well, it is necessary that modern society should know Him, see Him, and, by experience, prove Him, more than it has hitherto done ; and that we believers do not contend for our creed, for our Church, for our school, for our party ; that we have but one creed, one device—better still, but one Master and Head, the Author and Finisher of our faith—Christ, the living Christ, Christ of whom it is our business not to support His throne, but to extend His reign. This is our social task—to present, to offer, to manifest Christ everywhere and in all things, to summon consciences, parties, and schools before Him, and place them under His eye. It seems to me that before we can say modern society rejects Christ, He should be placed more advantageously before it. It seems to me that there has been as yet no meeting between them. But while this has not been done, and as the result society has not repudiated and decided against Him, we are entitled to say modern society has need of Christ, and instinctively seeks Him ; and Christ seeks a place in modern society, and is waiting while His disciples prepare it for Him by that spirit of love which is, first of all, an abnegation of self, and then an appreciation of the wants of others.

THE UNIVERSAL SIDE OF CHRISTIANITY AS A WITNESS FOR ITS CENTRE—THE REVELATION OF GOD IN CHRIST.

BY PROFESSOR DR. J. P. LANGE, OF BONN.*

ALLOW me to introduce my subject with a few words upon the idea of life, and the darkening of this idea among mankind.

It is a universal law that in the life of human spirits certain facts and the consciousness of these facts correspond with each other, or the actual relations and the ideas corresponding to them.

Thus, from an idea of life amongst mankind which is decidedly defective, we may come to the conclusion that the real human life must itself be decidedly sickly—encompassed by death. Or on the other hand, if we are convinced that with the heritage of sin and guilt, a heritage of death is at the same time entailed on mankind, we know that the idea of life in the world is also, with the life itself, fatally wounded. In fact, on the one side, Nature and Revelation—*i. e.*, general and special revelation—raise life to life with combined power, and thus bring the nature of life to light. But, on the other side also, the misapprehension of Nature and Revelation, or the death tendency in mankind, is continually active to obliterate with the life itself even the understanding of life.

Leben (life) is said to mean *bleiben* (to continue), and *bleiben* means *beleiben* (to have a body) to “obtain a body;” out of a bodiless, hidden state of being, to come forth to a certain bodily manifestation. In this idea there are three elements:—1. The individual distinction which we, on its high standing-point, call “personality.” 2. The ideal-plastic germ of life, the actual impulse, the seed or principle, out of which the manifestation arises; in short the development in space. 3. The self-preservation, the everlasting rejuvenating of life by harmonious counterbalancing; the polar repulsion and attraction of its forms in its development in time.

Let us now see how it stands with the estimation of these

* The Address which I delivered was condensed from a fuller sketch. I give here the sketch itself. I ventured to introduce the hippopotamus and the flamingo from the Amsterdam Zoological Gardens, because I thought the audience seemed somewhat tired. It was already late.

elements of life. First let us consider individuality. As soon as the first traces of a life, as yet only symbolical, in the vegetable world, meets us, it shows itself at the same time in individual formation, in particular ways, which figuratively represent the personal life in its individual characters. But worldly wisdom will tell us what the world in general thinks of the truth of individuality. It has ever had an inclination to deduce the manifestation of life, not from the thought of the Logos, but to combine it out of the elements of the world. (cf. Col. ii. 8.) To your great philosopher Spinoza, the individual life was a melting wave on the expanse of ocean; to our Hegel, a fragile vase, which was to be burst by its contents like a shell.*

Feuerbach described even human individuality as the proper limitation, the original weakness, of an idealistic humanity; while, still earlier, Strauss, spoke of men as specimens of a species; and the weak Leopold Schefer declaimed like a madman even against the idea of the personality of God. As we well know, natural philosophy has also gone in the direction of throwing doubt on the truth of individuality. To the period of Humboldt succeeded that of Darwin, and the clear cosmos of Humboldt, with its fixed, thoughtful arrangements, is, in the representations of many disciples of Darwin, to be changed into a deceptive cosmos, which amuses human shadows, that is men, with cosmic shadows. Materialism proper recognizes quite as little real animals and real plants as it does real men, but only changing shadowy forms of individual being. Irrecognizable fate has a great kaleidoscope in her hand, called "change of matter." She shakes her kaleidoscope, matter combines, and perhaps the hippopotamus, with its reservoir of water, appears; she shakes it again, and the flamingo appears. Thus, at one time, there is a maximum of material in a minimum of form; at another time, on the contrary, a rich form with mean material. In this way, to many persons, the real thoughts in things, the creative words of God (the *ῥήματα*), die away: the cosmos has ceased to reveal the absolute fulness of the highest reason. -

As far as regards the second element of life, we see in the crops, almost before our very eyes, that all living things spring from an invisible germ of life; that is, out of an ideal-plastic spark of life, which as material substance (except, perhaps, in a very small number of cell-forms,) cannot be detected at all in the seed out of whose apparent decay it springs. The seed itself makes the dynamical nature of life perceptible to us. Christ speaks in this sense of the smallness of the mustard seed which a man took in his hand, that is, held with the fingers in order to plant it in the earth. But even if

* Compare also *Hegel*, "Phänomenologie des Geistes," p. 256; his "Expressions against Physiognomy," p. 295 to p. 326; 331, &c.

the most recent science has again established, by its most distinguished representatives, the motto of Harvey, "*Omne vivum ex ovo*" (everything living comes out of an egg—a principle of life), it has laboured in vain for the materialistic view. One seems to find it very difficult to grasp the idea of the principle, that is, an ideal plastic germ of life which, in its concealment and dynamical manner, touches the invisible creative foundation of life; on the other hand, not many even of the opponents of materialism will oppose to the idea of matter only one vital force as primitive. In the principle both are contained, the vital energy and matter, and the first as the dynamically forming thought which rules matter. But if one is obliged to say with regard to this, A. is the source of B. and C., it is wrong for him to say B. makes C.; and from this there is only *one* step to the foolish conclusion—C. is the source of B., and with B. brings into being also an illusion of A. Vital force, taken by itself, leads us back to the Demiurgos, the *principle of life*, to the Creator.

The most evident and richest element of life, finally, is the harmonious counterbalancing, by which life preserves itself, or rejuvenates, increases, and renews itself. The whole heathen world was not able to receive this principle of life as life; that is, not as an harmonious counterbalancing: even only very imperfectly the duality of sex. By dualism is understood, in philosophical phraseology, the view that the world arose out of two inimical, or at least heterogeneous, opposing principles. But this Dualism is found in all systems of heathen philosophy: in Parseeism it comes out most boldly. Spirit and earthly matter are said to be antagonistic; day and night are to be ascribed to different gods, and also fortune and misfortune. Therefore, Jehovah thus instructs Cyrus by the prophet Isaiah, declaring: "I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God beside me. I form the light and create darkness: I make peace and create evil." (Is. xlv. 6, 7.) The Spirit of Revelation thus gave the enlightening watchword to the Persian just as to the Hebrew (Rom. ii. 28, 29.), to the Greek (John xii. 24, 26), to the Roman (John xviii. 36, 37), and, in the course of time, to the most widely differing nations. The darkening of life by death cast its shadow even deep into Christianity. That the Old Testament and the New Testament agree as the one highest life revelation of the Spirit of God was a truth that many would not receive. The one party chose the Old Testament and rejected the New, at least for the most part (Jews and Ebionites); the other party chose the New and rejected the Old (Gnostics and Rationalists). But, in both cases a poverty of life, a poverty of spirit, showed itself, which might even become a blast of death; but to open, enlightened eyes, Christ himself is, like a personal amen, the seal of truth, the fulfilment of the Old Testament in His New Testament. (2 Cor. i. 20; Acts iii. 14). But Christianity

in itself must be also the highest synthesis; it must come from the most lofty contrast, because it is life in the highest perfection. This highest, most glorious contrast John has expressed in the announcement, "the Word was made flesh." Out of this personal manifestation of the fulness of the Divine life in the human nature of Jesus, surrounded by the fetters of a personal corporeality—out of a humanity which is throughout Spirit, and Word, and source of life; or out of a Divine spiritual nature, which is throughout a perfect human life, the synthesis of the world of ideas and of the actual history, gives itself out for the entire sphere of the original revelation of Christ. Yet here also again we find the darkening of the conception of life, more correctly, the breath of death; inasmuch as many are satisfied with the facts of the Gospel without appropriating its ideas, while others, on the other hand, will glory in the ideas in order to deny the facts. Certainly, it ought to be easily recognised that the facts and the ideas of Christianity will *together* retain or lose their proper truth, power, and beauty. From the ecclesiastical stand-point the fault has so often been committed of robbing of their spirit the facts of Revelation, that Christianity has been simply *related* as an historical account, instead of being *announced* in the power of its ideas, until at last it came to this, that an opponent could describe the matchless histories of the Gospel as *anecdotes*. But the opposite extreme robs us even of the working of that sketch of Evangelical history, to say nothing of the great deeds of God (*magnalia Dei*) in this history itself. Thus there are now many among you, as there are such also to be found amongst us, who think they will find in the ideas of Christianity a rich compensation for its facts which they have surrendered. How they will begin to gain out of the dissolution of the synthesis of the highest life a still higher life, instead of the deepest death, it is difficult to say. It is, in truth, these same conjurors who say that they have found for the sphere of faith a *zero* which is not at the same time a freezing-point—an art which no philosopher has been able yet to discover in the sphere of nature. How pale and lifeless must the representations which they would call the ideas of Christianity appear, even to themselves! Plato, the ancient master of Ideology, considered at least his ideas as formers of the world, conquerors of the world, born rulers of the world. The ideas of these "Moderns," on the other hand, are on a great despairing retreat after the disappointed march of conquest into the world of flesh; with torn banners, sunk in the dust, they flee over the stage, and behind them is the flesh, the boasting flesh, scorning at them. One ought not to suppose that, as against the Moderns of idea, it could come into the minds of the Moderns of the flesh to celebrate this funeral procession of their bloodless, powerless, and hopeless shadowy ideas as the victorious course of the latest theology. They destroy, indeed,

the sentence "The Word was," by the addition, "the Word was defeated by the flesh." But they themselves were and remain defeated by the Word.

Closely related to this separation of the Divine and human nature, of the Word and the flesh, in Christ, is the separation of the universal side and the central form of Christianity, which in the later theology has led into such great errors and confusions.

That we understand by the central figure of Christianity the person of the historical Christ, needs no further assertion. But the universal aspect of Christianity branches off into two forms. All the operations of the enlightenment, the reconciliation, and the redemption of the world, which issue from the glorified Christ, constitute universal Christianity. "Who shall speak of his length of life?" said the prophet long ago (Isa. liii. 8); and the Apostle Paul speaks of the length, breadth, depth, and height of His work and kingdom (Eph. iii. 18), and calls the Church "His body, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all." (Eph. i. 23.) This more or less clearly revealed universality of Christianity, which proceeds from the personal Christ in the dynamic working of spirit and life, presupposes a secret, or at all events veiled, universality of Christianity, which precedes the manifestation of Christ, and points to Him. If this mysterious Tree of Life spreads its branches over all humanity, it must with its roots also penetrate all humanity, and, with it, even the universe. How could believing humanity be designated the Bride of Christ, to appear with Him at His glorious appearing, if one of the elements of relationship with Christ—conformity to the image of God—were not an original dowry of humanity, as a previous speaker, Dr. Keerl, has excellently expressed in his address; and this is also the teaching of Scripture. David and Solomon agree in the Old Testament, although David speaks entirely of a personal, central Messiah (2 Sam. xxiii.; Ps. ii., cx.); Solomon, on the other hand, of the universal Wisdom, who was the overseer of the works of God at the creation, and who also founded the theocracy, the house on seven pillars. (Prov. viii., ix.) Paul and John agree in the New Testament, although Paul speaks of the Firstborn (Col. i.), John of the Only-begotten (John. i.); Paul of the mysterious Centre, in whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily (Col. ii. 9; i. 19), through whom all was created, and in whom everything exists, or is comprehended and has its being (Col. i. 16, 17); John of the Logos of God, who is God Himself, through whom all came into being; who is the life of life, and enlighteneth everyone who cometh into the world. (Prologue.) Here, then, the personal centrality of Christianity and its human, nay cosmical, universality become altogether one; yet the pre-Christian universality of Christianity has also various aspects. The Logos ruled on the heights of the heathen

world as the forming principle of humanity and human culture (ideality); but in the depths of Israel, as the material principle of the regeneration of mankind, through redemption (sanctification): salvation is of the Jews. But although, according to Psalm cx., the Messiah is David's Lord, yet he is also David's Son; and as, according to His own declaration, He is King in the kingdom of God, the King of man, so is He also Son of man. As the Logos coming in the flesh, He has Himself sanctified the heart of humanity in His elect; but as the Christ come in the flesh, He is born out of the heart of humanity, out of the root of Jesse; in the inspiration of faith conceived by the Virgin, descending into the flesh from heaven by the Holy Spirit. According to Micah (v. 2), in both respects "His goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." But all this has happened in sinful human nature, through the operation of prevenient grace; for justly has your and our Cocceius represented the covenant of grace as beginning immediately after the Fall.

We know that the Church, very soon, alas! after a bright dawn of knowledge (particularly in the schools of Asia Minor and Alexandria), allowed itself to lose sight of the universal side of Christianity. To the Church of the Middle Ages, Christ in human nature had become much less than Adam in human nature. Apart from the little Child in the arms of the great Madonna—in connection with which in later times this unnatural circumstance has come to pass, the Child became smaller and smaller, the Madonna larger and larger—apart from this, the life of Christ and His saving rule over the world appears entirely confined by the boundary of the Church; and within the Church, again, by a double contraction of the circle, an ecclesiastical one (the Confessional), and a theological one (Predestination). We must not imagine, however, that through this contraction of the universal circumference of Christianity the ideal and dynamic centre, Christ, was brought forward in a clearer light; rather the image of Christ thus torn out of all its intimate, everlasting relations to human nature, became to many only an image of God overshadowing the humanity.

But the second evil effect of this onesidedness was the modern reaction. Several of the most illustrious philosophers of recent times (Spinoza, Kant, &c.) followed the example of some of the extravagant Mystics of the Middle Ages, inasmuch as they extolled the circumference of Christianity at the expense of its centre. The personal God-Man is said to be only the original and the symbol of the God-Man idea; that is, the ethical union of divinity and humanity on the ground of their essential oneness; but the Divine-human nature in its actual operations is only to reach humanity as a whole. This is well known to be the last word in the criticism of

Strauss on the life of Christ; but now we have the modern gospel of Pantheistic rationalism, which has stepped into the place of the Deistic rationalism, and which boasts that it has given the death-blow to that system which is yet its own parent. Looked at more closely, this view is the same dogma which in the municipal world exalts the *numerical* over the *dynamical* majority, the quantity over the quality, the mass of the unthinking over the nucleus of the thinking, and eventually ignorance over education. In the like manner as in the sphere of religion, the mass of mankind in need of salvation is exalted above the saving Son of Man.

Must we, then, remain at this point, with this unhappy alternative, "either, or," either the universal or the personal Christ? Or breathes there not to us also, out of the tearing asunder of this synthesis, out of the destruction of the harmony of this contrast, a breath of death? May, then, the Spirit of God grant to our age a clearer glance into the length, breadth, depth, and height of the *one* Christianity, whose head is the personal Christ, that its critical thinkers may gain at least enough of the force and right conception of life to enter with a longer breath into the right living movement between the centre and the circumference of human nature!

For this object, certainly the first question to be answered is: What think you of humanity?—yes, of humanity. For it is precisely in relation to it that the latest philosophy has in many speakers made rapid strides *downwards*. Recently it was said, God alone is active. He only amuses Himself in the form of perishable man. This was changed for the opinion, man alone is active; he only frightens himself with his own shadow in the form of God. But then it went further downwards, and it is sought at last to sink the idea of humanity in the abyss of a mere human species, a sublimated variation of animal being. One does not speak, however, of animal-kind, lion-kind, and such pretended "*kinds*," as Göschel has remarked; what then gives us a right to speak of *mankind*? To the idea of mankind belongs more than is generally supposed. One cannot regard even the individual man with true respect for his humanity if one does not believe in his eternal personality,—if one allows himself in his inmost heart to think him to be a dissolving shadow, and not a child of eternity. That there is a world of so-called men is certainly a fact of outward experience; but that there is in truth a human race, not only a dark stream of specimens of species, of specimens which pass from the black night of the past into the equally black night of the future, and which meanwhile floats across the dimly lighted stage, but a homogeneous organism of national and individual types of men, united in their circumstances, in their history, and in their destiny, in their moral nature, and in their fall and resurrection; a human race stretching beyond nature in its

morals, raising itself above time and space, in its spirit embracing the present and the future, in its living impulses finally recognizing itself ever more and more in its consciousness as spiritual—an organic oneness—this view is strictly a doctrine of faith; although at the same time it belongs to the articles of universal human faith, which, like strong stakes and piles, are driven into the marshy ground of the common fleshly being, in order to lay a firm foundation for the manifestation in the world of the City of God, which in its eternal being really rests upon the rock. To those who deny human personality in its individual and universal application, the word “mankind” is a purely idealistic, or rather untrue, expression. To them a shadow of mankind at most appears, in great hordes or herds of men; but that mankind should be a totality embraced by the same idea, by love, by God, and therefore also like a living organism made up of contrasts and unions, and even penetrated by an all-embracing oneness; with this acknowledgment they would lose the ground from under their feet. But on account of *custom* the idea of mankind may still be used; thus humanity and human ends may be spoken of, even if true morality as the characteristic of mankind has been given up. So it is with many.

The idea of mankind thus presupposes organic relations in the human world. We mention chiefly the harmonious contrast; the Græco-Roman sphere of humanity, and the theocratic community of faith. What confusion there must arise, if one confounds the peculiarities of these original and unique historical phenomena (these historical originalities). But this confusion is still the prevailing point of view. Sometimes ecclesiastical orthodoxy judges on Scripture principles the Græco-Roman culture, on the poetry, rhetoric, and the jurisprudence of classical antiquity, taking a biblical standard. But what would become of Pindar if he were to be judged by the Psalms?—what of Demosthenes if he were to be judged according to the words of Paul? With just such a crude misconception has the biblical, and especially the evangelical history, been recently judged according to the mythology of Græco-Roman antiquity. The idea then of mankind, with its harmonious contrasts, presupposes certain special points of union; not only quantitative, belonging to the nation, but also qualitative, belonging to the race. Moreover, that the human spirit forms such unions even in its relations to the world, for example, in the sphere of art, of poetry particularly, of science: that there are here original and central points of union, is pretty generally acknowledged. “Quite true,” says a critic to us; but “these relative unities form just a contrast to the view of an absolute unity.” But there is a great contrast between the relation of the human spirit to the world and its relation to God. In its relation to the *manifoldness* of the world humanity must show itself *manifold*, and collect

itself together in manifold unities (Genien). But in its relation to the *One God* it must collect itself in its *oneness*, therefore thus in the *One*. But if this One is the religion of mankind in person, he is also the revelation of God to mankind in person, for there is only so much religion in the world as has the revelation of God at its basis. Therefore also this One who forms the centre of humanity, Christ, cannot have the causality of his Godhead in his human nature, but the causality of his human nature must rest in his Godhead. According to his human manifestation he is undoubtedly the genius of geniuses; also in the sense that the relation of mankind to the world is conditioned by its relation to God; but according to his Divine nature he is exalted above all geniuses. Yet if one inquires about religious geniuses, let him ask the prophet and apostles. To them belongs of right the first place in religion, just as the first place belongs to the genius of science or art in their own sphere. If then these, the religious chosen ones of God, all unite with one another in close circles round one only Centre of the world, of life, of light, of salvation in the world; the prophets around the clear prophetic form of the expected Messiah; the apostles around the clear historical form of the crucified and risen Messiah,—they compel us with their united testimony to recognize in the person of Christ the proper centre for the organization of mankind.

Now, definitely as the idea of the head of mankind meets us in the Holy Scripture, with equal clearness there appears in it also the idea of mankind itself, while we seek in vain for this idea in its clearness and purity in the classical historians of heathen antiquity. But with the idea of mankind its organism has been also depicted. The ethnological division of nations is sketched in the utterance of Noah about his sons Shem, Ham, Japhet, as well as in the table of nations. The spiritual development is pointed out in the contrast Adam and Christ, in its primary sense as an harmonious contrast within pure human nature itself. (1 Cor. xv.)

Quite different from this is the contrast Adam and Christ in its secondary meaning, the contrary contrast, which Paul has described as a contrast of sin and death on the one hand, grace and life on the other hand. (Rom. v. 12, &c.)

But both contrasts are united in the contrast of the first and second Adam, or dispensation. And that is founded upon the fact that the development of sin as well as the development of grace has entered into the original natural development of human nature. The first development, as abnormal, rules the first Adam; the latter, as normal, as it reinstates and fulfils the normal development, is the signature of the second Adam.

These various contrasts penetrate and cross the world of humanity in all directions, and form its union in *one* humanity. It is the form

of an organism in which the freedom of the individual is not done away with, because the whole is thoroughly planned for freedom, although in a high degree historically conditioned. The historical condition never determines the tendency of the individual to the East or the West, nor our freedom of form under the reign of grace, but it determines the nearer or more distant relation to the centre. The Apostle Paul has described this wonderful contexture in human nature in great contrasts, which sound mysterious and difficult, as the subject itself is mysterious and difficult. (Rom. v. 12, &c.)

If we now consider human nature as really human nature, it forms ideally a closed circle, in which two spheres are mixed with one another, represented by Adam and Christ. But if Paul speaks of Adam as the originator of sin, he likes best not to name him by his name; he speaks then with the nicety of piety and truth of One, of the One man. We are now considering here the one-half of the circle, the pre-Christian human nature, to which also the non-Christian side of human nature belongs; and we do not look upon this according to its Adamic night-side, but according to its Christological light-side, as it thus stands under the influence of the Logos—under the power of the prevenient grace, or in the dealings of the Father to the Son.

The following characteristics, it appears to me, will serve to throw light upon this sphere:—1. From the circumference of the circle distinct radii proceed, which are the ways of the Logos, to the centre Christ. We may here disregard the distinction between theocratic and humanistic radii (the real line of Christ, and the formal line of Christian education). 2. On every radius there lies, even in the circumference, a religious-moral idea, with dynamic-plastic power, which continually strives to realize itself, but which first finds its perfect realization in the centre, in the historical birth of Christ, or in the birth of Christ in the hearts of believers. 3. Every radius signifies a steadfast tendency of spirit to the centre, Christ, which has certainly its appointed stations, but which allows no idle standing still, but throws back over the circumference everyone who, remaining outside the centre, desires to make himself a centre. We may describe the stations on this path by some such names as these: sincerity or truthful disposition, generosity, moral heroism, priestlike disposition. 4. All that meets us on these radii, as desire for Christ, as hope and preparation for Christ, is to be ascribed to the honour of the prevenient grace of God, but not to the dishonour of the sinful man who has freely trusted himself on its glorious course.

It is now time for me to state how I have been led to this figure by a new treatment of the doctrine of the atonement. The view is something like that held by the Socinians: the idea of substitutionary expiation is against the idea of justice; the just God cannot let one

suffer for another. My answer was this: He who will deny atonement must also deny sympathy; or, to use a modern expression, He who says sympathy says atonement. In suffering *with* another, there commences at the same time also suffering *for* another, which, elevated to its highest point, becomes suffering *instead* of another; and if anyone calls that *unrighteous suffering*, it is a holy unrighteous suffering in the kingdom of love, which waits for its reward, and we will much rather suffer injustice in this kingdom of love, than hold our *right*—a terrible right of death—with closed hearts in the infinitely poor sphere of egoism. Where there is true life there is love; where love is there is sympathy; and where sympathy is there is suffering with another; and this is the commencement of the radius of vicarious action, shadowing forth the one everlasting atonement. Sympathy is thus the idea of atonement, and with sympathy the way is prepared for a kind of substitution. Therefore it is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "For we have not a high priest which cannot have sympathy" (Heb. v. 15). And the tender mercy, the sympathy of the Holy Lord, is again and again described as the soul of His high-priesthood. If we now, for example, consider the Canaanitish woman as standing at first perhaps on the circumference, yet by sympathy she is brought into most rapid motion to the centre. "My daughter," she cried, "is grievously tormented by a devil." But certainly she was herself more grievously tormented by the devil than her daughter. What the daughter had to suffer half unconsciously, the mother had to suffer with her in her sympathy with clear consciousness, and thus became the advocate for her child with the Lord. But from natural maternal affection to the generosity of a friend of man, properly speaking, as we see it in the Centurion of Capernaum, is a long stretch.* But from here we proceed again a step further to the station of "true heroism" in the practical exhibition of sympathy. Here stand in mystic twilight the forms of a Codrus, a Marcus Curtius, who delivered their country by self-sacrifice; here stands in poetical brightness the noble form of Antigone, who purchased a grave for her dead brother at the expense of her own spared life; here Christ places the good Samaritan before our eyes, whose greatness however points beyond to the sphere of true priesthood. The hero sacrifices himself for the wretched man, and overlooks perhaps something of his unworthiness; but the priest takes the guilt of the one for whom he intercedes on his heart, and steps, as it were, into the blaze of justice, while he thus ventures supplicating to approach the holy Godhead (Jer. xxx. 21). The hero

* Into this region all those are raised for a moment who die with the battle-cry, *Dulce est pro patria mori*; and Paul acknowledges the existence of this sphere by the words: "For a good man some would even dare to die."

struggles with the curse of the wretched one, of the cause of which perhaps he himself may be ignorant; the priest struggles, conscious of the curse of a guilt that is not his own. If Abraham presents plea after plea for Sodom and Gomorrah, we see clearly how deeply his soul must have been affected by it; he ventures, like a priest, to do it with a fervency as if he were becoming dust and ashes. Like a priest, Moses prayed for his people: "Forgive them their sin; if not, then blot me out of thy book which thou hast written" (Exod. xxxii. 32). But Jeremiah must be specially mentioned here: the great sufferer, who was not moved by his own sufferings, when he was sunk in the pit and in the mire, but who on the ruins of Jerusalem broke out into lamentations for his people, in which even a tone of complaint mingled, but in which without doubt there was likewise a priestly tone to the ear of his God. But all these streams of sympathy flow towards the ocean of a fathomless mercy. All the relative expiations of the whole circle point to the absolute expiation in the centre, which must moreover conduce to the expiation of those relative expiations themselves in their historical form. They point to the infinite sympathy of Christ, wherewith He has lowered Himself into the feeling of the guilt of His race, in order to exalt His race into the feeling of His innocence. Schleiermacher describes the redemptive work of Christ thus (ii. s. 94): "He takes believers into the power of His Divine consciousness, and this is His redeeming act; into the fellowship of His untroubled blessedness, and this is His atoning act." Certainly, the main point is concerning the fellowship of consciousness with Christ. But if Christ would raise the world into the consciousness of His righteousness, He must first descend and sink Himself into the consciousness of its guilt. A consciousness of sin, as sin, he could not have, because He was holy; but the consciousness of penalty; the connection of sin with the curse and judgment, he has taken and assumed for that very reason: because He was holy (John xvii.). The question is certainly not of the consciousness of Christ as mere thinking life, but of the manifestation of the same in His act, of His priestly entering into the judgment of God, as it came upon the world in the sufferings of His cross. The world, at the most, could see only the night of condemnation in this judgment; he recognized in it only the light of saving righteousness. Thus was this mysterious exchange of consciousness and destiny established, which leads to the reconciliation of the world, as it has been said in the hymn:

He was a servant, I a lord :
That is a wondrous change.

It lies in the nature of this atonement, that it has been once for all eternity fulfilled and perfected (Heb. x. 14). To wish to supplement

this expiation would be to take away its essential validity and power. And truly if that furnace of eternal (æonic) heart-sympathy and heart-suffering, wherein Christ stood, still burnt on and again burst forth, no priest in the world would be found who would venture to step into it with Aaronic censer at least, in the comfortable feeling of an external ceremonial service. At most, we can speak of mystic imitations of the sufferings of Christ, as of the mystical foreshadowings of the same (Col. i. 24). But these do not appear in the spiritual Eucharist of Christian worship, but in the actual sufferings of the members of Christ for Christ's sake.

The objective atonement then is completed, but not the subjective appropriation of the atonement in the world. This progresses slowly. For just because the cross of Christ is the crown of all mysteries, the fulness and depth of the revelation of Divine wisdom, for this reason it appears to the Judaic-minded Jews a stumbling block, and to the heathenish-minded Greeks, foolishness. The religious world, before Christ, only brought itself slowly into the prophetic representations of the cross of Christ from the circumference to this centre; and it is not then to be wondered at that, in the Christian age, the understanding and appropriation of redemption does not progress rapidly.

But here we must enter upon the question. Now, we are to judge the relation of men, particularly in our time, to the gospel of reconciliation in Christ, and to the Christian mysteries generally. The chief thing will be, that we distinguish a two-fold movement between the circumference and the centre: a friendly course to the centre; a hostile one flowing in the direction back from the centre.

It is obvious that the Christian has to support and help on every movement to the centre of atonement. But it would not be right to force such a movement of spirits, nor do we wish to do so, at least in the way of confession. If they are only on the way to Bethlehem we are not to over-drive them, even if their progress is not according to our mind; the long-suffering of God is their, as well as our, salvation. (2 Pet. iii. 15.) "My Lord," Jacob once said to Esau, "knoweth that the children are tender, and the flocks and herds are with me: and if men should overdrive them one day, all the flock would die; I will lead on softly." Esau went on in front with his horsemen, but still Jacob went further than Esau. The Church also has to travel, not only with a mere school of chosen spirits, but with an assemblage of tender children, womanly hearts, honest doubters, slow spirits, and school-pedants, besides the stubborn band of many upright ones, who morbidly fear every appearance of hypocritical extravagance. But the gradual nature of the healthy development of religious notions causes injury least of all, for the Christian lives in faith on the Word of God, not in knowledge on dogma.

But in reference to those who pursue the backward motion in the way from the centre of salvation to the circumference, dogma has its full value. Dogma is the ideal social Christian right of community, the heavenly manners and form of morals of Christians, ethics *en gros*. It is natural here to remark, that the strength of the Catholic Church lies on the social side, its weakness on the ideal side. What a shattered realm of spirits, what spiritual confusion on the ideal side! But the compact social organism, in a great degree hides the ideal decay and ruin. With us in the Evangelical Church it is just the reverse. On the ideal side a rich, blooming, spiritual life, knowledge and prayer, and loving sacrifice in great development; but on the social side, what anarchies, what contractions of the circles of Christian churches by confessions of faith, what tumultuous commotions in the most sacred enclosures from faults against the confessions! And even the standard which the friends of order apply to these things is often a perverted one, and as such increases the disorder. For in most cases it deals not with the *ideal* side of the question, but with the *social*; not about *religion*, but *morality*; not about a want of faith and knowledge, but a want of discipline, of law, and conduct in accordance with law. How confused are the notions about the social side of the Church, when one regards not only petty disagreements with the confessions, but even the most grievous felonies and perfidies with respect to trust property, foundations and rights almost exclusively, according to the question, how true or how false, how probable or improbable, the views lying at their foundation would appear, considered as ideal notions. The religious doubter, as such, has always to do with his God; but the troubler of the Church has to do with the rights of a Church; and the social disesteem and ill-treatment of the same is *onefold* immorality, *manifold* invasion of rights.

If then a man, with bold denial, sets up for an opponent of the atonement, we have first to see how far his act has become, in social relations, an immoral and illegal one. It is easily understood that every vital evangelical right includes healthy development; on the other hand it shuts out legal stiffness or leaves it behind. But healthy development may be recognized by this:—first, that it remains on the fundamental principle; secondly, that it remains in the same direction as the fundamental principle; thirdly, that it remains in the same vital movement with the fundamental principle, according to its spirit, its worth, its structure, and establishment.

But this is only by the way. The chief thing here is, to prove that a person can render himself culpable as an opponent of the centre of atonement, without going back over the circumference of the sphere of atonement. He who can show enmity to the historical sympathy in person, and as a fact, will not he at the same time fatally wound the root of sympathy in his own heart? Will he, as the enemy of

the cross of Christ, remain stationary in his backward course; for instance, at the station of priestly sympathy, of fellow-feeling, for guilt not his own, of heart-felt intercession? Or will he find a resting-place in the sphere of heroic struggling with misery? Where are the institutions of unbelief in the sphere of charity? Or will he be able, at last, to maintain himself in the region of the sympathizing friend of man? Ask the history of the guillotine. We do not speak of the friends of man who are still pursuing their silent course to Bethlehem, but of those who, having been brought into contact with the teaching of the cross, might maintain or gain this character. They do not succeed. Not until they arrive at the most complete egoism on the other side of the circumference of warm, heart-felt humanity in the outer darkness, will they reach the end of their course.

Now this is an intimation of the method according to which we have generally to determine the relation between the circumference side of Christianity and its central figure. Not incorrectly has Philo described the Logos of God—whom he certainly did not acknowledge, either according to his Divine depth or his historical personality—as being, on one side, the Idea of ideas, and on the other the Prince of the angel-world. For on the one side, in the Logos, are all Divine ideas comprehended; and on the other side he embraces in his incarnation, as the great actual mystery, all the mysteries of Christianity. Thus all ideas run in plastic moving force from the religious circumference to the corresponding mysteries in the religious centre; and as the Logos in general refers to Christ, so there is a definite correspondence between the individual ideas—*i. e.*, thoughts and vital forms of the everlasting—and the individual truths of the Christian revelation corresponding to them.

Thus the idea of *spiritual unity*, as the unity of man with himself, points from the circumference to the centre, where the absolute *One* (*i. e.*, One with Himself), self-conscious God reflects Himself in the perfected consciousness of His Only Begotten.

The idea of *essential*, *i. e.*, *spiritual life*, the contrast in consciousness, without which no consciousness is conceivable, or *consciousness in its self-determination*, the moral spirit in its self-activity, points to the Trinity of God.

The idea of *honour* testifies to the supreme personality of God, as it has made itself known in the perfected personality of Christ, and has reflected itself everywhere in the spirit-world through the personality of the Spirit. (5)

The idea of *love* testifies to the existence of a personal everlasting life, and personal fellowship of love in the kingdom of God. (6)

The idea of *freedom*, as it meets us first, as formal freedom in the choice of good and evil, is the pre-supposition of its central fulfilment in a perfect essential freedom.

The idea of *true humanity*, *i. e.*, of the likeness and image of God, is prophetic of the God-man likeness. But the idea of the ideal or of art, testifies to the distinction and separation between the model of life according to rule and the actual life itself.

The idea of *comic poetry* rests on the supposition that every-day life is penetrated by contradictions and frivolities, by vanities; but by frivolities which have no historical consequences, because the ordinary day annihilates them.

But the idea of *tragic poetry* rests on the supposition of guilt in all the deeper relations of life, the hereditary fate of guilt, and the expiating catastrophes of the great days of historical judgments by fire.

The idea of *religion* is the root of prophecy, of reconciliation, and of atonement: together, of Messianism. Here we meet the *idea of sympathy*, as the prophecy of eternal reconciliation.

The idea of *nobility*, or of noble birth, is a symbol of the elect, the true nobles, who are chosen, not to the woe, but to the good of the world.

The idea of *ascending steps* of development in the world, the succession from lower to higher,—principles, therefore, earlier, dynamically considered, although chronologically later, especially the idea of the moral free sphere of life raised above nature,—is the idea of the miracle; *i. e.*, the breaking through and coming forth of the highest life-principle.

But *central faith* has its general ideal representatives in the world in confidence, credit, and particularly in *religious* confidence.

The idea of *respectability*, as appropriation and new formation of the sentient, worldly life, through the personal spirit, finds its full realization, first in the holy birth of the Redeemer, as the source of the second birth of the redeemed. But what is called in the circumference improvement, is called in the centre sanctification.

Hence is realized also the idea of moral spirit, relationship and spiritual fellowship in the Christian Church.

Hence also the idea of *reform*, which runs through all ages of the Church, leads to a central reformation, which is so far completed as the form of Christ as man in the Church; and with the perfection of this form of man in the future will realize itself completely as the power of regeneration for mankind and the world.

Hence is the idea of *historical judgments* the prognostication of the final world judgment, for no historical periods are conceivable without final epochs.

Hence the idea of *Paradise at the beginning in plastic force*, or the Golden Age, is the prelude of a new Paradise.

Hence the idea of moral contrasts within human nature is the prelude of a final separation, of a contrast between blessedness and condemnation, of heaven and hell.

Finally, the idea of cosmic world-development to world-perfection under the rule of Divine providence, leads to the expectation of the transformation of a matured human world into the eternal City of God.

We have already mentioned that we understand by the phrase *ideas* not simple forms of thought, but divine thoughts of the Logos, as vital impulses, active in the sphere of humanity, on its Christological side. Just so it is expressed, that we have to honour and to love the movement from the circumference to the centre, even if it does not move at our rate nor in our way. Looking at this movement, the Lord said to a Scribe who spoke *discreetly*, "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God." He said further, "He that hath, to him shall be given." He said moreover, "He who is not against you, is with you" (Luke ix. 50). We do not know truly how many days' journey brought the Magi from the East to Bethlehem, or when and how they were baptized after the Adoration at Bethlehem.

But if wrong-relationship towards the centre comes definitely forward, the decision is still regulated as we now sketch it, only from the ideal side.

As far as regards unity, for instance, the concrete unity of life does not suffer itself to be obliterated without the character of man at last dissolving into metamorphoses, caricatures, and contradictions, quite corresponding with the illusory cosmos which he has placed in the stead of the true cosmos. With regard to the Trinity, we grant that one may oppose the illusion of Tritheism by the subjective opinion that he is a Unitarian in the ecclesiastical sense. But he who combats the threefold nature of God as a sign of the living personal God, who distinguishes Himself from Himself, and collects Himself together as absolute personality, must also gradually give up the self-distinction by which a Christian proves himself, judges himself, and works upon himself, as a sculptor on a block of stone, in order to form it according to his own idea. He becomes a contracted man, eventually shut up to himself, a dim image of Mohammedan fate. If, however, we look at honour, it advances from honesty to honourableness: to the priestly point, where one can hold and value shame before the world, the cross, as honour in the sight of God. For honour is at every station the complete solidarity, the connecting of actual life with the law of life, as it has shown itself at the station in question.

On the line of honour we first meet the truly brave man, then the born nobleman, further on heroes like Leonidas, Winkelried, and such-like glorious forms; but *then* the reformation of the idea of honour in the world—the martyrs, and, last of all, the faithful witness, who was the Lion and the Lamb together, and who has made His cross, the token of the deepest shame in the Old World, the highest, indeed the specific, token of honour in the New World.

But if a man first represents the glory of the cross as shame, then he goes back with giant strides, until beyond the circumference of honour. And now his retrograde course on the radius of love is clearly seen. If one has rejected the truth of personal everlasting life-in-Christ, he is on the way to a world where the children of eternity disappear before his eyes as shadows, appealing to the senses; and here also we can speak only of sentient pleasures in men, or the greatest self-contradiction. Hence it was a paradox of moral delusion when one of the best-known modern atheists maintained, in order to purify thoroughly the idea of divine love, that one must separate the mark of subjectivity or personality. With this the popular folly arose according to which many friends of light wished to ground the kingdom of love on the ruins of faith, that is, the confidence of love. One thing more. How much one may mistake the meaning of the ideal of art is shown by the fact that a certain modern literature, according to its most popular productions, has sunk into the morass of a hypothetical idealization of crime.

Finally, that the religious, ethical, centrifugal force, as it appears to many of our contemporaries as modern wisdom, has, after the most various tendencies, developed itself in Babel communities, full of party fanaticism, there are most manifold proofs close at hand. Beyond the circumference of the Christological circle the forms of unsavedness will be just as various as the ideas rejected for them are various, as Dante, in his "Inferno," has tried to depict in the grotesque figures of the Middle Ages.

Thus it appears then to me to be a problem for the Christian theology of our time to promote the recognition of the divine-human centre of all the secrets of salvation (the recognition of Christ) through the exposition of its ideal roots, its universal radii, *i. e.*, His Logos-life in mankind as the Christological characteristic of mankind for Him, and, in connection with this, to unite all the mildness of evangelical truth with all its earnestness. It must be shown, from the nature of the relation between the historical Christ and His universal Logos-life, why He is to the one the chosen corner-stone, to the other a rock of offence for falling and destruction; to the one a savour of death unto death, to the other a savour of life unto life, full of divine power of attraction to all who are moved by a higher ideal impulse from the circumference to the centre (Mat. xiii. 45, 46), but full of divine power of repulsion to all who, in nearer or more distant relation to Him, are offended at Him and turn away from Him. We are not to allow ourselves to obliterate and hide this contrast of the good and the bad in the world, of the godly and the ungodly, of promoters and opposers, by the modern brushes which make out of black and white a general hateful grey, whereby the hearts of many wax cold. Those whom we see in the right course we are to strengthen

and encourage, but not press them over or worry them into the truth by a formal insistence on the historical forms of the central life of faith, or incite them to disputes and doubts. But where we perceive a proud, presumptuous, and hostile relation towards the confessedly-great mystery (1 Tim. iii. 16), we are to maintain the moral laws of the kingdom under the powers of which all opponents are comprehended. As all that a man does in behalf of a Christological idea, he does in all the world to the Lord Christ (Mat. x. 40, &c.: xxv. 35, &c.), so all the injury that he does to Him in His historical gospel he does to the general religious-moral idea. Therefore, if a man forsakes Him on account of a certain mystery of His revelation, he cannot halt on the whole line of the idea; he rushes back, unless he comes to his mind soon enough, even over the edge of the circumference. He who wills not the saving revelation of God must also renounce faith; he who wills not the kingdom of God must also renounce love; he who wills not heaven must also renounce hope. Nay more, he who will keep his life outside Christ, even against Him, the same will lose it; but he who loses it for His sake shall find it.

Allow me to recapitulate what has been said in a few theses:—

1. The religious-moral measure of mankind on its light side is founded on the universal revelation of the Logos in the sphere of prevenient grace; therefore it points on to the historical personal revelation of the Logos in Christ.

2. Therefore, also, the universal idea of ideas corresponds with the historical mystery of mysteries.

3. Every special religious-moral idea forms a radius from the circumference of universal humanity to a definite fact of salvation in the centre of the God-man and His salvation.

4. The mystery of historical Christianity does not become darkened but enlightened, if we hold sacred the religious-moral ideas as manifestations of the Logos, as active powers of prevenient grace, and if we bless and promote the movement of spirits from the circumference to the centre in the train of these ideas, but respect them in their specific character and freedom (not lords over faith, but helpers of joy).

5. But, on the other hand, we must throw light on every attack upon the Christian fundamental verities which is not in the form of a modest doubt, but arrogant presumption, by the full discovery of its inevitable result, the loss of all religious-moral ideality.

6. The positive proclamation of the doctrine of salvation, in the form of historical experience affecting our feelings, remains in its full force the basis of all Christian testimony, and is sufficient for many; but we must not think to honour the practical testimony of Christ by misconceiving or looking with suspicion on the question of the ideal relations of Christianity.

7. Between the stations of the circumference and of this sphere of incipient Christianity, and the station of the heavenly centre, there is still a distance as great as that between the Old Testament and the New Testament, between theocracy and the heavenly kingdom, earth and heaven (John iii. 31). Christ was, it is true, born of Mary, but conceived of the Holy Ghost; the second man who is from heaven.

Allow me in conclusion, honoured friends and brethren, to express a wish, while glancing at the two great contrasts which are to be in the sight of God harmonious contrasts—contrasts of life; and not hostile contrasts, contrasts of death. May the members of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions fully recognize the peculiarities of their churches in the light of the harmonious contrast, and enrich one another with their different gifts of grace to the general quickening of the Evangelical Church!

May also both of the two great families of nations—the Germanic and Roman—fully recognize in what relation they are placed by God towards one another: not to destroy but to quicken each other to form amongst the nations of the earth, in the most manifold contrast, one mighty people of God, to the glory of the Lord!

REMARKS.

1. We are far from failing to recognize the great importance of the investigations of Darwin. But we must first distinguish between his empiric investigations themselves and their theological consequences; secondly, between the consequences of the master himself and the consequence-making of his disciples. Darwin's hypothesis of the origin of species takes its place beside the hypothesis of Lyell on the origin of the earth's form; and as the latter has theoretically carried to an extreme the consideration of the continual changes of the earth's surface, so the former has theoretically carried to an extreme the consideration of the continual variation of species. The tendency towards the hypothesis which seeks to make facts clear *from the course of time* which are only to be comprehended *on the basis of eternity*, appears common to both. (Chronos instead of Jehovah.) By accepting an endless course of time it becomes necessary to place a mysterious beginning, veiled in logical clouds and darkness. In Lyell's system, the following laws of living nature appear to be disregarded:—

(1) Certain developments have in their origin quite a different form from that which they have in their normal progress.

(2) The development of definite forms of life has by no means an equal rate from the beginning to the end; the rate at the beginning and the end corresponds with the reverse of the rate of a train; *i. e.*, the beginning and the end are extraordinarily swift, the regular development proportionally slow; in the middle it appears to be

almost at a stand-still. How would it be if a man were to continue to grow as he does the first few months of his life? Or, if the large brain of the newly-born infant were to increase in a like proportion? Darwin justly opposes the view that all the now existing forms of species were created in this given manifoldness. But this gives us no authority to make out of an *evolution of original types a revolution of species*; at least, if one holds fast the law of inheritance in such an excessively strict way. It betrays a want of intimate comprehension of nature if one makes the economy of nature, her well-ordered household, into a fight for existence (indeed Hobbes has already expressed a similar idea with regard to the human race); if one obliterates* the distinction between monstrosities and varieties, and mixes together an infinite "departing from species" with an excessive "return to species." And thus the disciples who *change*, or rather *spoil*, their master's hypothesis, which was limited to observation, into a crowd of groundless dogmas. (Compare the criticism of Darwin's system by Brown, in his translation of Darwin's work "On the Origin of Species in the Animal and Vegetable World." (Stuttgart, 1860.)

2. It belongs to the confounding of form in the genesis and development, if one identifies the cells as the primitive form of development with the primitive form of genesis.

3. The decisions of the Synod of Chiersy in opposition to rugged Augustinism at the beginning of the Middle Ages, appear to be very weighty, particularly Chap. IV. "Christus Jesus dominus noster, sicut nullus homo est, fuit, vel erit, cujus natura in illo assumpta non fuerit, ita nullus est, fuit, vel erit homo, pro quo passus non fuerit." (J. Gieseler, Church History, II. 1, p. 114.) Beside the fanatical overstraining of the doctrine of the universal Son of God by the Pantheists of the Middle Ages, the well-known German theology is to be mentioned here, as it has generalized in a one-sided but still not heretical way the ideas Adam and Christ.

4. That the Holy Scriptures recognize a wider range of the sphere of *gratia præveniens* than the Middle Ages did, as the latter threw its shade even on the old Protestant theology and new religious representations, is increasingly acknowledged in our day. Weisse also hinted at the fact in question, in his anonymous writing, "The Future of the Church." The Church, he says, must enlarge its consciousness of salvation. But how? Not only must the receptivity of salvation, but also the possession of salvation, be made entirely independent of a historical faith, a belief in the truth of outward historical facts. The orthodox are only to have the advantage of the consciousness of salvation. The following, he believes, suffices for

* Although the first describe a spoliation, the last a rich unfolding, of the original form.

possession of salvation :—"The pure and unreserved giving up of one's self to every good gift which comes from above." Perhaps Rothe's theory of unconscious Christianity agrees with this. Weisse has not considered that every good gift will be from the Father to the Son, and that all human blessedness can only be perfected in consciousness and historical communion (sacramentally). According to him, the Magi ought to have remained in the East, and have been satisfied with their star.

5. The essence of honour consists in this : that man holds himself indissolubly bound up with his position and duty, that he stands or falls with his spiritual banner. The martyr knows that the same cause for which he is burnt to ashes will raise him up again from death. The heavenly centre of all honours is the cross of Christ. The fact of the cross rests on the indissoluble union of the personality of Christ with his mission. Thus, where the dissolubility of the bond between the idea of man and his person is expressed, as a principle, there the banner of human dignity, of honour, has received a fatal rent. It cannot, certainly, be denied that the sentiment of honour in the modern world in respect to certain traditions and forms of professional honour is very sensitive ; but deeper lying violations of honour meet us in our time ; likewise often in various terrible phenomena ; in embezzlements, breaches of confidence, vacillations of mind, party-fanaticism.

6. The moral idea of love expresses definitely that man recognizes in man a truly personal existence, that which is general in the form of the individual, a spirit-related "*Thou*," a God-related "*Ego*." One can only love his neighbour if he can look in moral complacency on his definite existence, with goodwill and confidence through his outward appearance, perhaps even deformity, and can commit himself to him in the confidence that he will find himself again in him enriched ; *i.e.*, without throwing himself away on him. Thus also moral philanthropy proceeds, from faith in the humanity in men and on Christ, the Christ-appointment, Divine humanity in mankind. Thus where faith is entirely quenched, where one looks upon his neighbour no longer as a child of eternity, but a shadow vanishing with time, there love is extinguished also ; that which professes to be it can only be sentient complacency or demoniacal delusion. With a bold illusion the opponents of faith wish to ground the kingdom of love on the ruins of the life of faith, particularly the so-called *Positivists* in France. By the way, we may remark here on the violation done to nature as it was originally created, which has commenced in the most modern regions, whilst an accusation is brought without ground against Christianity because of its teaching of hereditary sin, *i.e.*, corruption of original human nature. Thus the founder of Socialism thought that in the present creation certain

animals were wanting as work tools (see Stein on "Socialism and Communism in Modern France"); so taught Comte, the founder of Positivism: "Man possesses seven egoistic and only three social instincts." But now, through the educative system of Positivism, "the form of human nature is to be more and more changed in the condition of its brain functions, that the egoistic instincts will cease to have the upper hand, and change themselves finally into the reverse, *i. e.*, into social virtues and inclinations." (Buchner, "Nature and Science," p. 24.) Characteristic, too, is the special pleasure with which Vogt incidentally notices such traits in the life of nature in which human perversities seem to reflect themselves. And now is completed the wide-spread denial of species as well as of all theology in Nature. So far man has proceeded: first he denied the idea of God, then the idea of man; at last the idea of Nature. Here it may well be said: "The heart is dead, the world is empty, and there is nothing remaining for the soul."

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

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THE subject of Religious Liberty, of which I have to treat in the following paper, naturally finds a place in the programme of the present Conference, since it is not only in harmony with the professed aim and ultimate object of the Evangelical Alliance, but in the absence of Religious Liberty the union of Christians in a bond of fellowship which shall be apparent to all observers is an impossibility. Probably no cause has operated with greater potency to frustrate all the attempts that have hitherto been made to realise this great conception, than the assumption of a right to control the human conscience. Whether this right has been claimed by the civil magistrate or by ecclesiastical bodies, its enforcement has not only been fatal to the union of Christians, but has engendered the bitterest strife, and the most odious persecutions. Nor until princes and ecclesiastics shall alike learn to reverence the principle that the human conscience is responsible to Him alone who made it free, will the former eliminate from their governments one of the chief causes of their instability, or the latter succeed in drawing together the now divided portions of the Church of Christ.

Unhappily the world has hitherto seen but few examples of statesmen so enlightened as to understand and distinctly recognize the fact that the province of human governments is necessarily and most properly limited to the secular affairs of mankind; and even among those whose office it has been to inculcate the lessons of Christianity and minister to the growth and development of the Christian Church, a minority only—and that minority small and for the most part undistinguished—have insisted on maintaining the distinction between “the things that are Cæsar’s and the things that are God’s.”

Among the former of these it would be as ungrateful as in this place it would be impossible, not to assign a foremost rank to the illustrious founder of the Dutch Republic. William the Silent stands unrivalled among the princes and reformers of the 16th century, not more for the simple grandeur of his character and the statesmanlike capacity of his understanding, than for the breadth and tolerance of his religious

sentiments. While the newly-formed Protestant Governments of Germany and England were restricting the liberty they had acquired after they had broken the yoke of Rome to those of their subjects who professed the national creed, the Prince of Orange extended that liberty to all. Under his patriotic and just rule no man was to suffer wrong for his religious faith nor for his form of religious worship. It can be no wonder that Holland, receiving its national existence and first political institutions from that magnanimous and pious ruler, should have been, in the earlier periods of its history the conservator of the rights of conscience and the protector of the persecuted; or that, maintaining still its noblest distinction, it should continue to be, under his hereditary and royal descendants, the classic land of religious liberty. Long may Holland flourish, and no man take her crown!

In proceeding to discuss the subject assigned to me, I must bespeak the indulgence of this great assembly. Composed as it is, of men from so many countries, professing so many forms of the Protestant faith, members of State churches and of churches sustaining no connection with the State and desiring none of its emoluments, all moreover claiming the right of private judgment, and yet interpreting that right with more or less regard to counteracting limitations, and in its exercise avowedly differing from one another in many particulars of religious belief and practice,—I can entertain no expectation of finding a unanimous agreement in the principles I shall advocate. I must necessarily lay my account, on the contrary, with the certainty that some, perhaps many, will differ from me in my arguments and conclusions. I accept this position with its attendant consequences; but in doing so, I venture to express the hope that as, in avowing my sentiments with freedom, I shall endeavour to maintain them with charity, so I shall meet with that candour which will conceive no offence at my freedom, and put no other construction on the language I shall use than such as is consistent with brotherly love.

Every man is endowed by his Creator with the capacity, and lies under the natural duty, of judging for himself of the truths and obligations of religion; and the duty implies the right to do so. And since he possesses the right to form his own judgment, and for this purpose to examine the evidences of whatever professes to come to him with the claims of religious truth, so also none may molest him for avowing his judgment. Christianity itself is to be forced upon no man. So far as his fellow men are concerned, any man has a right to reject it—a right, that is, to be an infidel. His infidelity should subject him to no human tribunal. There is One who will judge him, and whose judgment, when at length it shall be pronounced, will commend itself to the universal conscience of mankind; and in the meantime it is infinitely perilous for other hands to assume the prerogative which

the Supreme Lawgiver and Judge reserves to himself. But if no authority may compel a man to embrace Christianity, how much less may it compel him to profess any particular form of it! If he be at liberty to determine for himself concerning the essential, still more must the liberty belong to him of determining in all that pertains to the circumstantial. Whether he will be a Romanist or a Protestant, a Calvinist or an Arminian, an Episcopalian, a Baptist, an Independent, a Wesleyan, a Mennonite, or a Lutheran, are questions to be resolved by his own free determination; nor ought he to suffer any wrong nor any abridgment of his rights on account of the determination to which he comes.

This independence of control in the formation and practical avowal of his religious sentiments is every man's birthright. It is not conferred upon him by his fellow men. He does not acquire it by being the citizen of a free state. It is not the consequence of his living under a mild and tolerant government. It does not originate in law. Law may protect its exercise. Commonwealths may recognize its existence and respect its claims. But its origin must be sought in the very nature of man himself. It has its foundation among the primary and everlasting conditions of our being as moral agents—intelligent, responsible, and immortal.

It is, therefore, the right, not of any particular class of men—of the educated and better-conditioned classes, for example, but not of the vulgar and illiterate; of popes, and bishops, and other ecclesiastical functionaries, but not of their flocks; of magistrates and sovereigns, but not of their subjects. We assert it to be the common right of all men; a right to which all men, without distinction, are as much entitled as they are to the right to exist. Almighty God, the Father of spirits, has made no difference in this respect among his intelligent offspring. He has not endowed one portion of the human family with the right of judging for themselves, and withheld that right from the rest. Whatever diversities of intellectual capacity may originally exist among men, and however the natural superiority of some may be further strengthened and developed by circumstances, it admits of no question that all possess capacities which make them responsible each for himself; and that no man will be judged for another. It were an impious reflection upon the Creator to maintain that he forms men originally destitute of self-determining faculties, while he makes them at the same time subjects of moral government. Destitute of such faculties, they are no longer men—they are idiots; and then they are objects of pity, but neither of commendation nor censure.

Men do not part with this natural right of choosing their own religious creed by becoming members of civil society; in proof of which proposition it may be enough to allege the obvious and con-

clusive reason that they cannot part with it. The faculty of moral judgment is as much a portion of themselves as the faculty of thought. It is inherent in their nature. If you will destroy it, you must destroy the man. They exist together, or neither of them exists. By putting him out of existence, you may put that out of existence, but not otherwise. As long as he continues to be a living and rational soul he will retain this grand prerogative and necessary distinction of his nature; and the retention of the faculty implies as towards God the *duty* to use it, and towards men the *right* of using it. Its use is thus both a necessity and a right: a necessity of which a man cannot divest *himself*, and a right of which his *fellow men cannot rob him*. For whatever comes to us with the obligation of a necessary duty carries in its claim to be obeyed the right to yield obedience; and thus religious liberty, or liberty to avow our faith and to fulfil its obligations, is a right not contingent upon the permission of society, or, which is the same thing, of human laws, but a right independent of all contingencies, a right indefeasible and absolute.

Man's original relation to his Creator and his Creator's law cannot even be modified by his entering into new relations with his fellow men and with human laws. Amidst all the vicissitudes of life, and all the changes that may take place in his external condition, he is under an irreversible obligation to make himself acquainted with the will of God, and in all things to obey it. This obligation binds him, into whatever engagement he may enter in social or political life. Though he take upon himself other obligations, this remains; though he submit to other laws, it is not in abrogation of this, but in subordination to it. Civil society receives him subject to this higher responsibility, and can never place him in circumstances by which he is incapacitated to fulfil its demands without violating the implied terms of the compact, and inflicting an injury both upon itself and him. It would be quite as reasonable, and incomparably less wicked, for government to insist that men should always cover their eyes with a bandage impervious to the light, as to restrain them from the free exercise of their moral judgment, and thus to rob them of religious liberty.

And besides this, there is only one way in which the magistrate can enforce his authority, and that is by the infliction of pains and civil disabilities. But the application of penalties can never change a man's belief. It may make him profess what he does not believe, that is, it may make him a hypocrite, but it can be of no avail to convince his understanding. His understanding may be enlightened by argument and determined by evidence, but it is an absurdity as well as a crime to attempt to compel it by force. Confiscation of goods, incarceration, banishment, the rack and the gibbet, are clumsy devices with which to extirpate heresy or propagate religion. They are not more

terrible than for such purposes they are powerless, and we may hesitate whether more to despise the folly or to condemn the atrocious wickedness that has employed them. "It is one thing to reason and persuade and another to command ; one thing to press with arguments and another with penalties."* The former method is that alone which is proper to religion and proper to the human mind ; the latter is foreign from both, and in the nature of things can never obtain the end it aims to accomplish. Hence, again, the civil magistrate has no place within the sphere of religion. The instruments of his authority are impotent there, for the poles are not further asunder than in their very nature are conscience and compulsion.

The province of government, it is now therefore to be remarked, extends only to the protection and preservation of the civil interests of society. In order to this end it is constituted, as for the attainment of this end alone it is fixed. Neither God nor man commits to it the care of souls. Not God ; for where is such a commission from him to be found ? Certainly it has never been discovered among the principles of natural religion. The sentiment derives no countenance from any of the original laws of the human mind, of moral agency, or of Divine Providence. It is not the dictate of natural conscience, and it is sanctioned by no analogy in any part of the moral government of God. And as natural religion disowns it, so also does revealed. So far is Christianity from engaging the magistrate in this work, or from entrusting him with the duty of urging its acceptance on his subjects, that it never so much as asked his permission to make its entrance into the world, and was originally propagated by the command of its Divine Founder in the face of his authority and in defiance of his power. Its earliest protestation on the subject, addressed to the magistrate himself, is found in the memorable and pregnant words : — "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."

Nor do men themselves commit the keeping of their souls to him. For no man can thus delegate his responsibility. Nor *can* the magistrate assume it, even supposing he were willing to do so. Can the magistrate say to the Supreme Judge, "Exculpate this man from blame ; he believes and worships as I command him, and I take upon myself to answer for him." Does any human being imagine that the Holy One and the Just will become a party to such a transfer ? Will He also act at the bidding of the magistrate ? Or will he not adhere to his own law—a law as righteous as it is inflexible, and inflexible because of its essential rectitude. "All souls are mine, the soul that sinneth it shall die." A man, then, cannot be religious by proxy ; nor can he regulate his faith by the dictation of authority. There is just so much reality in a man's religion as there is of the inward per-

* Locke.

suasion of his mind that what he believes is truth. Take away the conviction of his judgment, and what remains is nothing but a hollow and worthless profession. He may value himself on the fact that he adheres to the religious profession of his country, or on the contrary fact that he dissents from it, and uniting with other dissidents forms a profession of his own; but except in the exercise of intelligence and conscience a man judges for himself what are the truths and requirements of religion, that man's religion is of no value; neither of any advantage to himself, nor of any worth in the sight of God. The end of religion is the salvation of the soul; but this end, instead of being promoted, is inevitably defeated when conscience is sacrificed at the shrine of secular power.

Let it be considered still further what the magistrate has done when he has taken religion under his patronage, and invested its professors with honours and emoluments on that account.

It is clear, to begin, that he cannot augment the intrinsic excellence of Christianity. He cannot add one grain to the weight of its authority. It was a Divine thing before, and entitled therefore to the homage of men. He cannot make it more worthy of their veneration by taking it under his support. He may degrade it; to exalt it is impossible. He may debase the precious metal; he cannot make it purer than it is.

But if he can do no good by such a course is it quite certain that he will do no mischief? Let us see.

In the first place, by taking religion into connexion with itself, and conferring distinctive privileges on the professors of the patronized creed, the State at once places itself in an invidious position towards the professors of all other creeds, which are thereby necessarily disparaged. By the elevation of the one the others are depressed. Privilege implies exclusion. But to exclude a man from any position or office, or dignity for which he is not otherwise disqualified than by his religious tenets, is to inflict an injury both upon itself and him: upon the State itself, for it is thus deprived of the services of an honourable and useful citizen; and upon him, for he is persecuted. Exclusion is the penalty attached to conscientiousness; it is the assertion of that right to persecute which is thus shown to inhere in the right to protect. Protection and persecution are of common parentage and twin brothers, and the severest process of reasoning may be challenged to sever the logical connexion which binds them to each other.

And the logical argument is but too abundantly sustained by facts. Facts might be gathered from the history of every State, whether ancient or modern, by which the policy in question has been adopted. It is unnecessary to refer to those of a period long anterior to our own time; let it be sufficient to remark that, even at this advanced period

of enlightenment, there is scarcely a Protestant nation in Europe, to say nothing of Roman Catholic countries, in which pains and penalties, in various degrees of severity, have not been inflicted, within the last ten or fifteen years, upon dissidents from the State Church.

Among the States of Germany, some of which have become ashamed of their former intolerance, the petty Dukedom of Mecklenburg has perhaps shown itself the most intensely and persistently intolerant. Her laws and their administration are alike inimical to the slightest measure of religious liberty. We take the following statement from authentic documents published within the period mentioned :—

“Three officers presented themselves at the house of Mr. Wegener, the Baptist missionary residing there, bringing with them a search warrant. Having made their perquisition, they took away with them a number of books, the church record and seal, the communion plate, and several private letters. The next morning they came again and repeated the search; boxes and cupboards were ransacked, and about a thousand religious tracts, eight Bibles, and a quantity of other books, among which were Baxter’s ‘Saints’ Rest,’ Bunyan’s ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ and ‘Holy War,’ and ‘Memoirs of Mrs. Judson,’ were packed in baskets brought for the purpose and carried off. In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Wegener was cited before the authorities and told by them that they were acting in what they had done under instructions from the highest quarters; that he and his congregation were not acknowledged by the State, and would not be permitted to celebrate Divine worship, and that he ought to obey the laws and not act in violation of them. The missionary replied that he had always lived as a good subject and had honoured the magistrates; that neither he nor his friends had ever spoken or done anything against the Government; that they created no disturbance, but worshipped God peaceably; and that their only wish was to make the Gospel known among their fellow-creatures. He was finally told that there was only one alternative, submission or emigration, and was then dismissed.” He was shortly afterwards “apprehended and sentenced to fourteen days’ imprisonment, every other day on bread and water, for having administered Christian ordinances.”

These disgraceful proceedings were brought under the notice of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs by a deputation of the friends of religious liberty, when that gentleman replied, with a logic as execrable as, admitting his premises, it is unanswerable; “The Government (he said) must protect the Lutheran Church, and guard its subjects against the intrusion of any other faith; hence it was its duty to suppress all missionary efforts on the part of other religionists, and it would continue rigorously to prohibit their attempts to propagate their views.” The present writer has not heard that modern ideas have yet penetrated into Mecklenburg.

Should these sentences now fall upon the ears, or, when printed, meet the eyes of any of the statesmen or clergy of that country, let them bear to be told that while it makes its boast of its steadfast adherence to the doctrines of Luther, it violates, by the enforcement of such laws, both the precepts and spirit of Christ. They are neither derived from Christianity nor based upon natural equity. But I will venture to point out to them their exact parallel, though it fix upon them the stigma of Paganism. They will find it in the 16th chapter of the 39th book of Livy, where the Roman historian tells us, as if describing the very things that are done in Mecklenburg: "*Quoties hoc patrum avorumque ætate negotium est magistratibus datum, ut sacra externa fieri vetarent, sacrificulos vatesque foro, circo, urbe prohiberent, vaticinos libros conquirerent, comburerentque, omnem disciplinam sacrificandi, præterquam more Romano abolerent.*" The magistrates, that is, were empowered to prevent the intrusion of foreign religions, to expel their ministers from the forum, the circus, and the city, to search after and burn their religious books, and to abolish every form of sacrificing except that which was established at Rome. Under these laws the first Christians suffered martyrdom at the hands of Pagans; under laws their exact counterpart, the Christians—or shall I not rather say the paganized Christians?—of Mecklenburg still persecute their fellow Christians. How long shall this reproach attach to them?

I am sure I shall neither misrepresent the sense of this great Conference, nor exceed, I trust, the decorum proper to myself, if I add one more word of solemn religious entreaty. In the name of our common Christianity, and for the honour of our Divine Redeemer, let the statesmen of Mecklenburg hasten to repeal these intolerant laws. Let them wipe away the opprobrium which they have fastened on their country; and, by reverently bowing to the authority which makes it incumbent upon us all to profess the faith we conscientiously embrace, let them allow full religious freedom. And, finally, let them learn from the history of other times, not to speak of modern instances, that while laws and institutions which place civil governments in antagonism with the rights of conscience, which are the law of God, tend to produce social vice and disorganization, political strife, and ultimate revolution; those, on the contrary, which recognize its supremacy, and yield its requirements, lie at the foundation of the prosperity of kingdoms, and of the stability of thrones.

Besides the intolerance which the practice of patronizing religion thus generates in the State, evils result from it of still greater magnitude. It is a calamity when the magistrate becomes a persecutor; it is a greater when the spirit of persecution seizes on the minds of the ministers of religion. And yet I need not scruple to affirm that this has always been the effect of favouring one class of religionists

above all the rest. The instance does not occur in history except perhaps once only, in which a body of religionists having in their hands the powers of the State, did not become persecutors.* It is a pinnacle of infinite peril on which a Church is placed when she is exalted to a co-partnership with the State in its emoluments and powers. Instead of being what every Church should be—a loving sister in a sisterhood of Churches—she grows too often into a haughty mistress, loses her native loveliness, despises her pristine simplicity, and plays

* The exception referred to is that of the State of Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams and his associates, who fled thither from the persecution of their brethren, the Puritans of New England.

I take the following extract on the subject from *An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island*, by JOHN CALLENDER, M.A., first published in 1793, and republished, with a Memoir of the Author and various Original Documents, by ROMEO ELTON, D.D., Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature in Brown University. The third edition, printed at Boston, U. S., 1843, is now before me.

“Liberty of conscience was the basis of this Colony. Our fathers thought it just and necessary to allow each other mutually to worship God as their consciences were respectively persuaded. They thought no man had power over the Spirit of God, and that the duty of the magistrate was to leave every one to follow the light of his conscience. They were willing to exhibit to the world an instance that liberty of conscience was consistent with the public peace and the flourishing of a civil commonwealth, as well as that Christianity could subsist without compulsion, and that bearing each other's burdens was the way to fulfil the law of Christ.

“I do not know there was ever before, since the world came into the Church, such an instance as the settlement of this Colony and Island. In other States the civil magistrate had for ever a public driving in the particular schemes of faith and modes of worship; at least by negative discouragements, by annexing the rewards of honour and profit to his own opinions, and generally the subject was bound by penal laws to believe that set of doctrines, and to worship God in that manner the magistrate pleased to prescribe.”

“Our fathers established a mutual liberty of conscience when they first incorporated themselves; this they confirmed under their first Patent, and at the Restoration they petitioned King Charles II. (*Charter*) ‘That they might be permitted to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand, and best be maintained, and that among English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concerns; and that true piety, rightly grounded on Gospel principles, will give the best and the greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty.’ And the King was pleased to make them a grant by which ‘every person may ever freely and fully have and enjoy his own judgment or conscience in matters of religious concernment, behaving himself peaceably and quietly and not using this liberty for licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others.’ This happy privilege we enjoy to this day, through the Divine goodness; and the experiment has fully answered, and was beyond what might have been expected from the first attempt. The civil State has flourished as well as if secured by ever so many penal laws, and an inquisition to put them in execution. Our civil officers have been chosen out of every religious society, and the public peace has been as well preserved, and the public councils as well conducted, as we could have expected had we been assisted by ever so many religious tests.”

the tyrant. The history of all the State churches of Europe, as well Protestant as Roman Catholic, is written in tears, and groans, and blood. The miseries and torments are not to be told which have been inflicted upon peaceable and conscientious dissenters from established churches at the instance of ecclesiastics. And all the outbreaks of persecution that have been witnessed in our own time, from the incarceration of the Madii in Tuscany, and Matamoros in Spain, to that of the Baptists in such petty States as Mecklenburg and Schaumburg Lippe, have originated in the jealousies of the dominant religion. In truth, the magisterial power has almost invariably acted in such cases at the instigation of the ecclesiastical. Pontius Pilate would have delivered Jesus Christ from death, but the priests demanded that he should be crucified.

Nothing was further from our Lord's intention, as is apparent from the whole tenor of his life and instructions, than to found a vast hierarchical society, either dependent upon the State and protected by it, or its equal and ally; and nothing has been found more detrimental to religious liberty than the influence of such institutions. "My kingdom (he said) is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight:" which is a declaration, as Archbishop Whately has shown, "amounting to a renunciation of all secular coercion, all forcible measures, in behalf of his religion." * The sword is no instrument of conquest, of government, or even of defence, to a community of Christians. The Gospel is not to be propagated or upheld by the weapons of political warfare, nor are its obligations to be maintained by the dread of such punishments as the secular power inflicts. In Christ there is no distinction of rank or authority. If the magistrate be a Christian, he is no more in the Christian, fellowship than the meanest of his subjects. The prince may be a believer, but when he enters into the community of the faithful he must lay down his sceptre and meekly put his diadem under the feet of Christ. "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted, but the rich in that he is made low." Scarcely any exhortation was oftener on the lips of Jesus Christ than that by which he admonished his disciples against ambition and the usurpation of authority over one another, and enjoined them to treat each other as equals, partakers in common of the same grace, and in common entitled to the same privileges, and obliged to the same duties. "Be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." "Jesus called them unto Him and said: Ye know that the princes of the gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you."

Not that the distinctions of civil society are thereby subverted:

* "The Kingdom of Christ," p. 30.

these are left untouched. In the State, the magistrate is still the magistrate, and the subject is the subject still. The Christian is not absolved from his allegiance to his sovereign because he becomes a Christian. On the contrary, he is taught submission to government on nobler principles. He is henceforth to obey, not from political expediency or civil wisdom merely, but from conscience towards God; and no matter what the government may be, the duty is the same. There is one direction in the case of a free republic and an absolute monarchy, a despotism and a democracy: "tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour." In one case, and in one only, does Christianity justify disobedience to the magistrate, and in that case disobedience becomes a virtue. It is the case in which the law of the State infringes the religious freedom of the subject, prohibiting or commanding, in opposition to the superior law of conscience and of God.

In his own sphere then, the civil ruler may exercise the functions and claim the deference proper to his office, and Christianity will not only offer him no molestation, she will uphold his dignity and enforce his commands. But let him at the same time remember that no place belongs to him in his official character in the Christian Church. When once he interferes with religion he violates the sanctity of conscience and invades the prerogative of God. To establish articles of faith, to enforce uniformity of worship, and to restrain the profession of individual religious convictions, is to stretch his authority beyond the limits of reason and justice—to lay a tyrant's hand upon the natural rights and inalienable liberties of the people, to sow the seeds of discord in the community by creating invidious and irritating inequalities in the social condition of its members, to inflict inconceivable injury upon religion, and to transform its protected ministers—oftentimes, no doubt, in opposition to their better feelings—but by the very necessity of their position, into a dominant and intolerant party in the State. While he confines himself within the proper limits of his office he is a benefactor; when he passes beyond it and sets his foot within the precincts of religious society, he becomes a persecutor.

In conclusion, let us indulge the hope that sentiments such as these which I have now had the honour and the privilege of advocating are making their way among Protestant nations; and that, even in those countries where the most despotic creed which Christendom has ever known is still paramount, there are not a few who detest religious persecution. Recent events, both in Italy and Austria cannot but minister encouragement even to the least enthusiastic advocates of Religious Liberty; while in the view of some, as was remarked by Dr. Pressensé in his eloquent discourse on this subject at the Geneva Conference, they may almost inspire the belief

that the lands of the Papacy are about to outstrip those of Protestantism, and first reach the goal of perfect religious freedom. The evident tendency of the conflicts through which the new Italian kingdom is winning its way to all the advantages of constitutional government is towards the realization of that noble sentiment bequeathed by the dying Cavour as a precious legacy to his country: "A free Church in a free State." And within the last month we have seen the Reichsrath of Austria carrying, almost unanimously, a measure which annuls all the chief provisions of the Concordat, and places not simply religious liberty, but religious equality, upon the broadest basis. It is thus that national liberties, both civil and religious, are built on the ruins of religious despotism.

The Evangelical Alliance, which from its foundation declared its sympathies with all who suffered for conscience sake, and in repeated and memorable instances has pleaded with governments, and by God's blessing pleaded successfully, for the liberation of Christ's prisoners, may be congratulated on the progress made by this blessed cause since they uttered their first protest and took their first steps in its service. But let not our efforts be relaxed, nor our prayers be discontinued. Intolerant laws exist in perhaps all the statute books of Europe. Under the influence of public opinion they are becoming more and more obsolete, and practically disallowed; but the consummation will not be attained until not only is the power to persecute restrained, but the right to persecute disavowed.

It may be that the conflict, auspicious as present circumstances seem, is yet far from being concluded. Not without a final struggle, sharper perhaps than the Church of Christ has heretofore been called to encounter, may the victory be achieved; but its achievement is nevertheless certain. We shall assuredly conquer in this warfare as the ancient martyrs conquered, "by the word of their testimony, and the blood of the Lamb." These are weapons of etherial temper and tried potency; nor will we lay them down until, through the invincible might of Omnipotent mercy, we have obtained for all our fellow Christians the universal recognition of the right to worship God, and propagate their religious principles without punishment and without molestation. In short, for them and for ourselves we say, in the magnificent words of the immortal Locke, whom this country to its lasting honour received to the rights of hospitality, when in evil days his own had cast him out: "Absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty, is the thing that we stand in need of." And we fervently offer up the prayer with which he concludes his "Letter concerning Toleration," composed by him while a refugee in this country:—"God Almighty grant, I beseech Him, that the Gospel of peace may at length be preached, and that civil magistrates, growing more careful to conform their own con-

sciences to the law of God, and less solicitous about the binding of other men's consciences by human laws, may, like fathers of their country, direct all their counsels and endeavours to promote universally the civil welfare of all their children; except only of such as are arrogant, ungovernable, and injurious to their brethren; and that all ecclesiastical men who boast themselves to be the successors of the Apostles, walking peaceably and modestly in the Apostles' footsteps, without intermeddling with State affairs, may apply themselves wholly to promote the salvation of souls."

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

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AMIDST the agitations of all kinds of which our age is the theatre—in spite of the many and painful illusions which this already venerable century has brought us—in view of an entire world crumbling away, and of the influences, by turns tumultuous and calm, of a new society which seems scarcely able to struggle into life,—there is one thought which encourages some and sustains others. The young man, not knowing as yet the disappointments which life brings to every one, embraces this idea with fervour; the man of ripened experience draws from it hope and consolation, if not for his own time, yet for that better future, the dawn of which he still fondly discerns on the horizon.

This idea, gentlemen, which is thus common to us all, is the idea of progress. Be it how it may, we advance; in spite of failures and mistakes, our age progresses; we live in an era of light and progress.

It is not our task at present to measure the extent, the depth and reality of this progress, nor are we called upon to examine whether it is well balanced, and as real in the essential as in the accessory, neither need we enquire to whom we owe these advances in every direction.

To the Christian, these questions are already answered. He knows first of all, that in every age and place, man is the same being. Adam is born again in each one of us; none is therefore exempted from passing through the various moral and religious phases of which the Gospel speaks. In the second place, experience shows every day to the disciples of Christ, that progress in general manners and in legislation is not always an indisputable proof of amelioration in the life of the individual. Lastly, we do not hesitate for a moment to trace back to the Gospel all that progress, true or imaginary, real or apparent, of which we are all somewhat proud; we render homage to the new Adam for all the steps, painfully trodden by diseased humanity, towards the new heavens and the new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness.

But here unhappily we cease to march in serried ranks and hand in hand. Unhappily, progress is not simply a fact, it has become a religion. It has its theorists and dogmatists, who are not less exacting or less rigid than those who laid down in old times the creeds of mankind. They have conceived their favourite idea in a manner so absolute that they literally see nothing but progress—progress to the infinite, without even allowing a separate existence to the thing which progresses. In place of an absolute to be attained by a process of gradual assimilation, we have only the form, the rhythm of progress, as the one constant and absolute fact in the universe—the sole reality. This theory has reduced itself to an absurdity.

Let us, however, not be unjust. It is natural that an idea true in principle should exaggerate its claims and aspire to become dominant. History shows us this. This is the rock on which successive theories have been doomed to make shipwreck, till renouncing all pretensions to absolute knowledge, men learned to take up in all humility that profound saying of the Apostle “Now, we see through a glass darkly; now we know in part.”

If then we claim to rise superior to those who give no place to anything but the vague formula of absolute, infinite, illimitable progress, let us beware of opposing this modern dogmatism with another dogmatism, which would not be of more worth, simply because it was more ancient. Beyond a doubt, the theory which sees in the universe only a perpetual evolution, out of which nothing is evolved—an eternal becoming without anything that becomes—falls hardly upon the Gospel. It involves it in the same fate with all other realities, making it a mere part of an inflexible machinery. It is but the flower of a moment, appearing in its day and hour, soon to mingle its ashes in the stream of perpetual evolution, and then to reappear only as a single ingredient, a subordinate element through an endless und of ages, and in an infinite series of combinations.

Reason and Christian conscience join hand in hand to protest against so ambitious a philosophy, which, while pretending to find the keynote of the universe, passes by all its harmonies without succeeding in grasping a single one.

But is this all? Is the cause heard? Does Christianity escape entirely the general law, and like an erratic mass, fallen none knows how, from some higher sphere, is it exempt from all action of time? More obdurate than granite or diamond, can it receive no impression? Does it present itself to us, alike on every side, showing under all its phases with an equal and constant splendour, so that in all the course of ages, no grain of dust can gather on its surface, no adverse influence for a moment dim its lustre?

In the name of the Christian conscience, I do not hesitate to reply that the Gospel is the pearl of great price, for which we

must be prepared to give up all that we have, even life itself, if need be. But it is just because we are so deeply convinced of this cardinal truth, that we feel the need of supplementing it by another which does not at all infringe upon it. We have, indeed, the priceless treasure, but we possess it, as from the first day until now Christians have done, in earthen vessels. It has not been given to any one of them, to seize and to focus, as in a mirror, all the fires which flash from the many faces of this diamond. One of these was for long ages obscured; of others we have never yet conceived the glory. During the course of ages, and under the direction of our Father in heaven, mankind is called to polish in succession the various faces of this diamond, and that by opening every part of his nature, feeling, reason, will to the pervading influence of its light. Thus, absolute and final in itself, Christianity is no exception to the law of progress, and it is eminently perfectible in the aspect in which we are called to view it.

I hope, then, that we have now such a common understanding that no misconception will be possible. But if any one should hesitate to grant this broad distinction, I would set aside argument and appeal to a single fact.

With what are we called to occupy ourselves to-day? With Religious Liberty. Now no one will contradict me when I say that this is one of the most beautiful fruits of Christianity. It is because the Gospel has brought us to feel the inestimable value of the human soul, that in our modern times, we have come to acknowledge that none has a right to interpose between the soul and God. I will even go further. I will add that it is only in proportion as a man comes under the influences of the spirit of the Gospel, that he can joyfully accept religious liberty in all its extent, and with all its consequences. In a worldly, incredulous, sceptical atmosphere, liberty now remains an exotic. Alas, it has only too often borne this character within the Church itself.

There is another fact, that none of us would be prepared to dispute. The proclamation of religious liberty by Christians bears a date. If we are all unanimous to-day in hailing it as one of the most genuine and precious fruits of the Gospel, we shall not be less agreed in acknowledging that our brethren in past ages had not the same understanding, as we have, on the matter.

What does this imply? Has the spirit of the Gospel then changed? Has there come a new revelation on this capital point, to interpret or complete the old? Nothing of the kind. In the early days of our era, the Gospel was not less favourable to religious liberty than it is to-day, but the Church has needed centuries to read in Holy Scripture that truth, which to us seems to shine forth from it in letters as clear and luminous as they are salutary. The Gospel then has not changed,

but we have arrived at a better understanding of it. Our age is now following out to its final consequences that truth, which, unhappily for the world and the Church, has too long remained in obscurity. Here then is a fact, patent to us all, which compels us to maintain a distinction between the Gospel itself and that human conception of it which is essentially progressive.

This fact is full of suggestion and of encouragement for us. How was it that so many Christians, eminent for their zeal, and their understanding of the counsel of God, could for eighteen centuries read the Gospel, without discovering a truth which to us appears self-evident? How was it, that upon this point, even the men of the sixteenth century remained no less in the dark? We have abandoned the notion of the infallibility of the Church, and it well becomes us to humble ourselves, and smite upon our breasts in company with all Protestant churches which, on this important point, have remained closed against the light of the Gospel.

But we have something yet better to do. We need not to humble ourselves alone; it becomes us to learn self-distrust. If our brethren erred on this point, it is possible they have been no less mistaken on others; and it is very possible that we may yet retain, as a heritage from them, some grave error, as they had retained from Romanism the fatal doctrine of force to be used in the service of truth. Let us be, then, modest and reserved when we are called upon to defend that which we hold to be the truest conception of Christianity. Let us remember, that as regards its details, it has not necessarily anything final, lest we close our eyes to light, which may have as yet escaped us.

To humility in the retrospect and diffidence in the present, there should be joined joyful hope for the future. The difficulties in which we are involved are incontrovertibly great; even strong and courageous souls may not be able to think of the morrow without uneasiness. Our age, justly proud of its progress in the material kingdom, is strikingly feeble in all that relates to the region of mind and thought, not to speak of morals and religion. It is not, therefore, necessary to be a Christian in order to have grave apprehensions in many quarters. It might seem sometimes as if the little body of thoughtful men, who have not espoused the cause of frivolity, laxity, or materialism, were ready to shake off the dust of their feet, and veil in solitude their sorrow over a crooked and perverse generation, for which they had once entertained such brilliant hopes.

The Christian, however, should be the last to follow such a course, because, if more than any other he sees and condemns the evil, he is bound to believe in the remedy. In any case, our modern society, with all its inconsistencies and shortcomings, is in many respects the child of the Gospel. If, then, our best possessions can be traced in a

direct line to the Gospel, why should it not have a sovereign cure for all our ills? Let us admit that our modern world could not be divided into two great parties—that of the incredulous and that of the superstitious—without compromising in some respects the permanent and universal efficaciousness of Christianity. If the Gospel is really what it claims to be, it must have a solution in reserve for our position that is strangely complicated. We are then constrained constantly to look forward, without for an instant losing courage. Our century aspires to unlimited progress. Let us lead it to the source whence have sprung all the advantages of which it is so proud. Let us own always that we are very far from having made the Gospel produce all its proper fruits either for the individual or for society. While we remember that for so many ages a thick veil hung over a principle so elementary as religious liberty, we cannot fail to suppose that Christianity may yet hold in reserve some great unrecognized truth, which may enable us to raise the chariot of progress out of the slough in which it seems at times in danger of sinking.

Thus, in the name of the Gospel we can encounter our contemporaries on their chosen field. They speak of advancement, of progress. We also believe in progress; and further, we are the bearer of an inexhaustible treasure, which has already enriched our age with all that gives it a distinction above the past, and which has still greater marvels in store for the future.

There is no method more certain to ensure these results—the full and entire realization of the programme of progress—than the promotion of the most complete religious liberty. Two advantages of great significance are thus obtained. First: all religious opinions will be placed on a footing of perfect equality. Each can make its appeal to its intrinsic power. Fictitious distinctions being done away, man will find nothing between himself and the Gospel but that natural opposition which the human heart always makes to truth. The men of our age, brought to a more just appreciation of the Gospel and its influence, will have the opportunity of seeing that it is in the school of the Gospel alone they learn how the need of progress for which they are distinguished may be satisfied. In the second place, by inviting the various churches—all the churches of Christ—to show what they can do to bring the world afresh to the feet of their Master, this liberty will necessarily provoke a new and varied development of the power of the Gospel. Then we shall see displayed in all their brightness treasures which often remain concealed by our prejudices, our indolence, and narrowness. A great Christian thinker, who has done much for the triumph of this noble cause, has well said, “Religious liberty is the key of the arch; without it all falls and crumbles to dust. In every constitution it is the seal, the

mark of a true liberalism; it indicates the highest degree of civilization and the triumph of just ideas. Wherever it is wanting, it may well be doubted whether liberty is at all understood or cherished." (Vinet.)

One fact clearly proves that the proclamation of religious liberty was made when the time was ripe for it. This is the facility and readiness with which it has been accepted by all. When we look back on the history of the controversy, we are struck with the timidity and reserve of its first advocates. They clearly had more reason on their side than they themselves appeared to suppose. Thus, they had only to state their principles more fully, and themselves get a firmer grasp of it, in order to set up new claims, which found a ready response in the heart of their contemporaries. In our day the cause is gained, at least in theory. It is very true that the consequences which appear to some to flow logically from religious liberty are not accepted by all. But one fact remains—religious liberty is put beyond question; everyone is proud to accept it; at the most they only reject certain consequences, which they say do not necessarily flow from it.

If it is true that we have reached this point already, my task is singularly simplified. It consists only in bringing forward—first, the articles upon which evangelical Christians may be reasonably presumed to agree; and next, in indicating the points still open to debate, with a view to elicit some discussions, if not a final understanding.*

II.

The first point on which we shall all be agreed is the definition of our subject itself. By liberty we understand, in the widest and most general sense of the term, *liberty in the things of religion* and in all that appertains to them. We shall make this idea more distinct and concrete by considering the following points:—

1st. The relations of the individual to God and to the great problems of eternity.

2nd. The relations of men respectively to the same questions.

3rd. The relations which ought to subsist between members of the same Church, though of various denominations.

As regards the individual alone, we have simply liberty of belief, liberty of conscience. It is scarcely needful to say that we are unanimous in pronouncing this not only indispensable, but insufficient.

* It will be seen that the writer has not set himself to compose a sermon on religious liberty, but to open a thoughtful discussion on the subject. The papers, however, were not discussed. At the Alliance meetings this essay had to be altered and abridged at the last moment. It is reproduced here in full, and in its original form.

The social element being an integral part of religion, it is evident that liberty of conscience can only be a reality when it is manifested by liberty of worship. This again is not effective and real unless all the inhabitants of a country are placed on a footing of perfect equality in all religious matters. It is not enough that a company of people are permitted to assemble without let or hindrance for a religious purpose, and that without any civil or political disability ensuing. We should then have only a toleration more or less precarious, existing under the shadow of a privilege more or less exacting. The idea of privilege and monopoly excluding that of liberty, it follows that liberty cannot be complete without the equality of all in religious matters.

This assertion will no doubt be disputed. But upon one point we shall find ourselves again agreed—namely, that offences relating to religious questions ought to be judged by a common law. Liberty of worship, to be real, if its exercise must not depend on authorization, civil law can only have a repressive, not a preventive operation.

In thus defining religious liberty I have already touched on a delicate point, on which I fear there may be some difference of opinion among us. Should religious liberty be absolute and unlimited, or circumscribed and regulated? If it were a question of liberty of conscience, we should be unanimous in asserting that it is necessarily allimitable and absolute; no one, in fact, would be able to control it.

But the question assumes a different aspect when it touches liberty of worship. One important point, however, remains gained. None of us, I hope, will maintain that liberty of worship ought to be awarded only to the truth—that is, only to himself and his partisans. Now, as soon as this concession is made it is difficult to see where the limits are to be placed. Historical precedent, tradition, the will of the majority, cannot decide on such matters. Every opinion bearing on eternal questions, be it positive or negative, ought, as it seems, to be able to call together its adherents, without any disability being thus entailed upon them.

Nevertheless the question is a complicated one. All opinions on religious matters have an equal right to declare themselves; all have a right then to use the same means. Proselytism, the imperative necessity of all earnest conviction, ought to find scope through the pulpit and the press. The action of the civil law can only be repressive; neither more nor less than which regulates the common right in these matters.

Here, however, some persons will not fail to entertain grave scruples. They will find it difficult to admit that under the pretext of religion doctrines the most subversive of public order may be advocated in public assemblies and through the press. Are we then to allow overt attacks on social morality? Are the advocates of

religious liberty bound to carry their generosity and the principles of non-interference so far as this, under pain of being charged with inconsistency?

Others more venturesome will maintain, perhaps, that the law should confine itself exclusively to dealing with *acts* which are positive and tangible violations of social morality. So soon as civil legislation attempts to go further, and to weigh theories and their consequences, it is assumed that there may be such a thing as an official religion or philosophy—the very principle on which the Inquisition was established, and which has cost mankind in all ages the blood of its purest and noblest sons—the very principle which among the Greeks led to the death of Socrates.

Should it be conceded that, in order to maintain consistency, the modern State may punish only actions, it would perhaps be incumbent on the advocates of this extreme opinion to define at what point reprehensible action commences. In other words, is the incitement to the violation of social morality itself a reprehensible act, or is this secure of impunity under the shelter of religious liberty?

That we may keep definitely to our point, it is needful to make one distinction. It is liberty in religious matters, whatever may be the result arrived at, that we are discussing. It is possible to advocate the most unlimited liberty as to religious questions without necessarily claiming absolute freedom to profess and to propagate all opinions, be they what they may.

We have not yet done with the delicate problem of the limits of liberty in religious matters. It rises to a formidable height, and is buttressed with difficulties, when we attempt to make our way into the heart of the various constituted communities, we see what part should be assigned in each to liberty. No one will contradict me when I say that we are here approaching a critical question, the question of traditional churches, and those of more recent origin.

There are two leading points in this question, on which, I hope, we shall be agreed. Firstly, a community which has no authentic confession of faith cannot be a Church. There can be no Church without a confession of faith, tacitly avowed. Secondly, any attempt to reorganize our historical churches on a democratic basis, offering no religious guarantee, can end, if it is successful, in nothing but the dissolution of those churches. I shall not attempt to justify the necessity of a confession of faith. It is only by a strange preconception or abuse of terms, that this claim can be made to appear at all at variance with the most unlimited religious freedom. Religious freedom might reign in a country side by side with churches of traditional narrowness. No, the charge of intolerance is not necessarily connected with the profession of the most positive and limited views. The churches most affirmative in matters of doctrine would not incur

this reproach, so long as they maintained and propagated themselves only by their own proper agencies, and with the tacit or explicit consent of their adherents.

But there are first, the essential conditions which in our day seem wanting. What ought to be the limits of liberty in religious matters when in a traditional establishment there are two opposing tendencies, perhaps mutually incompatible?

It appears hard that mere historic right should give a permanent supremacy in cases where it is no longer supported by more than a small minority, or by a majority, feebly and imperfectly. To maintain that it should be so would justify those priests of Rome, who by virtue of a prescriptive right, claim all the protestants in their parish as their flock—wandering sheep, it is true, but still sheep, whom it is their duty to bring back to the fold. Clearly such claims have no reality. In religion, as in politics, past generations cannot dispose in advance of the rights of those who are to come after them. It is an axiom among us Protestants, that the Word of God is our sole immutable rule. Professions of faith are always open to revision in its light.

In view of such conflicts, religious liberty is interested in one thing only—in the triumph of the *true truth*, I mean in the triumph of the *real majority*, and *in the respect of the minorities*. It seems then that the spirit of party ought on either side to make concessions; we must come to an understanding at least on one point; the necessity of establishing a new legal state, by appealing, not to the sovereignty of prescriptive right which is disputed, but to the sovereignty of faith which makes itself felt when it exists. But while awaiting a result so desirable, liberty demands the more scrupulous respect for minorities. I do not insist upon this; the right is self-evident. It is sufficient to bring to mind a saying of Vinet's, which long ago defined the duty of majorities, "Without a respect for minorities," he said "there would be no tyranny in the world more insupportable than that of the so-called majorities; but in the domain of spiritual interests, this tyranny, or as it may be said, this indelicacy, would be doubly odious."

There is no reason to ask, however, if the theory—I mean the written confession of faith—is not wider than the practice. It is not certain that liberty avails itself of all that is its own, by right. The greater number of confessions of faith of recent date have claimed to occupy exclusively religious ground. But is it true that there is a jurisprudence which tends to interpret them in a theological sense? If so, then with each new manifestation of Christian thought and knowledge, the confession of faith would be encumbered with a new article, till it could become as complete as the confessions of faith in the sixteenth century.

Again, if the rights of liberty in religious matters are to be

claimed, it is enough that in one Church all the members profess the same religion, the same religious colours, it does not necessarily follow that they should all profess the same theology. Christianity being essentially a new life, all living Christians will be one in feeling, but it is not probable that they will be agreed in the theological definitions required to give to this life a legal standing and a scientific formula.

It is here that much should be conceded to liberty. It is essential that men, holding a different theology from the majority, should feel themselves perfectly at ease in the bosom of the churches of which they openly and frankly share the religious life. A suspicious toleration, the industry of which is interrupted from time to time by denunciations launched by incompetent persons, cannot suffice in the long run. Much prudence and mutual forbearance are desiderated. The responsibility of those who claim to be the representatives of a more elevated theology, is especially great. In fact, they ought to be in a position to understand thoroughly the fears and scruples of men occupying a lower stand-point, which, just because it is so low, commands for those who are on it, no view beyond itself. But it is especially for the intelligent and cultivated laity of our day to play a noble part. It is for them to interpose as arbiters between the old and new theologians, who plead before an often incompetent majority. The reign of the laity has at length come. Let them show themselves more generous and liberal than the theologians in the day of their great power. We ask for the clergy of to-day, a little of that liberty which the clergy of other days would not grant to Christian people.

It will remain for us to point out the influence which this rule of liberty should exercise upon the relations of churches among themselves. But we shall have occasion to revert to this point while rapidly indicating the consequences of this view we have just laid down.

III.

Before going further it is well to guard against any misconception. We do not at all repudiate the charge of attaching very great importance to religious liberty, and assigning to it a very influential part. It is scarcely needful to say, however, that we do not place it above the Gospel, nor expect that it should put an end to all the weaknesses and inconsistencies of Christians, of the Church, and of society; a work that Christianity itself has not yet achieved. We fully admit that the reign of the most perfect liberty in all religious matters would not terminate the evils of the State. But it would remove from many disorders their contagious, epidemic, and poisonous character, and it would enable the Gospel to exert, untrammelled, its

vivifying and sanctifying influence. With the Church especially in view, we can confidently take up Vinet's words, "The true safeguard of a religious society is liberty. That liberty which gives the pretext and opportunity for many alterations, is nevertheless ultimately the sole pledge of truth, order, and moderation. In this marvellous atmosphere, that which is false corrects itself or dies."

If liberty should have no other result than that of putting an end to persecutions and wars of religion, it should be hailed as one of God's most precious gifts. It cannot be needful to dwell upon this assertion. The thought must needs find an echo in every heart; for in this assembly there are probably few who do not number among their ancestors some victims of persecution; and we cannot forget that it is to the courageous, determined, and devoted assertion of liberty, that this country owes its political existence. In Holland, every one must admire the grand achievements of religious liberty, for in the throes of that great struggle, this noble nation was born.

If we now leave these general considerations and turn to the practical modifications which the reign of liberty should inaugurate in society, we find its consequences to be numerous and diverse. Thus all public institutions should undergo a change. Schools should cease to be connected with any particular confession of faith, and should become neutral in religious matters, which does not at all necessarily imply that they should become irreligious. The regulations of hospitals and prisons should be such that the unfortunate inmates may enjoy in peace, all the religious advantages compatible with such institutions. In the matter of oaths the formula should be variable and elastic. It is obvious that if this usage is intended to give a guarantee to the State, the State should be the first to feel that each individual should take the oath in the name of that which he holds most sacred.

In churches the reign of perfect liberty should have a twofold effect—it should prevent schisms and sects, and draw together again those who are already divided.

I am anxious to be thoroughly understood here. I am not one of those who deplore the divisions of Protestantism. I believe they are more apparent than real, and in all cases based on the very nature of things. Our divisions are infinitely preferable to the factitious unity of the Church of Rome, because they correspond more with the real spiritual condition. It cannot be denied, however, that in this respect we have shown ourselves singularly reckless. It is, at all events, certain that more liberty within the churches would have prevented many divisions; nay more, the necessary result of the complete triumph of liberal ideas will be to draw together again, if not completely to re-unite, those who are now separated.

I know well that here an objection will be made—what of divisions

which are embodied in acts: what of positions already taken? Beyond doubt these must be taken into account; yet would not existing divisions have lost a large part of their importance if it were conceded that, had the thing to be done again, it would not be done. And it appears that on many sides people are more ready than formerly to concede this point. Indeed there is a Church of recent formation within which Methodist and Calvinist, Lutheran and Reformed, not to enumerate other shades of differences, live together without sacrificing anything of that which the individual holds to be truth.

The way, then, is open. All that remains is for us resolutely to walk in it. It is not enough that the faithful belonging to different churches should meet simply as Christians; in the case supposed they should be able to unite in one Church, and that without renouncing any of their subordinate differences any more than they do by taking part in the present meetings.

This last reservation is important. There are two ways of conceiving of Christian union. Some think it will be possible one day to find a marvellous formula, which shall have the merit of being acceptable to all. Those who thus reason regard Christianity as primarily teaching doctrine, dogmatism. All attempts made in this direction have failed, and must necessarily fail; they would have less chance of success in our day than ever. The men who seek union in this direction argue from the stand-point of purely external authority. Now it is just this manner of looking at things which has led to all the existing divisions; and, seeking union in this direction, the best that can be hoped for is to see the number of sects increasing, as the result of the very attempt to absorb all.

But there is, happily, another method which has not yet been tried. This consists in bringing all Christians to unite, if need be, in one Church without surrendering any of their views, whether ecclesiastical or doctrinal, simply subordinating them to those which are fundamental. So desirable a consummation would not impose the smallest sacrifice on any. It would be enough that there should be a common understanding to give far larger scope to that liberty in religious matters of which we are treating to-day. One important result is already achieved. The periodical gatherings of the Evangelical Alliance show practically that the faithful belonging to the most diverse Churches can unite simply as Christians. This first result imperatively demands a second. If the sentiments which unite us are real and sincere, they must sooner or later issue in ecclesiastical consequences. Perhaps some of you will charge me with being a visionary and a Utopian: nevertheless I had a sufficiently high idea of the spirit which animates this assembly to believe that to the following question:—Could we, under such given circumstances, form

a Church ?—I should obtain an affirmative and unanimous reply, if only I could appeal—not to our habits, our dogmatism, our reasoning power, but to your feelings, your heart, your Christian conscience. Are we not all, in truth, animated by one spirit? To belie such a truth would be to incur the danger of committing the one sin which our Saviour declared to be unpardonable.

But even if the time for this should not yet be come, one fact remains certain—the Evangelical Alliance must help to prepare the way for this happy result, if it is to have any permanent existence. It is only on condition of its contributing to the advent of a new era that it can acquire any historic significance.

In realizing this great hope the Alliance would do far more than acquire a place in history for itself. It would contribute powerfully to restore to Christianity itself a position which it is in danger of losing. I feel that I am approaching a subject one of the most important and serious that our age can offer to the consideration of Christians. Not only has the government of mind ceased to belong to Christianity in our old European society, but it does not exert the measure of influence to which it might lay claim. If we were bound to believe some who are too ready to draw auguries from their own wishes, a yet harder fate is in reserve for it—in no distant future it is to be only the religion of the poor and the ignorant.

I know what answer will be given. True Christians, it will be said, are to be to the end the little flock. Be it so. But how is it that in other ages this little flock has exerted an influence so much greater than it exerts in our day? Let it not be objected again that our society is peculiarly unhealthy; for even if it were so, Christianity claims the power of raising men from the lowest condition. Let us beware, then, lest while we are attempting its defence we derogate from its real dignity. True Christians are indeed the little flock, but history shows us that it is constantly the energetic minorities, animated by strong convictions, who lead the majorities. Have we not just seen it in the United States? Why has that great nation arrived at the abolition of slavery? Because it has been importuned, tormented by a handful of abolitionists, who were at first denounced and stoned. Only a few weeks ago the people of Boston gave an ovation to one of the leaders of the movement when he was leaving for Europe. Garrison had been dragged along the streets of that same city, with a cord around his neck, for being one of the first to demand the abolition of slavery. It is highly probable that many citizens of New England assisted as spectators, perhaps as actors,* in two scenes so widely opposed.

* We have learned that what we only supposed, was literally the fact. Among those who took part in the ovation was one of the leading Boston editors. As printer's boy, he had distributed the bills inciting the tumult against the Abolitionists.

Why should not the Gospel win elsewhere similar triumphs over hostile public opinion? Numbers have nothing to do with the question.

That which is needed to vanquish and control public opinion is on the one hand to recognize the truth which it represents, even when it is in error; and on the other to point out, with courage, vigour, and perseverance, wherein it is at fault.

Now, if there is one point on which modern society is very decided—one which it will not surrender—it is the craving for liberty. In spite of temporary appearances, in spite of the melancholy times of torpor and sluggishness, the men of our time hold fast by this article of their social creed. Bossuet accurately foresaw the present condition of things. He says: "When once the multitude has been made to feel the charm of liberty it will follow blindly the very sound of the name. Every one will admit that in our day this first condition is fulfilled.

Let it not be objected that there are yet many others not less important still to be fulfilled. Let us not be told that the century is unworthy of liberty; for I ask, first of all, whose is the fault if it is so? Must we not lay the blame on its spiritual leaders, on the representatives of Christianity, whose mission it has been to educate it in view of this last phase of society, which is that of a ripe age—that of maturity? But, worthy or unworthy, the age thirsts for liberty. This is its part; yours is to render it fit for true liberty, if you do not wish it to mock its insatiable desires in the pursuit of that which is false.

This is the sole ground on which society and Christianity can meet. Our age desires liberty, and it will only listen to you if you come to it declaring that this is what you also seek. This is a point on which our age is decided, and we must take our stand. Let us show it that it owes to the Gospel the liberties it already possesses; let us prove that Christianity alone can facilitate and guarantee the conquest of those for which our contemporaries are sighing.

This is an arduous and difficult task, requiring devotedness and courage. It is not enough that we should appear in the first ranks among the champions of all liberties, for in this position our age distrusts us; it can scarcely be persuaded that decided Christians love liberty as truly as itself does. We can only prove our sincerity by our practice. Hence the triumph of the cause I have been pleading may have a true historical import. We are loudly warned that shortly a false unity is about to rally its forces around the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Pope. The announcement of this great event has already given, we are told, the signal for reaction. Well and good. We shall see how the age will accept the

challenge, if it is not too much occupied with other things to attend to it at all. But I well know one thing—namely, that the present moment invites evangelical Protestantism to take a step in the direction of true unity. Let us be seen, then, giving a larger place to liberty, both in the relations of individuals to churches and in the relations of churches among themselves. The century which too often makes use of our religious language in a contemptuous tone could not but be edified by such a spectacle. This contrast, offered by the two great communities of the West, would restore courage to all the thoughtful minds who yet look forward with apprehension to the future of an irreligious democracy.

The following is the language used some years ago by one of the best representatives of the modern mind:—"For myself," he said, "I believe that in spite of many faults it is not yet too late for the close of this century to inaugurate some great change to be remembered by posterity. Therefore I call upon all that has in it a spirit of life—all that has sealed for one day, for one hour, a covenant with liberty, all those who wish that their words should leave a trace on things, all who seek a practical issue in discussion, all who, not satisfied with slandering the dark ages, wish to come out of them and put an end to them, all those who in any way have introduced the modern spirit into the Christian world; in short, all that lives and breathes—I call upon to join in this one final struggle with the death which is already throwing its shadow over us."—(Preface to the Works of Marnix de St. Aldegonde, by Quinet.)

Such is the call addressed to us by one of the most earnest representatives of our age. Are we not summoned to enter into a similar league against death—we, the disciples of the Prince of Life? We have only too often the pain of being in discord with the men of our generation. Let us, then, cordially give the right hand to those who seek in a serious and impartial liberty the solution of all the problems of our time.

We must not hide from ourselves that we shall be called to much of the spirit of self-sacrifice if we are to prove our sincerity. It must be understood that we desire liberty, not as a matter of interest, but of principle. We must not cease to demand it, even when it seems that its concessions would not at all turn to our advantage. Rather, the only cause the advancement of which we must have at heart is that of truth, and it becomes us to have such absolute and entire confidence in its inherent force as to be convinced that liberty alone is required to ensure its triumph.

We must then learn to renounce with a good grace certain outward and traditional advantages, which give the impression that the Church has need of privilege. When a people takes upon itself the heavy charge of seeking to repudiate the Gospel—often a Gospel not

really known—we must be prepared to say, that influence is our only lawful resource for retaining it: in any case, we ought not ourselves either to use constraint or to accept its aid. The means of success which the world affects should be interdicted to us, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.

Lastly, if we wish our liberal professions to be believed, we must recognize the truth that liberty in religious matters will only be assured and real, when between the Church and the world there shall be the distinction required by the spirituality of the Gospel. If we wish that the Church should be truly spiritual, let us begin by demanding of the State that it be wholly secular; let us give up the last vestiges of the external and carnal theocracy, which are nothing better than fictions and encumbrances; and let us aspire to the true spiritual theocracy which only accepts for its adherents men of goodwill; let us seek to regain the command of spirits by purely spiritual means. This is the good part which shall not be taken from us.

It will only be as the result of such a decisive step, that the era of religious liberty will be truly inaugurated. The Church and Christians may then enjoy all that springs out of their relations; they can meet on the ground of liberty and of freedom of conscience: they will have a mutual understanding, and there will be an end to that terrible divorce between the Church and the world, which would compromise our future if it were prolonged for a period however short.

Liberty as the means of fellowship and union between all creeds, between the world and the Church, between Christians themselves,—this is the sum and substance of all that we have been saying. Should any one exclaim against the paradox, I am well convinced it will be none of those who have studied the tragical history of the land which gives us hospitality to-day. No one can ignore the fact, that the vindication of religious liberty gave birth to Holland. And if you ask why Holland is not more extensive and more powerful; if you ask why, instead of having greater weight in the balance of power in Europe, the Low Countries are divided into two nations, and are the object of the covetous desires of powerful neighbours—desires which may God confound!—history will reply that this may be traced to the fact, that in the sixteenth century there was not a full understanding of religious liberty. Among the strong and active spirits of the sixteenth century, none understood it but the great hero, justly called by his people the father of the country—William the Silent. He wrested this nation from the tyranny of Spain, and founded and organized it on a basis of general liberty, granted to all religious denominations without exception. At one moment this grand idea appeared to be realized, thanks to the help of an illustrious friend of the Prince of Orange, the chivalrous and noble MARNIX DE ST. ALDÉ-CONDE, who drew up and gained acceptance for the celebrated treaty

known as the Pacification of Ghent, in which religious liberty was proclaimed. From the time that this basis was abandoned, the separation of the provinces became inevitable.

The absence of religious liberty, which divided the Low Countries in the sixteenth century, is still a seed of discord in the heart of the churches and the states. Thus the work of pacification and united action foiled in Holland in the sixteenth century, has to be taken up again in our day, and on a wider scale throughout the whole of Europe. Our modern society must one day obtain all the liberties, the pursuit of which has already cost it so dear. First, and most essential to it, is complete religious liberty. But this great victory will ever remain doubtful and precarious, till the desire of MARNIX DE ST. ALDÉGONDE shall have become a reality, and ministers and speakers shall be satisfied with so proclaiming the Gospel, that princes shall be princes, and priests priests, without blending two vocations so wholly incompatible. Did not the Master long ago say "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's"?

THESES.

I.

The fact that religious liberty was formerly unknown to Christians proves that there is a distinction to be observed between Christianity itself, which is positive and unchangeable, and man's conception of it, which is imperfect and transitory.

II.

Liberty in religious matters implies not only liberty of conscience and toleration, but the equality of all forms of worship, in the eye of the civil law.

III.

Should religious liberty be unlimited?

IV.

There is no Church without a confession of faith, but the formulas of the past are not final.

V.

The attempt to re-organize official churches on a democratic basis, offering no religious guarantee, cannot succeed; it can only lead to their dissolution.

VI.

In matters of controversy, arising within the various churches, religious liberty is interested only in the triumph of the real truth, and in respect for minorities.

VII.

Christian feeling, and not a theological formula, must form the basis of ecclesiastical union.

VIII.

Religious liberty requires the neutrality of schools in religious matters, liberal regulations in prisons and hospitals, and a variable and elastic form of oath.

IX.

Religious liberty will have the effect of preventing schisms, and of reconciling existing sects.

X.

The Evangelical Alliance can only acquire an historical value by uniting, not only individual Christians but various churches, on a wider and more Christian basis than that of the past.

XI.

It is only on the ground of the most complete religious liberty that Christianity and modern society can come into that contact which is so desirable.

XII.

Religious liberty will only be real and will only have its full effect when the Church is completely separated from the State.

THE SCHOOL AND THE BIBLE.

BY REV. EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D.,

OF PARIS.

To all thoughtful observers of the times in which we live and of those which are in preparation, it is clear that no question is more serious than that of popular education. It is a certain, incontestible, universal fact that democracy is advancing, not only in a full stream, as said Roger Collard, but in a rushing flood, sweeping away all barriers. Political institutions are powerless before it. Where they lend themselves naturally to its expansion, its progress is perhaps less startling than in countries which have taken precautions against it; with the irresistible force of a torrent it overleaps all obstacles, till they are carried away in its impetuous course. Steadily, regularly, rapidly, it goes on rising, ever rising.

This is not merely a political, it is a social fact, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Everywhere the people are becoming conscious of their power, and, in the principle of association, they have laid hold of an irresistible lever, for numbers are already on their side, and when these numbers represent organization and a common purpose, what can withstand them? Whether this condition of things commends itself to us or not, whether it pleases or alarms us, we can do nothing to change it. The illustrious Gladstone has rightly said, "The nineteenth century is the age of the working man;" by which he meant that just as in the stage of history certain nations have suddenly emerged from a long obscurity and have transformed the whole drama, so we are witnessing in our day the appearance of the working classes on the scene of public and social life. For a long time they have remained as it were behind the scenes, their part being to prepare the costumes of the great actors, and to manipulate the hidden apparatus by which the stage effects were successfully produced; or they were permitted to play the part of supernumeraries. Now all this is changed. The people—to employ the current inaccurate phrase—has become a principal actor, appearing not only in smoke and noise at certain

revolutionary crises, but taking a direct and constant part in the development of our destinies, so that, in a social point of view, these will be the reflection of the life of the people.

Such is the position, as it appears at least to those who have eyes to see. I will say at once that I think we ought to accept it boldly and without vain regrets. It is attended, undoubtedly, with tremendous perils, and these we will not conceal from ourselves; but it has its providential side. I am convinced that it is of the will of God. It is evident that nothing can be more in conformity with the religion which has graven as its motto on the cross of the representative of the new humanity, "In Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free," than the approximation of the various classes by equality of rights, by the free disposition of labour, which is, in its essence, the free disposition of human life itself, and by the progress of the general well-being. You will observe that I do not touch here on any political question; I consider simply the social fact. Within these limits, I maintain, that Christianity has a moral tendency to lower the barriers which would keep up inequality of rights among the sons of the same God, the redeemed of the same Saviour. I do not go further, but I am convinced that nothing could be more fatal than to allow the religion of Christ to assume a chagrined and defiant aspect towards the common people; for the safety of the future depends entirely upon the influence which Christianity can exert upon them. The question is, moreover, not one of prudence, but of truth and right.

We repeat, however, that the situation is one of gravity and peril. What will these masses become who carry an irresistible weight in the social scale. It is important, first of all, to know if they will be a blind element, carried hither and thither by every wind that blows, a sort of natural force more terrible than the tempest. In other words, we want to know if they will be educated and intelligent? We do not forget that the filling up of the political framework is of infinitely more moment than the framework itself; for the latter can have no durability except as it is sustained by an intelligent and self-governing people. In vain the politicians of 1789 drew up a constitutional system, admirable in many of its parts, and throughout sanctioning eternal rights. Everything had been thought of except the people who were to realize it. This liberal programme of political reconstruction had been prepared in the brilliant drawing-rooms of Paris, but not one of those great philosophers had gone down into the streets of the city and entered the workshop of the artisan, to dispel the ignorance of the masses. They had discussed the rights of the citizens in the palaces of a liberal aristocracy, but who had thought of that unwashed, repulsive being crouching on the threshold; of that famished ignorant peasant

whom Labraquère describes to us? Therefore the palaces in which were developed those noble theories that do honour to the mind of France were burnt to the ground, and the brilliant political edifice reared by a Mirabeau and a Lafayette was swept away by the storm of 1793. Let us not deny to political organizations the importance which is their due, but let us consider, first of all, those for whom they are made. Let us not place in the second rank that which ought to be in the first—I mean education.

The nations which are the children of Protestantism have held it as a sacred charge to diffuse instruction among all classes. This was a necessity of life for the Reformation, for it rests on a book, which by opposing a divine authority to enslaving traditions has been the best defence of liberty—of thought. It repeated in the ears of the men of the middle ages those two words which St. Augustine gave to the Church: “*Tolle et lege*”—“Take and read.” Therefore the Reformation taught the people to read. It is obvious that the Church which has for its motto *Read*, will be likely to have given a stronger impulse to general education than the Church which universally exalts the word of the priest above the Holy Book. We must then trace to a religious cause that generous diffusion of education in Protestant countries, of which we have such noble and striking proofs in this hospitable land. Yes, it is the Bible which has made the school—at least, the Protestant school. Elsewhere the case is different. It is fair to say that the shadow deepens and widens wherever the Romish hierarchy exerts its influence. I appeal for proof of this to Spain and ancient Italy. Undoubtedly Catholicism has its institutions for instruction, and we hail them gladly. But it teaches the smallest possible amount, and only what is strictly necessary, wherever it has absolute sway. It only lends a hand in the education of the people, in countries where its influence is contested, and where it has to encounter powerful adversaries. But its true genius is against a wide and liberal education, for, were it otherwise, it would devote itself pre-eminently to this task among those nations which it holds as its own with an undisputed right. But there are first the nations, which, to use the Scripture expression, “still sit in darkness.” Catholicism will hold in its own hand the key of knowledge, that it may be quite sure that its lesson and no other shall be learned. And on this principle its wisdom is to teach nothing beside the Catechism, for the impulse once given to the human mind, there are no means of checking its momentum. The necessities of the times, however, are such, that it will become an impossibility to mete out instruction with a miserly hand. In France a great and irrepressible start has been taken. The government, the various churches, societies of every description, vie with each other in the education of the common people. We are still far from the goal, and we blush when we compare the budget of

public instruction with that demanded by public opinion. Still, schools multiply and are encouraged; a recent law has provided for the instruction of girls as well as boys. The adult classes which have become so numerous in the last few years, are not merely a passing fashion, they are the response to a deep and general want. We may say that the cause of popular instruction, the cause of the schools, is gained; and to the first question which we proposed—will the popular classes who are gaining social influence be educated?—we may answer, Yes; unless we stop short in this noble enterprise. They will be educated, but what moral principles will they have acquired? This is the second question, and it is not less weighty than the first.

Whatever may be said, instruction alone is not sufficient. It may produce as much evil as good. A great poet, who aimed at writing the epic of misery, devoted a considerable work to this thesis, that light chases away moral evil as the sun repels the night. He would be right, if evil was only mental error, if it had no roots in the heart. But in vain were it for me to have all knowledge, if my will remained perverse, and I myself sold under evil passions; upon the highest step of the intellectual ladder, I should be more guilty and more dangerous than crouching at its foot in utter ignorance. No, it is not true that to open the schools will suffice to shut the prison doors; for from the school, minds can come forth at the same time polished and corrupt. "The intellect is the most dangerous of instruments when it is not under the command of conscience," said BENJAMIN CONSTANT. It may be a sharp, shining, but poisoned weapon. Suppose that in the schools the child of the people is taught that there is no God in heaven, no immutable and holy law in the heart, no sanction to that law in another life; suppose he is taught that he will only pass a few days on this changing scene of earth, and then vanish into nothingness, having no account to render of any of his deeds; suppose he is taught that he is only a "strange animal who has some exceptional moments;" but who has no other spring of action than instinct, and is dependent, like all other organized beings, on a law of necessity, from which none can free himself; suppose in a word, that he is taught that which is common as the air we breathe, that which is the current opinion of a large proportion of our generation—and tell us what will he be when he comes forth from such a school? And what are such schools preparing for society? Tell us, first of all, what will become of the unhappy youth who grows up under such influences, for before the dangers to society we have to regard the danger to individuals, the fate of immortal souls. Let us not lull ourselves to sleep with evil, idle illusions, trusting to instruction alone, apart from moral and religious education, to exert a beneficial influence which it does not possess. Let us be well assured that there is the most terrible of all risks in separating those things which should be united, and that the wider is the spread

of instruction, the more urgent and imperative becomes our duty to educate the conscience. Now we Christians have not to devise means for this education of the conscience; we know the master who alone can give it efficiently; this master is the Lord of the Bible, and thus we are brought directly to our subject.

On one point, all those whom I have the honour to address in this Christian assembly, are profoundly agreed, namely, that nothing is more desirable and more necessary, in a moral point of view, than to make the Bible the corner stone of all education. There can be no doubt that we should all desire to see it occupy the place of honour in every school. This desire infringes no real right, provided it is not translated into a legal obligation. Without dwelling too largely on this part of my subject, because it is one which will not give rise to any difference of opinion among us, I will briefly bring forward the reasons on which we hold that the school is absolutely incompetent, without the Bible, to fulfil its mission as an educator. On this ground we meet with lively opposition. Two years ago a very strong pamphlet appeared, from the pen of a distinguished writer, who has won a well deserved reputation in fictitious literature, by using his high talents in the service of advanced democracy. This pamphlet, by the author who had assumed the name of ANDRE LEO, is a letter to the Minister of Public Instruction, and its express purport is to ask him to remove the Bible from the catalogue of books for elementary schools, because the tendency of this old book is only to pervert the mind of childhood. I bring forward this pamphlet because it is, beyond a question, the manifesto of a party, and shows what may be expected if that party should come into power. It is asserted in this pamphlet, with a violence to which I must utterly fail to do justice, that the Bible is a bad book for children, because it places before them criminal acts. The author takes pains to reproduce the narratives in these annals of primitive history, which vividly depict that which is evil, and asks with indignation if such things can be read with impunity. But he forgets to notice that these criminal acts are represented in all their criminality, that they are branded and condemned, that evil is called evil without reserve or palliation in Scripture, and that the moral lesson is brought out with powerful evidence. Christianity must not be charged with absurdities and imprudences of which it is in no way guilty. There is an extravagant superstition, a Judaical Bibliolatry, which contends that all the sacred records should be read and studied indiscriminately by all ages, and under all circumstances. The Bible is a history which, with a bold sincerity, describes humanity such as it is, and will have no mendacious illusions; it shows us human nature fallen and corrupt, and casts no veil over its fearful calamity. While its language is always as chaste as it is forcible, it yet often presents a terrible

picture of our shame and degradation. It does not array vice in the dangerous charms of ensnaring poetry, but neither does it cover it with a veil of concealment. Evil appears before us as it is. Such a spectacle cannot be presented without danger to childhood. Therefore we do not hesitate to affirm that the reading of the Old Testament as a consecutive whole is not adapted for schools. This is no false prudence, but prudence of the most elementary kind. I know that in countries and families in which the Bible is surrounded with a secular sanction, sacred shadow rests upon the whole. It seems as though the holy cloud which hung over the Jewish sanctuary hovered over all its pages, so enshrined are they in a mysterious halo, which hides from the eye of the child that which might enlighten it too soon on the most melancholy aspects of our nature. But these exceptional circumstances must not supply our rules. We maintain, therefore, that every intelligent master will use the precautions suggested by love and respect for childhood.

With this reserve, this ancient book which so many are anxious to expel from the school, seems to us the only one for which there is no substitute. First of all, it is to us, Christians, the divine message of salvation to every soul of man, it is the book of eternal life. This gives a sufficient reason for our wish to put it into the hands of all, from the youngest to the oldest. This is why we regard as a holy work every effort to make it speak to every reasonable creature, and as a veritable crime against God and man every attempt to arrest or impede its diffusion. To enchain the Bible is to lay fetters upon the truth; it is to roll a stone over the mouth of the well of living waters; it is to foul the fountain in the desert, to which those who are ready to perish come to drink. Whoever believes that mankind is lost, and that his message of pardon is in the book of God, has but one thing to do—to lay that book wide open before all eyes, so that it may catch the first glance of the little child and the last look of the aged sinner.

But let us leave these generalities, and proceed to regard the Bible particularly in an educational point of view. In this aspect it appears especially worthy of admiration, for it lays before us, in fact, the most extensive of all plans of education—the plan of God with regard to the moral creature. It takes humanity in its rude infancy, and raises it gradually to the heights of the religion of the Spirit. It is a ladder of light, of which the first step is so near the earth, that the most ignorant and simple can set foot on it without an effort, while the top is lost in the depth of the celestial infinite. Let us hear no more calumnies of the Old Testament. In it we see, as it were, the first humiliation of the Eternal Word, proportioning its glories to the feebleness of the eye scarcely yet opened, and which would be blinded

by the full sunlight. The highest moral truths assume in it a palpable, sensible, popular form, which strikes even the untutored mind, incapable as yet of rising to that which is abstract and doctrinal. Besides, it is needful for the child, as for mankind in its early stages, to pass under the rod of the law before knowing the sweetness of the Gospel. The holiness of God must be manifested in its terrible splendour; the lightnings must weave their awful crown on Sinai's summit. Thou must know what it costs to infringe God's holy law; and the history of Israel must witness on every page that God is not mocked. Man must feel upon him that eye which never sleeps, which searches the hearts and the reins, and from which he could find no escape, even could he take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, or make his bed in hell. Compose the best moral catechisms, sweeten them with honey gathered from all the works of human wisdom, supplement Plato by Zeno, Marcus Aurelius by Plutarch and Epictetus, and the child would find no profit or pleasure in them. But place before him the living and true God, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, of Moses and of David, and he will carry away in his heart a sharp spur which nothing will remove; the thought of holiness will sink into the depths of his nature, beyond the reach of superficial change. This strong discipline alone forms the conscience, and gives it that severe tempering which makes it an incorruptible judge.

Is it needful for me to add that in our thoughts the Old Testament is never dissociated from the Gospel? We do not consider it as an isolated thing, but as the great preparation for the final economy. Therefore, we do not wish to make any one a Jew before making him a Christian. We look from above, not from below; we take our stand on the summit, not at the foot of the mountain. Now this glorious and holy "hill, whence cometh our help," is the hill of blood on which was raised the Redeemer's cross. This is the zenith of salvation and of revelation, the culminating point of human thought, for here it is that God, the living and true God, manifests Himself fully. Here He tells us His name, that name which sums up and gathers into one all His perfections, His name of love. When Jacob—scarred, but victorious, at the close of that mysterious wrestling, which is the sublime type of the period of preparation of the Jewish covenant, the chief design of which was to break the hard heart of fallen man—asked of God to tell him His name, he received no reply, because the time was not yet come for the rending of the last veils, and the Eternal Father, in the very interests of the work of salvation, must needs yet enshroud Himself in the flaming cloud of Sinai. It was essential that He should be known as the great and jealous God, "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity." Hence the severe and terrible aspect of the dispensations of the old covenant, in which superficial scepticism refuses

to see anything but implacable hardness. All the prophets and holy men of old repeated Jacob's question. All said to Him, who smote that He might save them, "Tell me what is Thy name." That sacred name He uttered, as it were, indistinctly to the greatest of them, to the Isaiahs and Jeremiahs, but it was only truly revealed on Calvary. Yes, it was beneath that darkened sky, in the crash of rending rocks, in the midst of that scene of incomparable sadness, that this new and yet eternal name was heard. On that accursed spot, on that Hill of the Skull, was the burning bush of the new covenant out of which the voice which Moses heard spake, saying not only "*I am that I am*," but also "*I am the God, who is love*." This name Jesus wrote with His blood on a ransomed earth. And from that moment there is light on all the past: the dispensations of the Jewish economy appear link within link leading up to the cross. The close of the drama explains all its catastrophes. Till now, men had seen only the law, with its rod and its sword, and they had charged the God of the Bible with being an inexorable God. Now they know that this rough pedagogue, this stern officer of justice, was but preparing in the desert a highway for the Saviour of the world. They had heard only the strong wind and the tempest, now they hear the still small voice which speaks peace and pardon. The Old Testament, linked with the Gospel, forms a natural and worthy part in the vast scheme of Divine love.

I have dwelt upon this point, because the principal objection urged against us was drawn from that which was thus described as the hard and implacable character of Judaism. It was asserted that we gave wrong impressions to the hearts and minds of children by making them read the earlier pages of our holy books. We have seen that this objection does not hold, if we regard the whole of revelation instead of a part. We are convinced that the reading of the Old Testament, thus illuminated by the Gospel, is more than ever indispensable to the child; for in these times of reviving idolatry, when the fools who say there is no God walk our streets and fill our workshops, nothing is more salutary than that portion of the holy book in which the idea of the one personal, living, and holy God is written in characters of fire, and every idol is destroyed without pity. In this age of moral enervation, when men drink iniquity as a pleasant draught, nothing is more wholesome than to be taught, not only by solemn declarations, but by striking facts, that it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God. It is thus, and thus only, that the Gospel appears in its full value and true meaning. The austere precursor must have gone before, with his scourge in his hand, or Jesus will not be welcomed. Without the bitter dew of repentance, the soil remains hard and sterile; it bears only poisonous flowers; a gap, but worse than useless growth, without a single grain for the Master's granary. Is it

needful for me, to say a word on what the Gospel itself is; what, at least, it may be to the child when it is taken in connection with that which preceded and prepared for it, and is not transmuted, in the hands of a solvent neology, into a tasteless narcotic for the conscience? Do we not hear from the beginning to the end of the book of God, the tender words of Jesus: "Suffer little children to come unto me"? They themselves read the invitation first of all on His gentle, yet thorn-crowned brow. From the simple reading of the Scriptures there comes forth, I will not say a *vision*, but a *view* of Christ which shows Him to our spiritual eye as He appeared to the first disciples on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias or under the fig-trees of Bethany. It is not possible that a child-like soul should fail to feel this attraction to the Divine Master. The scenes of His passion stir it to its depths. I know that familiarity brings a sort of mist, or rather a dimness over the sublimest thoughts; nevertheless there will remain in the depths of the child's heart an imperishable memory of the Christ of the Gospel. It will be with him as with St. Augustine, in whose soul a sainted mother had engraved the name of Jesus so profoundly that neither the storms of passion nor the fluctuations of thought could efface it. It was this which would not suffer him to be held altogether by those false doctrines to which for a time his ardent and unequal spirit yielded. He wanted the Christ of his childhood, and he could neither rest nor be satisfied till he had found Him again. Let our schools continue this work of pious mothers. Let them also imprint the name of Jesus on the souls yet tender which come under their charge. They can have no higher mission.

But it is not only by the attraction which the Redeemer thus exercises that the Gospel is admirably adapted to children; it is so also because it presents truth in a form which comes home to them. They cannot grasp an abstraction; they attach themselves only to that which is concrete and living. Ideas only reach them in the form of facts; the great teacher of childhood is history. Now what is the Gospel if it is not a history, and a history having throughout only one central figure? "I am the Truth," said Jesus Christ; that is to say, in Him truth was *lived* and manifested in all its fulness, so that, in order to grasp it, all that is needed is eyes to see, ears to hear, and a heart to feel. In the words "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," we have the truth concerning God in all its depth. Tell the child that God is a personality; that He is free, holy, just; that He is infinite goodness, love. He will not understand you, and you will see his eyes wandering without an object to rest upon. But show him the only and well-beloved Son of the Father, and then he knows at once what is meant by the love of God—the divine essence. Let him.

stand before the accursed tree, and tell him that this is the expression of the love of the Father and of the Son. He will then have an idea of the nature of God, which, in its simplicity, goes beyond all philosophy. The truth about man, and what he ought to be, comes out no less strikingly in the son of Mary. Try to lead a child along the labyrinth of abstract psychology in order to make him comprehend the notion of good and evil; I defy you to fix his attention. But let him learn to know Jesus, the "meek and lowly in heart," going about from place to place to prove the value of comfort and healing; seeking out the poor, the neglected, the despised; making his royal tour of mercy through all the provinces of grief, doing day by day His Father's will, never seeking His own; renouncing glory, pleasure, ease, all that selfish and ambitious man pursues so eagerly; finally making Himself a sacrifice to finish the work that had been given Him to do; and the child will know what holiness means, and what is that moral perfection to which man is called. He will know also what evil is. The view of Jesus will be a light showing him the darkness of sin; he will know himself to be a sinner and fallen, and he will feel the need of redemption as it was felt by the publicans and sinners of Judæa, when in their moral night they saw the bright light arise of a holiness truly human and yet divine. Redemption presented in a doctrinal point of view would leave the child perfectly cold and indifferent; it is even possible that his artless questions might derange more than one theological system. Take a shorter way—the Gospel way. Show him the Redeemer, the Saviour of the world, dying for his sins and raised again for his justification; let him see in the hands of the Crucified the keys that can open Paradise to the dying sinner; let him hear those groanings of grief and anguish and that last cry of desertion; let him catch those words of pardon, of love, and finally of triumph, the great "It is finished!"—and then he will know what is the worth of his soul, and at what a price it has been ransomed. Let him see, on the morning of the third day, the empty grave of the Lord and the Lord Himself blessing His disciples and returning to His glory, and he will no more doubt of the reconciliation between earth and heaven. Lastly, you will labour unavailingly to convince him of the need of grace and Divine assistance. But show him, in the Acts of the Apostles, the opened heavens, the Holy Spirit descending upon feeble and ignorant men, and transforming the doubtful and timid disciples into the heroes and pillars of the Church, and he will understand what the power of God can work in our weakness. Thus does truth appear in the Gospel, living and transparent—the pure spiritual milk for the little ones of the kingdom.

Nor let us think that there is here any deceptive accommodation.

Truth has not been disguised in legends to bring it within the reach of the simple and unlearned. We are not contemplating a fable or a parable, but a Divine history, a sublime reality. There are not two Gospels; one for the simple and for children, taking the form of history, and another abstract—a Gospel of pure ideas—for the wise and for philosophers. There is no other Gospel than that which we have attempted to sketch; and that which constitutes its beauty and Divine originality is just the fact that it is a history and a person, that everything in it is living, and that its truth is the most sublime of realities. The Gospel is not, then, the cup with honeyed rim of which the poet speaks, which is to beguile feeble men into drinking the bitter but wholesome draught. It is the beverage of the strong. Its method is good, not only for weaklings and children; it is the transcendent method of the Word, who said, "Let there be light, and there was light." The seal of the Divine is ever that creative realism which does not only *declare* but *manifests* the truth, or rather makes it visible to our eyes under the higher form of a being who is a great personality. Jesus Christ thanked the Father that He had not made the Gospel an abstract doctrine reserved for the wise and prudent, but that He had revealed it in His own person to the simple and to babes. We feel ourselves honoured, therefore, when scornful philosophers rank us with these little ones, asserting that our religion is unworthy of elevated minds, who rise to the contemplation of the pure idea. We contemplate more than the pure idea, which, by the way, is not so clear to our haughty opponents; we contemplate the living idea, "the Word made flesh;" and we call to mind the deep saying of Schilling, who, wearied of vain abstractions, exclaimed, at the close of his career, "Yes, Christianity is a *fact*:" meaning thus to indicate its glory and superiority.

After its primary mission, which is to form the souls of men, by revealing to them the Saviour, the Bible fulfils yet another. It is the most marvellous *means of culture* for a nation. We detract nothing from the respect with which it inspires us, when we regard it as the monument of an entire literature, in which the life of a specially remarkable people is reflected in all its fulness. History, poetry, doctrine, are all comprised in the sacred Book, not always in the form of solemn and didactic exposition, but with a beautiful variety of tone and colour. The ancient East is reproduced to the life in the imposing scenes of Genesis. The tent of the patriarch, pitched in the midst of fertile villages, where feed the flocks, initiates us into the noble and grand life of the desert. To the child, there is thus conveyed an intuition of a remote world, which enlarges the horizon of ideas, and discovers in dim perspective the great unknown, beyond the prosaic scope of its own little life. The stirring history

of Israel, all those strongly marked types, the nervous and simple story, which strikes the imagination while it impresses the mind—all these are so many sources of culture for those who have little leisure to study in detail the events of the past. These sacred chronicles supply also a deep philosophy of history, the best of all—that which explains our destinies by the action of free agencies. What psychology can come up to this delineation of man, illuminated and set in such strong relief by the light of conscience? It is as it were an instantaneous photograph; the greatness and the misery are represented in the picture without exaggeration, and in their strange intermingling. What poetry surpasses that of our sacred Books. Take PINDAR or HOMER. They cannot be enjoyed without some measure of learning, for their poems are interwoven with events and customs which must be known to make the writings intelligible. Where else do we find simple human feelings expressed with so much force and beauty as in the Bible? Where has grief received more eloquent expression than in the mouth of the patriarch, cursing the day of his birth, or from the harp of DAVID? The beauty of the earth arrayed in glory, all its paths dropping fatness, the calm majesty of the star-studded heavens have nowhere been celebrated as in the Psalms. Now the adoration is full of tenderness and takes the wing of the dove, now it is a song of ecstasy soaring as on eagle's wing into the full sunlight. It has been justly remarked that the language of Scripture is reflected in the language of the nations formed under its influence, and the impression of its ipeculiar seal. In the exalted moments of life, the cottage or the workshop give us back the echoes of inspired song. Thus the sublimest poetry opens the ideal world to the man who goes bending all his days over the furrow or the joiner's bench. It exalts and transfigures the hardest, most thankless lot. If I were not afraid of transgressing the limits assigned to me, I could show further how diligent study of the Bible imparts to mind and soul a feeling of right and a respect for that humanity for which such miracles of love have been wrought, which form the strongest barriers against every kind of despotism. When the mind has once taken hold of that great principle laid down by Peter before the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, "it is right to obey God rather than man," and has seen it confirmed by the noble sufferings of the martyrs, the foundation of a sacred liberty of conscience is laid, and upon this rock a solid building may be raised. Let us then give the Bible to children. It is the Book in which they will find the key-word of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. Every school from which it is excluded is a school which will fail to fulfil its mission. We do not want the Bible to be merely a Sunday book, read only as a sort of religious service. We want it to be the very centre of instruction, from which all other teaching shall emanate, to which all shall lead

back, we want it to be the *focus*, the *soul* of education, the *daily bread*.

You see then, how thorough is our conviction. The school without the Bible is to us a school decapitated, or rather materialized, and deprived of its most effectual means of influence and of education. Another question now presents itself. Should the Bible be officially placed in all schools, especially in government schools, or ought we to give, in this respect, absolute liberty? Upon this point, there may be a difference of opinion among the good, even in an Evangelical Conference like this. I am bound, therefore, in all Christian sincerity, to work out this grave social problem, under penalty of evading the critical point of my subject, that, perhaps, which you have been expecting me to reach.

This problem dates with the days in which we live. There was a time when it could not even have been stated, for in past ages the society of Europe rested entirely on the close union between the spiritual and the temporal power. That was the period of State religions. Doubtless, many breaches were made in that social edifice, in which the throne was supported by the altar. Free thought found its way through the fissure, it could no more be kept out than the wind could be kept from blowing; and incredulity was fretting more and more through the social body, while the ancient organization still remained intact. Civil power was the guardian and the soldier of the faith, or, to speak more correctly, of the State Church. Under such conditions, the school belonged entirely to the spiritual power. This was its special field, which it sowed at pleasure. The public instruction of the entire country, from the lowest to the highest, was the affair of the clergy. Lay masters only taught under their sanction. It was not a question then of the elementary ideas of religion only, each Church imposed its complete *credo*, and taught its catechism with authority. This compulsory system was often very unsuccessful in its results. We must not forget that VOLTAIRE and the Encyclopædists came forth from Jesuit colleges. The eighteenth century and the son attained his majority, but it is the son of the Church still; it was nourished by the milk of the Church, and took its first steps in the Church's leading strings.

In our day everything is changed. State religion exists no longer, at least in all its ancient rigour, except in Russia, in Spain, and in the small states still possessed by the Papacy. Austria is in process of shaking it off, and this victory over herself and over her oldest traditions, atones for many defeats. No one among us would now dare to assert that the schools which are dependent on the State ought to be still dependent on the Church, for the very simple reason that all opinions on religion have a right to co-exist in the same country. There would be flagrant injustice in guaranteeing the predominance

of one form of worship at the expense of another, especially in a province in which those to be dealt with are under age and may be more or less moulded at will. The sacred rights of the father of a family would thus be violated. We may well leave to the Ultramontane Catechism the iniquitous pretension to lay forcible hands on a whole generation upon which it claims to set its seal. It does not only say :—"Suffer the little children to come unto me (*sinite*)," but it says, "deliver them up to me;" they were mine before they are yours; I regard them as my property. The State only exists to assure my supremacy. I am the sole teacher." Any Protestant Church that should advance such pretensions would belie its own principle; under pretext of preserving its form, it would sacrifice the spirit without which the form is an empty husk. It would challenge, moreover, certain defeat, for in the domain of authority it could not at all compete with the organization of old catholicism. Nothing could be better adapted than that as a powerful machine for crushing individuality.

But it will be argued that the question is not of subjecting the schools to the control of ecclesiastical authority, but of simply providing for the teaching of those elementary ideas which are at the basis of all religion. Has not the State, from this point of view, a right to make the Bible the first reading-book in its schools? Let us guard against misunderstanding, that we may avoid the appearance of any exaggeration, which would falsify our view. We say, then, first of all, that we start from the principle of the most complete liberty in all that concerns public instruction. We denounce most strongly all university monopolies. Nothing appears to us more tyrannical than the pretension of the State to be the sole educator. This was, as you know, one of the fundamental points of the Napoleonic *régime* in its commencement. Nothing was allowed to enter into competition with the University, which enrolled all the youth of the country, and led it with beating of drums to a sort of official orthodoxy, of which the *Credo* was briefly this :—"You are wholly your Emperor's. To honour him, to serve him, to fight for him, this is all the law and the prophets." I will not do more than remind you of the famous Catechism drawn up under the first Empire, for all the churches.

"Q. What are the duties of Christians towards the princes who govern them, and what are, in particular, your duties towards Napoleon I., your Emperor.

"A. Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we, in particular, owe to Napoleon I., our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and taxes. To honour and serve our Emperor is to honour and serve God Himself.

"Q. What must be thought of those who fail in their duty towards our Emperor?

“A. According to the Apostle Paul, they resist the order established by God Himself, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.”

This *naïveté* in the employment of administrative despotism, makes us smile, but more or less you will find similar proceedings in all countries where public instruction is the monopoly of the State. It becomes then a vast mint, in which minds are all stamped like silver and gold coin, with one effigy, that of the reigning Cæsar. We demand, then, the most absolute liberty to found and multiply schools side by side with the Government schools. Every Church, every opinion may have its own agencies on condition of not offending public morality, nor violating the laws of the country.

This freedom of instruction implies that the State shall not arrogate to itself the pretended right of previous authorization, which is in itself the negation of the right. It shall exact a certain measure of knowledge on the part of instructors, it shall assure itself by certificate that they are possessed of this required knowledge; the school (all schools) shall be open to Government inspection which shall be carried on strictly within the limit of its competence. But, under these conditions, anyone wishing to open an educational establishment shall not need any permission; he shall not be dependent on the changing currents of political life. His right shall be inviolable. The tutor shall not be liable to see his school closed at the pleasure of an academic council, governed by religious influence, for this would be to revive the constraint of conscience under a hypocritical form. No one shall be able to say to him, as was said recently, that his school must be closed in the interest of public morals, because he has been guilty of religious propagandism. This propagandism is not only his right, but his duty, if he has any serious convictions. He was not contented with the State school, precisely because he wanted full liberty to communicate his faith to the children entrusted to him. The State must hold all free schools in an even balance. If it favours those of one creed, even by dispensing in the case of certain masters with the Government conditions of instruction generally imposed, it injures the common right; the facilities which it grants do away with equality, and the liberty of instruction is thus seriously infringed.

Suppose all these conditions to be realized. Suppose freedom of instruction, guaranteed unreservedly, then the question which occupies us loses much of its gravity. If, for substantial reasons, the State does not impose the reading of the Bible in its schools, then all those who believe with ourselves, that there is no education worthy of the name without the religion of the Bible, will multiply free schools and will give in them the instruction they deem needful. After all, this is the conclusion to which we must in any case come, if the education desired is to be one thoroughly imbued with

the Christian spirit. The daily reading of some portions of the Gospel would bring but meagre results. What is needed is not simply a lesson given in religion, for that would imply that religion is only one of the special branches of human culture, while it is in reality the strong trunk whence the sap rises into all the branches of the tree. That which is of moment is that the spirit of the Gospel should pervade all the teaching; that the master of our children should not be an occasional catechist, but an earnest Christian. We delegate to him for a time the intellectual and moral influence of the father. Will it be enough if in this capacity he merely provides for the reading of the sacred volume? Must he not explain it and give it a special application with reference to the young minds in his charge? How can you require the fulfilment of such conditions in a Government master? Would this not be to return to the Catholic system and enfeoff our Church with the public instruction of our country, that is to abrogate the holiest of liberties? You see, then, that in any case, persons of strong and decided belief will be driven to the resource of founding private schools. If freedom of instruction exists, as we desire to see it, the rising generation will be brought up beneath the sheltering shadow of the Bible, and the terrible peril, which I deprecate as strongly as any, that of a people without God, will be averted.

If it is objected that the establishment of private schools involves too much expense for them to be numerous, I reply that the objection does not seem to me admissible. No, I will not allow that an earnest conviction can, in any country, excuse itself on the ground of penury. There is no idea, however senseless, which does not find means to diffuse itself. Every serious interest can guarantee sufficient support. And shall we entertain the thought that the holiest of convictions, the highest of interests shall fail for lack of resources? If the resources are actually wanting, it is because the conviction fails of fire and force that it has become lukewarm or conventional; and if so, what right has it to complain? What matters it to such a spirit what is done in the Government schools? Let me remind you that in this matter of schools the resources come in great measure from families. If then resources are wanting, it is a proof that sympathy with your doctrine is wanting, and if so, by what right can you insist on having children taught in public schools that which they do not desire, for if they did desire it they would have come to you; you would have had no more reason for the plea of penury, and the objection would fall of itself. No, no, we will not fear; we believe assuredly that Evangelical Christianity is sufficiently deep rooted in the hearts of the people to stimulate to the most generous efforts. Grant us only full liberty of instruction, and I am persuaded that what I will call Biblical schools will multiply.

Having thus freed ourselves from any legitimate cause of apprehension, we may proceed to consider directly the question before us. Ought the State officially to decree that the Bible shall be the basis of instruction in its schools? I think not. In order to justify my opinion, we must go back to the great principles which, in our view, should govern the relations of the spiritual power. I will confine myself to stating briefly my opinion on this great problem, on the solution of which depends the future of the world. For my own part *I strongly repudiate the notion of a Christian State*, by which, I understand a State which claims to intervene directly in religion, in order to maintain certain doctrines, and enforce more or less strenuously their practice. The notion of the *Christian State* is, in my view, the *Pagan notion of the State*, because it revives one of the worst abuses of society, as it was conceived by Paganism—I mean *the absorption of the individual conscience in the res-publica*.

The State shows its respect for Christianity by arresting the rule of law at the precise point at which commences the wide rule of conscience, according to the noble saying of Napoleon. *Liberty is the debt which the State owes to religion, and when it has paid this, its part is accomplished.* The State, in the Christian sense, is the State which abstains from interfering in that which does not concern it, and renders to God the things that are God's, and everything that is connected directly or indirectly with belief and worship is the domain belonging to God alone. This is the principle which should govern the whole question before us. The condition of mind in our day gives new importance to it. The State is everywhere confronted with differing religious forms. If one has an ascendancy over another, as a matter of right, because the capacity of citizenship is entirely distinct from any religious profession, it is needful also—alas! that the necessity should be greater than ever—to take into account all those who, in the name of free thought, reject all existing religions. The State, as a State, ought not to show favour to any of these opinions or beliefs. Now, it would obviously be violating this principle, if it imposed in its schools any religious teaching whatever. In vain it may be urged that the Bible is above all diversities, and that it is the common source at which all Christians drink. This would be to forget that between the two great sections of Christianity, there is a question of method, which gives rise to a very marked difference between them in the use they make of the sacred book. It is incontestable that according to its most authentic and authoritative tradition, Catholicism does not admit the free use of Holy Scriptures; it allows it only on certain conditions, and with certain precautions which lay it under singular limitations. In any case, its highest authorities would not tolerate the reading of the Bible in schools under the sole direction of a lay master. Such a concession will never be obtained,

till the hour of a new reformation shall have struck. We have not to discuss here, the religious idea which dictates this excessive prudence ; our opinion of it is well known. But the fact remains that the State could not enforce the reading of the Bible in public schools, without making an attack on one of the most wide-spread forms of Christian religion. Other important religious divergences might be noted in modern society without referring to the Jews, who will not permit their children to be taught out of the Gospel. The Bible is capable of arousing lively repugnance among those who share the prejudices of antichristian philosophy ; a repugnance originating, I own, in a combination of ignorance and passion ; but the State has no right even to qualify or to criticize these prejudices, still less to do them violence, for this would be to trample under foot the rights of many families. We may not listen to arguments urging the necessity of saving the soul of the child, for this would open a wide door for religious tyranny. Admit this ground, and the authorities of the canton of *Appenzell*, who forcibly baptize the children of Baptists, merit nothing but approbation, and no wrong was done by Rome when the Jewish child was torn from its parents, who, in the opinion of its captors, were leading it on the road to ruin. Dare to make but one breach in the rights of the family, and all iniquities will enter by that breach. When any attempt is made to save souls by means in themselves unjust, the system of the public safety is applied to religion. Eternal interests weigh so heavily in the balance, that when once any right whatever has been sacrificed to them, everything will soon follow. It is the first step alone which is hard.

We have so far considered the question only with reference to the children, or rather to their parents ; but there is also another conscience at stake—that of the teacher. It is doubtless to be desired, for all the reasons we have given, that he should be a faithful disciple of Him who called the children unto Him. Such an one alone can, in the deep sense of the word, *educate* them, that is, form their immortal souls for the divine life. But the State could not stipulate for such qualifications without the charge of intruding upon the sacred privacy of conscience. All that it has to ask of its masters is that they be well informed and moral men ; it cannot give certificates of Christianity. Neither can it exact a positive belief ; and to impose duties which presuppose such beliefs, would be to degrade its instruments, to compel them to be hypocrites, and to make them buy their bread too dearly, not only for themselves, but still more for the children entrusted to them ; for these have everything to lose if their master surrenders that moral susceptibility, which is compatible only with perfect liberty. Let it not be said that all that is required of him is a simple reading which pledges him to nothing. You will never make a mere machine of an intelligent man. The very expres-

sion of his face will be enough to let his pupils soon know what he thinks of religion. What will you have gained when they have begun to divine that the book of God may be an object of doubt?

Apart from all these considerations, the civil power, by imposing the Bible on public schools, gives a direct judgment in the religious question; it makes a choice among various opinions and various methods, it intervenes in the domain of conscience, that is to say, according to our view, it departs entirely from its competent work, for it has no commission to decide in matters affecting the relation of it between the soul and God. We must observe that if we are prepared to recognize any such right, when it inclines the balance to our side, we cannot refuse it in the opposite case. Let us leave generalities. The State is a government of some kind or other. It may be instituted on the type of absolute monarchy, or of advanced democracy. If you argue that it has the right to interfere in religion so far as to impose the Bible on public schools, it may elsewhere proscribe it, as in Spain, or following the flood of time and change, it may substitute for it I know not what positivist catechism, the fundamental articles of which shall be the denial of the soul and of God. This would be a wrong, you will say. Undoubtedly a wrong, as far as truth is concerned, but after all, it would be but the free use of the right you have admitted of Government interference in the religious question, and you cannot demand that it should solve the question in any other way than that which seems to it the most plausible. Would you avoid all these perils? Give an absolute negative then to any interference with the rights of conscience, and say firmly "Thus far and no further." Levy imposts, regulate civil and public life, but do not cross this sacred limit. This "*noli me tangere*" of religion is its sole safeguard.

Let us not be told that we are grasping at shadows. The school is the great stake of all parties; for all know, as LEIBNITZ has put it, that he who gets hold of the children, is the master of society. Remember what passed at the Congress of *Berne*; with what vehemence atheistic positivism asserted its right to take possession of the children, and to mould them in its own image and likeness, by teaching them "Independent Morality." Should the helm ever be seized by these violent hands, I know well what they would do. Perhaps, they would separate Church and State, but it would be to unite the school and the State in an indissoluble bond, and to make public institutions the nurseries of positivism and materialism. Full of scorn for liberty, these free thinkers would impose their catechism on our children. Let us not prepare the way by imposing ours on the Government schools, and let us not set the fatal example of laying constraint on a single conscience. The future will show if we are wrong in giving such counsels, which are dictated not simply by prudence, but by justice.

In conclusion, we resume that, in our opinion, the State ought not to make the reading of the Bible a law and a rule, in the schools which are dependent upon it. I will not, however, go so far as to say that it ought to interdict it. Let it remain neutral, let it leave the teacher free to follow his conscience and also the wish of the parents. A knowledge of Bible facts ought to be required in all the examinations preparatory to the various official appointments; for, in a merely human point of view, it is intolerable that so grand a page of the history of our race should be ignored. This condition, so natural and so just, would make the study of the Bible a universal necessity. But the State must not go further; it must leave, as beyond its domain, all that relates to religion proper. If it is objected that the public schools will supply but a very imperfect education, I admit it, and therefore urge the importance of free competition. Perhaps the English system is, in this respect, the most worthy of imitation. The State has no schools of its own; but it grants subsidies to those which deserve to be encouraged. These subsidies may reach hundreds of millions in a great country. Thus instruction has all the aid it requires, and all the liberties which are no less essential. I believe that the solution of the problem will be found in this direction.

The special question which I have had the honour to bring before you sets us face to face with the greatest duties and the greatest dangers of our age. It has brought us into the presence of that aggressive democracy which can no more be checked or repelled than the waves of the ocean. A hot wind of impiety is sweeping over it, and if this was the influence destined to rule the future, if we were to witness the triumph of a democracy without God, the world would have darker days and more terrible despotism in store than any it has yet seen. To obviate these perils two systems present themselves. The first places its reliance in measures of authority. It would have these universally applied, and the nations thus brought back to the faith. The second system depends on liberty alone, and it would hold the holiest of causes to be compromised if it were upheld by any other means. This is our system. Everything confirms our belief that it is founded in reason and right; the *past*, which strikingly reveals the radical impotence of all despotisms, commencing with the religious despotism, which is the mother only of licence and impiety; the *present*, with its impatience of all restraint, and with that universality of information which makes it impossible to arrest or check for an hour the rapid diffusion of thought; the *future*, with its menaces and precursive signs of one of the most formidable crises of the human spirit which no feeble precautions can turn aside. Let us show a calm confidence in our colours! Let us hold them

with a manly hand ! Let us leave to those degrading systems which have no faith in conscience, and know no moral support, all cowardly appeals to force. Let us say aloud that the rights of truth require not, as is pretended by the authoritative school, the oppression of souls, but simply liberty ; and that just because it *is* the truth, the conscious response to all the higher aspirations of man, to all that is Divine in the human heart ; because it knows that the golden ring to which it is to be linked is not broken. Every other method will result in well-deserved failure. And then to this exalted liberalism, drawn from the most sacred sources, let us add fervent charity. Instead of fearing the multitudes already thronging and pressing us, let us love them as Jesus Christ loved them. Let us be moved with compassion for them. Let us bear to them the everlasting Gospel, with ardent and sympathetic hearts ; or rather, *let us make the Christ of the Gospel live again before them.* It is He whom they want to see and hear. He only can still the great swelling waves, saying to the wind and to the tempest, "Peace !" Not a day, not an hour is to be lost in the accomplishment of a task so urgent and so great.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN HOLLAND.

BY M. J. DE NEUFVILLE,

AMSTERDAM.

CALLED at the present time to fix your attention for a few moments on Christian instruction in Holland, a subject grave in itself, and especially so in such times as ours, when Christianity has to endure so many and such rude assaults, I hesitate, through the greatness of the task, whether it does not become me to resign to others the place I occupy. You would all wish, and I in particular, to see it filled by an eminent statesman, and sincerely pious Christian, to whom it of right belongs, and who, by the profound study he has given to the question, by his distinguished talents, and by his life, entirely devoted to the extension of the kingdom of God, would have been more than any one else qualified to place before you the details of the subject, and to make you acquainted with our conflicts, our defeats, our victories, our designs, and our hopes. I refer to Mr. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER. Engagements of superior urgency deprive us for the moment of the advantage of listening to and appreciating the sentiments of his upright and reflective mind.

Since, then, you see me in his place, you will not refuse to give me your attention, and to listen to me with candour.

Christian education has been for many years, and will not cease to be for yet an indeterminate period, one of the burning questions, if indeed it be not emphatically *the* burning question, of our country. Upon its determination depends the present and the future condition both of the State and the Church. The Saviour no doubt had it in His mind when he pronounced his memorable words, which will echo till the end of time, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me." Children are the hope of the future. Make yourselves masters of childhood, and the future is yours. Leave your schools a prey to infidelity; allow the leaven of rationalism, now so prevalent, to ferment in the minds of the young; and you will see an arrogant generation grow up, too arrogant and too lofty to submit to any yoke whatever, even the yoke of God!

Bring up your children in His fear, let His Word be the foundation

and chief element of their education, and, under the divine blessing, the spirit of insubordination and rebellion of children towards their parents, and of inferiors towards their superiors, will cease, and the State and the Church be saved! It should undoubtedly, therefore, be the concern of Christians to engage themselves with the care of childhood.

Do not charge me with exaggeration. Perhaps you feel some difficulty in appreciating the gravity of the question, which in Holland excites such a lively interest. I do not hesitate to say that the different situations of my beloved country are little or ill understood by a stranger. Holland seldom forms the subject of serious inquiry or profound study to other nations. If I speak thus, you will not accuse me of injustice—at most, you will only say that my country is dear to me, and that I desire to see her occupy the place which, in my view, she deserves in the Christian world.

Education among us is now for the most part an affair of the State. I will not abuse your patience by largely retracing the past. I restrict myself to the statement that before the Revolution which astonished the close of the last century had powerfully shaken its primitive foundations, and the reformed worship, which was then the official religion of the United Provinces, had lost its political position, public education was Christian,—the natural consequence of the immediate connection of Church and State. One decree of the year 1612 ordained as follows* :—

“Considering that the Apostle requires Christian parents to bring up their children in the knowledge of the Lord, and that to assist them in doing so schools are instituted, in which Christian youth are instructed not only in good manners, and all those things which concern the present life, but, before everything else, in the knowledge of God and of His holy will, that they may not only become good citizens, but also good Christians, and attain by the grace of God to eternal happiness;—we decree and ordain that rectors and instructors shall take care, in the first place, that the young be carefully instructed and brought up in the fear of God. And that to this end they shall teach children to pray to the Lord every morning and evening, to attend public worship on Sundays and other appointed days, recommending them to listen devoutly, attentively, and with becoming respect to the word of God; and that they teach them the principles of the Christian faith, making use of the Sacred Scriptures, and having regard to the age, to the intelligence, and to the mental development of the children.”

What could be desired more in 1867 than this decree of 1612, always excepting religious liberty, which is a kind of blessed appanage of the 19th century? Our ancestors never lost sight of the necessary

* Van Otterloo, *De Lagere School* i. 7.

relations between the family, the school, and the Church. And what followed? Religious principles prevailed in all the relations of life, the Bible in almost every family was the principal book, the book which was read daily and every day. And this nourished, strengthened, and fortified the faith in the hearts of all,—the foundation of their hopes for life and for death,—the faith which brought forth abundant fruit in vigorous, animated piety, adorning so much of the history of our country in the seventeenth century.*

The general relaxation of manners in the following century, and the philosophical ideas which grew to irreligion and infidelity, had as their disastrous consequence a lessening of the value attached to public religious instruction. The Government endeavoured to apply a remedy by decrees and enactments, but enactments and decrees remained a dead letter, and were simply laid aside.

The Revolution came. Its influence was necessarily great on the tendency of primary instruction. The reformed Church, hitherto entrusted with its superintendence, could naturally be no longer charged with this duty. The principles of equality, fraternity, and toleration which then made so much noise, but with so unjust a title, raised an obstacle. In a meeting of the *Public Utility Society*, founded towards the end of the eighteenth century, it was publicly professed † “that an education resting on the principles of faith, based on the word of God,” had formerly indeed been of some use, but in the end did more harm than good. This antiquated education would continue to uphold and foment differences of worship; it would not allow human reason freely to develop itself; it would not form men of large and elevated sentiments, but slaves to the letter, or as they were afterwards called—implacable men of party, yes, impostors and hypocrites. It would conduce much more to the development of mind if, instead of positive religion, children were taught to practise what is good, to avoid evil, to obey the precepts of natural religion and Christian morality. To teach youth the principles of the Christian faith was the duty of the Church, to be fulfilled at a more advanced age, and certainly not the duty of the school. Do not require children to become acquainted with revealed religion, and therefore conceal the Bible from them, and suffer nobody to show it to them.

The dread of the Bible only too plainly showed the deplorable aberration of the minds of men! Unhappily, the principles announced then did not disappear with the eighteenth century, but they still remain in such force that they exercise great influence at the present time.

The society I have referred to, called for *Public Utility*, took public

* Van Oterloo, *De Lagere School* i. 9.

† Ibid. i. 15.

instruction under its own care, and the school, as the natural consequence, was deprived of the Word of God, which had previously been its strength and ornament.

This disorganization, too easily accomplished, could not give universal satisfaction. The loss sustained by primary instruction was too sensibly felt not to occasion some attempts to provide a remedy.

In 1799 the Executive Committee appointed as agent of national education an eminent man, whose memory is still deservedly honoured by the country—VAN DER PALM. Understanding the practical part of education, he applied all his efforts to fulfil the duty confided to him, but perhaps endeavoured too much to mould ancient and modern theories together, for fear of giving umbrage to the advocates of the latter. A competent judge of our own times, in speaking of his designs and views, expresses himself as follows* :—

“Did VAN DER PALM wish to exclude all positive Christianity from the school? A decided reply to this question cannot be given without much difficulty. It appears to me that the end of the new law of 1801, the work of VAN DER PALM, and of that which followed it in 1803, was, in the first place, to withdraw the education of youth from the influence of the infidelity of the age, from that of ultra orthodoxy, and from the straitness of Roman Catholicism, and, as the result, to develop a Protestantism in which ultimately all diversities of worship would be resolved, and which would constitute a point of union for all those in the country who had at heart the progress of civilization, of enlightened principles, and the harmony and cultivation of civil virtues.”

Public instruction was founded on this basis, but without prejudice to the liberty of private instruction, so that all to whom the former was objectionable might amply satisfy their desires in private schools—a legitimate liberty, no doubt, but onerous nevertheless to those who wished to make use of it. This sort of liberty largely exists at the present time.

The third law of primary instruction which this century has seen in Holland was that of 1806. It was in force for more than half the century, till 1857. This law provided special enactments for the different categories in which schools were classed. In legally recognizing private instruction, it fixed the conditions on which it might be given. Those conditions, however, were of such a nature that it might have been supposed that the secret design of the law was to diminish, or even in the end to suppress, private instruction altogether. The history of subsequent years has abundantly proved that if the law itself did not tend to this end, at least the interpretation of it

* Van Oterloo, *De Lagere School* i. 19.

did. Still more recently the Minister of the Interior, in the discussion on the Budget for the current year, expressed himself on the subject of this law in the following terms:—"Liberty of instruction did not exist in our country before the law of 1806. It was not granted then, except under a stringent reservation which practically destroyed it—that is to say, the consent of the municipal authorities for the erection of a school."

To obtain this consent was by no means an easy matter. Some municipal authorities, at least, who viewed with repugnance the establishment of Christian schools, would not grant this consent, except after a long and painful struggle on the part of those who desiderated for the young another kind of instruction than that purely material or social provided by the public schools. At *Nimeguen* and at the *Hague*, amongst other places, the first Christian schools could not be erected till 1846, after difficulties which had to be encountered for four years, and which, thanks to great perseverance, were finally overcome at the former by Mr. VAN DER BRUGGHEN, and at the latter by Mr. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER and his friends.

Was, then, the law itself opposed to the propagation of Christianity? I repeat that I dare not say so. In a circular published a short time after the promulgation of the law the Government said "it flattered itself that the new organization of primary instruction would, amongst other happy consequences, lead to the introduction into the schools of suitable and well-arranged instruction in the Christian religion, so far, at least, as related to its historical portions and its morality."

Preparatory religious instruction was, then, the avowed end of the school; all dogmatic instruction was excluded, and remained in the hands of the Church.

In the school the seed of Christianity ought to be sown in the hearts of children; with the Church remained the ulterior development.

It must be seen that the Government ardently desired the co-operation of the Church. The liberty and equality of denominations had destroyed the Protestant principle which governed education before the Revolution: to the Church, or rather to the Churches, then, with which the young were connected, it belonged to watch as to the worship and the dogmas they professed.

Gradually, and by the force of circumstances, positive Christianity was suppressed. Yes, no doubt! instruction was not to cease to be Christian, but Christian only in the historical and moral sense,—Christian, but after the method of every denomination to which the children belonged,—fitted to be welcomed as the foundation of education even by an enlightened Jew. Very well! "Unite the denominations—not, for example, the Reformed and the Lutherans, who

agree as to education; but unite, willingly or by force, the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and in spite of decrees and preventives, one of three things will happen:—Either religious instruction will be subjected to the influence of the predominant denomination; or it will be reduced to generalities incompatible with the faith professed by any denomination; or, rather, it will simply be put aside altogether as offending the convictions of one and another.* Succeeding years have but too truly proved the accuracy of the observation of our great fellow-citizen.

In 1815 Belgium was united to our country, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands was founded. The consequence, as regarded education, had not long to be waited for. The essential difference between Belgium and Holland, in religion, language, and manners, necessarily opposed serious obstacles to the introduction into the former country of the scholastic system in operation with us. The inspector VAN DER ENDE, to whom the Government confided this difficult task, devoted his best efforts to it from 1816 to 1824, and in part succeeded. Is it surprising that if Holland endeavoured to make her influence predominate in Belgium, she was made to feel the reciprocal influence of that country? What was to be done? The principles of education suffered from it; education became more and more purely social and materialistic; religion was more and more excluded from it, and that without any violent collisions, simply by the force of circumstances and the difficulties inseparable from the union of a Roman Catholic with a Protestant country.

When, after the revolution of 1830, Belgium was erected into a separate country, the mischief was done. The cause was removed, but the effects by no means ceased. The Government had made concessions to the Catholics; the Radical party in the Reformed Church, which was increasingly developed, applied them to their own purposes; and the school became—what the law of 1806 certainly never intended—a school without positive religion, and inculcating only upon the young the moral principles common to all, but destitute therefore of the only foundation which gives force and character to Christian morality—the Word of God.

I abstain from recounting the long strifes that followed. The little time that I have left renders it impossible. Nobody was satisfied with the state of things; every one wished for a change; but what was it to be?

Opinions were divided, often opposed. Measures often tended in a contrary way. Government endeavoured to supply a remedy and to effect a conciliation. But more than one Ministry perished in the attempt. If my native language were not so little known to strangers,

* Groen van Prinsterer.

I would engage to make you understand the conflicts and debates carried on for many years, and in which our GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, and others with him, took so large and glorious a part.

The year 1857 brought at length a new law of primary instruction, which is now in force. With this law and the consequences I will occupy the few moments that remain.

This law unquestionably contains ameliorations of the system that obtained previously. The branches of instruction are better defined; the position of the schoolmaster is improved; the superficial reader indeed may exclaim, "What do you wish for more? Instruction is Christian, and, besides, it is free!

Christian and free? Would to God it were so! Christian? Yes, the 23rd article of the law contains the following:—"Education (*i.e.*, public education), being altogether intended for instruction in useful knowledge, ought to draw forth the minds of children, and train them to the practice of Christian and social virtues:" to train them to the practice of Christian virtues—evidently the virtues of Christianity, the virtues of which our Lord Himself has enjoined the profession. But where are we to find these virtues defined? Where but in our loved and holy Bible? Then! the Bible is not only a book selected, but the Book enjoined, and the public school in Holland will consequently form not only good citizens, but also good Christians!

You might believe it. Meanwhile, however, you are stopped by the first paragraph of the said article. The paragraph ordains as follows:—"The schoolmaster shall abstain from teaching whatever is contrary to the respect due to the religious sentiments of those who profess different opinions." At the same time the public school is open to all religionists, to the Christian and the Jew, the Catholic and the Protestant. The 16th article of the law says:—"The public school is open to all children, without distinction of creed." What becomes of the Bible? To speak of the Christian Messiah is to offend the Jew; to deny for the sake of the Jew the divine mission of Jesus is to offend the Christian. To teach the Protestant that we are saved by faith is to contradict the very essence of Romanism; to inculcate the latter is to scandalize the Protestant.

Once more, What becomes of the Bible? Evidently it is put into the Index! What is the worth of Christian instruction without "the Rock of Ages"—Christ?

Still the words, "Christian virtues" stand in the law; but they were inserted only to make the law pass, and as a sort of varnish of Christianity to render it agreeable in the eyes of the authorities and of the nation. Do you desire the proof? I am able to furnish it. In 1857, when the law was under discussion in the

States-General, the Government declared officially that the requirement to train children in the practice of Christian virtues "could not and ought not to be understood except in the sense that every dogmatic element—ay, everything that was connected with Christianity, its truths, its facts, its histories—must be eliminated from the public school."

Besides, the Government declared that the organization of these schools was such that children of different denominations were to be admitted without any modification of the instruction. Thus, for example, a school, established in a part of the country exclusively Protestant, and where consequently a Protestant Christian education was possible, even according to the terms of the law, must be so organized that if the child of a Roman Catholic or a Jew should present himself no alteration must be made in the instruction. You will remember the observation which I made on article 23, p. 1, and will easily understand that instruction in positive Christianity is altogether impossible—is, in fact, forbidden fruit! To teach the practice of Christian virtues without Christianity, without speaking of Christ, was there ever such an absurdity?

But there is still more. You are not unacquainted with the beautiful history of our country. Which are its most glorious pages? Are they not when, under the protection of God, our country established itself as an independent State, respected by all the world? The conflict of 80 years maintained by this little country, from 1568 to 1648, with Spain, then so powerful, presents itself to the observation of all. It was the struggle of Protestantism against Romanism, or rather the struggle of religious liberty and the freedom of conscience against Papal and clerical despotism. It was a time of faith and prayer—a time when the enemy said, "We fear the fasts and prayers of Holland more than her armies and her ships." And the history of those sublime times, when so many martyrs sealed their faith with their blood, expiring in horrible tortures—this history must be taught in such manner, so the law ordains, "that nothing shall be said or taught which may be contrary to the respect due to the religious sentiments of those who profess different opinions."

No, indeed, no intolerance—but the truth. And of this truth, I ask, What becomes of it?

Let us now look at this law from another point of view. Education is free, saving only the conditions imposed by the Legislature to prevent ignorant persons becoming schoolmasters—conditions which are the same in the case of private schools. Every schoolmaster consequently who has taken his degrees, of whatever denomination he may be, can be placed over a school established by the commune, be the head of an institution founded by a Church or by any society, or he may set up a school himself.

All this you think excellent, and leaves nothing from this point of view to be desired? Wait a moment!

The 31st article of the law enacts that "each commune should provide the cost of public instruction, so that the expense should not fall on others, or be provided in any other manner;" and article 33, "that, in order to meet the expenses, a school fee should be charged on every child admitted to the school, except on the children of the poor."

The law said it *might*, not it *must*. Public instruction, as the consequence, might be gratuitous, and in many communes it was so in reality, or the school fee was so small that it was next to nothing. Meantime, it was necessary to provide for the expenses which each institution incurred. The school fee being *nil*, or at least too small to be sufficient, recourse was had to imposts, and every citizen, whether a father or not, had to contribute, although very often gratuitous instruction was by no means required for all the children.

The rapid examination of these two articles of the law will, I hope, have sufficed to show its spirit. It is hardly necessary to observe that a large minority of my countrymen are far from being contented. The people of Holland are a religious people; I am happy in being able to say so; and, although the radical doctrines called modern exercise a pernicious influence, the Word of God is still held in honour among thousands who find in it their support in the present life, and their assurance for the future. While acknowledging the good which may result from the law as it exists, this minority attributes to it, through the force of circumstances, and I have already pointed out the fact, that the Bible in the public schools is an impossible, if not an interdicted book; and this minority does not want an education purely material and social; it wants youth to be instructed, and to be instructed in positive Christianity, not Christianity without Christ, such as the law requires in the public school, but such as will really bring them to Him. And the public school not providing what it desires, resort must be had to the facility which the law offers to institute private schools,—the same facility that existed before under the law of 1806, only that it was then restrained, while now it is a reality.

Liberty, then, for every one to bring up his children as seems good to himself—liberty to organize institutions in which Christ shall be honoured—always on condition of defraying the expenses. The State not to subsidize private schools, at least to render them public. What will happen then? That the minority must contribute for its own schools, in which the dominant spirit will be Christian, and at the same time to the public schools, in which it is opposed to it, and which consequently they neither approve nor use. The liberty of education which the law proclaims is, then, singularly small. Truly it is full and entire liberty—that is, to pay double.

In the meantime, at the close of 1857, the work was vigorously taken

in hand. In many towns and villages those who desired Christian instruction, whether for their own children or the children of others, united, looking for the divine blessing, in order to obtain this inestimable benefit. Here and there Churches understanding their duty and their responsibility, the Wallson Church 'in Amsterdam, for instance, followed this example. With the view of assisting those whose resources were deficient, or who had need of guidance and support, *the Society for Primary Christian and National Instruction* was formed in 1860—a society based on those immutable truths whose vital force was manifested in our country by Church and school with a splendour rich in blessings at the epoch of the Reformation.

The fundamental principles of this society are the following:—

1. The organization of public schools for Roman Catholics and Protestants, Israelites and Christians, such as the law of 13th August, 1857, ordains, is totally insufficient to meet the wants of a Christian nation, and especially of Protestant Christians.

2. Sunday schools, and those equally devoted to Bible instruction, although good in themselves, afford but a temporary and insufficient resource.

3. The only effectual remedy is the private school which embraces both social and religious instruction.

4. It is the duty of each Christian Church, and consequently of each Protestant Church, to make this provision.

5. It is the duty of the members of the Churches to charge themselves with this task, as much as possible in concert with the pastors, if the Church as such remains inactive.

6. Schools, consequently, must be established in which instruction in useful knowledge shall be united with a Christian education, by the free use of the Sacred Scriptures and a faithful representation of the history of the country.

7. Assistance shall be afforded to those who have given proof of energy in, and who manifest a real interest for, the accomplishment of this object.

I rejoice sincerely, yes, I render lively gratitude to our Lord, that I am able to say that this society was favourably received. We were able to extend it throughout the country. A hundred agencies, supported by a great number of Christian brethren, laboured to promote and strengthen it. One hundred and nine local unions co-operated to the same end in well-defined circles. More than 4500 contributing and effective members furnish annually about 50,000 francs, and we have received in donations nearly 100,000

francs, the value of which—touching detail—have varied from 15,000 francs to twenty centimes, the widow's mite. We have aided or established more than eighty schools, in which 8000 children have enjoyed the advantages of a Christian education. About eighty young men receive, through the patronage of the society, solid instruction, in harmony with its principles, in different preparatory schools founded for training Christian schoolmasters. *Nimeguen, Rotterdam, and Utrecht* may be especially mentioned.

The operations of this society are, however, carried on by a very feeble party of those who in our country stand upon the ground of Christian education. It is not very easy justly to estimate the number of Christian schools founded, whether by Churches, by societies, or by schoolmasters, either under the law of 1806, or under that of 1857. It is enough that since the latter date the number of Christian schools have considerably increased, that it increases daily, and that this increase would be greater still but for the difficulties arising from the law itself, from the manner in which it is interpreted, and from our opponents.

As to the law itself I have already spoken. As to its interpretation, notwithstanding the official declarations on its perfect and obligatory neutrality with respect to religion, in many communes where the population is almost exclusively Protestant the public school always preserves, or has latterly adopted, a varnish of Christianity or of Protestantism, tending to throw dust in the eyes of parents, and to alienate them from those institutions which openly and consistently unfurl the flag of the Cross.

As to opponents, professing in part the doctrines called modern, although partly also favouring the public schools, they incessantly charge us with desiring or favouring sectarian schools, in which religious intolerance is inculcated, or the children are taught a crowd of dogmas much above their age and their understanding.

I do not deny that there may be private schools which are justly open to the latter charge; but that which I do deny, and which impartial persons will deny with me, is that this is the predominant spirit of Christian schools; and I emphatically deny, still further, that the advocates of Christian education aim at what they are thus charged with. Truly Christian schools fomentors of intolerance, and sectarian schools! Well, be it so: but they are intolerant, not of unbelievers, but of infidelity; sectarian—but not of the sect which persecutes, but which is everywhere persecuted!

As to what we expect and what we desire, I check myself. I have already trespassed too long on your attention, and still further to explain our expectations and our wishes would require more time than I can now command. The rapid sketch I have had the honour to lay before you will have given you some idea of the history and

present state of instruction, as far as it is public and Christian, in Holland ; and when you return to your homes, every one to labour in that part of the vineyard which the Lord has assigned to him, do not forget your Dutch brethren in your prayers, who have need of them, but who in the midst of their struggles can bear their testimony to the glory of God, that, after all, greater is He that is for them than all they that are against them. So be it!

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. L. ROGNON, Paris.—I am placed in a very difficult position. I have to address you without preparation, after the reading of a Paper full of poetry and science. M. de Pressensé has so captivated the sympathies of the assembly that it is difficult to speak after him, and, in some sort, against him. I wish, nevertheless, to state some objections. We all agree in desiring the progress of the Gospel, the progress of true liberty, the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. We are all devoted to the defence of this sacred cause. We all aim at the same object; but as to the means, we differ. I do not speak here of the special subject of schools. I wish to speak more generally, and to present some considerations on the class of subjects under discussion. I am happy that social questions have a special place assigned to them in our transactions. I approve the arrangement so much the more, since man is one and indivisible, so that it is impossible to separate that which is religious from that which is civil—the material and the spiritual life of humanity—and I cheerfully apply to the temporal and spiritual in man what CALVIN has said of the divine and the human in Christ, “that they could neither be confounded nor separated; that it was necessary to distinguish while uniting them.” There is, then, a close relation between material and spiritual questions, and it is well that they have been placed in the order of our proceedings by the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance. This is a progress in the times for which I am thankful to God. But, while admitting this, I feel at the same time a great difficulty. It is always easier to apprehend evils and necessities than to point out their remedies. And, as a physician is unable to lay down general rules for the cure of diseases, having to contend with disease according to the constitution of each patient, so it is impossible to determine what relates to social and religious questions by abstract and purely theoretic principles. As to schools, I more especially maintain that it is not possible to admit absolute theories. If I should say the State as such is not Christian, I should not mean thereby altogether to sever man from religion; but I cannot admit all that has been advanced on this subject. In spite of the eloquence to which we have listened, my mind refuses to be convinced. It appears to me that in the present state of society there is too great a tendency to individualism. In my view, we have gone too far in that direction. I believe St. Paul would be of my opinion. According to him, man is an organized being; but the Church is another

organism, which has its unity and its individualism in itself, and society is another also. Is this society nothing but a heap of individuals, and law, is it this society subjected to the dominion and the tyranny of the mob, and of mediocrity? There are those who proclaim it. As for me, I do not admit this mechanical equality. I believe in a sacred right, common to all, not to be oppressed by any, whatever he may be. But I check myself. As I have said, these social questions, especially that which relates to education, are very important. I earnestly hope its profound investigation may serve the cause of social and religious progress.

Professor ST. HILAIRE said—I wish to say a few words on the important subject treated of by M. DE PRESSENSÉ. As a pupil first, and afterwards as a professor, my whole life has been spent in instruction. Perhaps, more than any other, I have experienced the faults and deficiencies—I was going to say of education, but there is none in France—of instruction, especially religious, such as is given in our colleges. I agree entirely with the conclusions of M. DE PRESSENSÉ, and, upon mature reflection, I declare that I do not know a fiction more deceptive, and at the same time more dangerous, than that of a *Christian State*. Allow me to recall a memory of my childhood, and derive from it an argument in point. Educated in one of the great Lyceums of Paris, I there learned, in preparing for my first communion, the imperial catechism, which taught children to love and serve almost equally with God the Emperor Napoleon, under pain of eternal damnation. Fifty of my schoolfellows received with me religious instruction from an intelligent and pious priest, who soon afterwards became chaplain to Queen MARIE AMÉLIE. Well, what were the fruits of this instruction, communicated with singular conscientiousness? Of these fifty children, two alone became serious—one is a Roman Catholic priest, and the other, who now addresses you, is a Protestant. See, then, the Christian State with all its advantages. At a later period I took part, not as a pupil, but as a professor, in a complete and real resurrection of the Christian State. I was at that time attached to a provincial college, directed by a priest, and the professors, under *surveillance*, and subjected to a continual inspection, as being suspected of Liberalism, were condemned to a forced communion at Easter, under pain of deprivation. Intellectual galley-slaves, chained to their chairs like rowers to their benches, they were constantly placed between revolt and hypocrisy; they were never asked even to believe, but to obey; and, provided only that they dressed in Catholic livery, nobody concerned themselves with what passed in their minds. See, again, one of the advantages of the Christian State! I have studied on all sides this immoral fiction of a Christian State, and to my cost I have acquired the right to hate it. But, now to return to the question of primary instruction with which we are immediately engaged, if you ask me what instructors I prefer, the communal and lay schoolmasters, or the Brethren of the Christian Doctrines, commonly called *Frères Ignorantins*, I do not hesitate a moment in replying that I prefer the latter; for, in spite of the thousand defects of their instruction, in spite of their obsolete methods, and of the slowness of the progress made by their pupils, they do believe in something; and although they teach their pupils to believe in the Virgin and the saints, that is better than to believe in nothing, or the *Independent Morality*

which comes to the same thing. But let us put aside the question of the Christian State and its official education, and I have a word to address to the mothers of families. I wish to appeal to their hearts, and I am sure they will listen to me. Dear ladies, allow me to say to you that it is not enough that Christianity should prevail in the school; the child must find it at home. The best and most Christian education will produce no fruit if before going to school he has not known Jesus Christ at the fireside, if the Bible is not from the cradle to the grave, in all conditions and ages, the basis of education and of the whole social life. Mothers of families, do you wish that your children should grow up Christians? Be this before them, I had almost said *for* them, if it were not also as much for yourselves: join their little hands in prayer before they know how to speak, and long before they learn to read teach them to spell and lisp the sweet name of Jesus. Until they go to school, as they will do afterwards, you should have a school at home. A school did I say? You should have a domestic priesthood; strive to live up to its full influence, for God has committed these young souls to your charge, and another day will require your account. Whatever you teach them, good or evil, faith or incredulity, be assured they will never forget it, for once impressed on this soft wax, which hardens by contact with life, the instructions of a mother are never effaced. I know that you entertain for them a lofty ambition; you would have them become eminent, rich, powerful, admired. Make them above everything Christian; this is the one thing needful; the rest will follow, if it ought to follow. One word more, and I have done. I have had the happiness more than once of conversing on the subject of primary education in Holland with our beloved and venerable brother M. Groen van Prinsterer. He has informed me of the generous efforts made by Dutch Christians to provide, in schools founded expressly for the purpose, that religious instruction for children which the State does not give. I do homage with all my heart to these noble endeavours, and I believe that in acting thus Holland has entered upon the right path. The State would give religious instruction, but it cannot. The public school must be neutral. I well understand the hesitation of our Dutch brethren on this point—you who, three centuries ago, laid the foundation of liberty of conscience in Europe; you who built the entire social and political edifice on Christianity, I understand, dear brethren, your dream of a Christian State, but Christianity must not be separated from liberty. The day on which you became a Christian people you also became a free people;—these are the titles of your nobility. I applaud and I envy them; but if the first and the most sacred of all liberties is liberty of conscience, that which is nearest to it, and has most need to be sheltered by it, is liberty of instruction. The State respects it by its very neutrality, provided that it be a real neutrality, abdicating the right to give religious instruction in any of its schools. Possess yourselves of this sacred right which it leaves you; spare for it no effort, no sacrifices, and give to your Christian brethren of other countries this weighty and useful lesson—that the School ought never to be separated from the Church, but to flourish and expand under its shadow.

M. ADRIEN NAVILLE, Geneva.—I wish to say a few words on the sub-

ject, not of Christian education, but of religious liberty, of which Dr. Steane and Professor Astié have treated. This cause has always been taken up by the Evangelical Alliance. That old friend of the Alliance, whom we regret with so much sorrow amidst the happy days of this conference, the venerable Sir Culling Eardley, a brother whose character was at once so gentle and yet so vigorous, was always one of the most eloquent apostles of liberty of conscience, one of the most zealous champions of the persecuted. On his dying bed he was comforted by the telegraphic message that apprised him of the happy result of our efforts for the Spanish martyrs. We all detest persecution in all its forms. Dr. Steane has said, with perfect truth, that the assaults on liberty of conscience do not come exclusively from Governments, but often from the people themselves, badly instructed by the clergy; and M. de Pressensé has already mentioned a fact to which I must again refer. In the canton of *Appenzell*, in Switzerland, where they have not a monarchical government, but a government the most democratic and the most honest, they compel parents to baptize their infants. We have provoked discussion on this law in the public press. But the majority of the people approve of it, and we have scarcely been understood while we have insisted on Christian liberty. This is the fact on which I desire to fix the attention of the Alliance. Permit me to call your attention to another point, the persecution at the present time of the Jews in *Roumania*. You will recollect the scenes which the journals have recently described. It appears to me that both subjects should engage the consideration of this assembly. We wish for religious liberty; we do not want it only for ourselves.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIONALITIES.

BY M. FREDERIC DE ROUGEMONT,

COUNCILLOR OF STATE, AT NEUCHÂTEL.

THE subject which we are about to consider is so extensive, that I approach it without preamble in order to save time, and so difficult that it gives me a right to claim your indulgence. It is the action of revealed religion upon nations. No demonstration is needed of the reality of this influence; the history of modern civilization bears witness to it on every page, and do not the people of Holland, whose guests we are to-day, owe to the Reformation their political existence, their independence, greatness, prosperity, literature—all in fact that forms the glory of their land? We may then go at once to the heart of the question; my intention is to follow, from age to age, the increasingly powerful and salutary influence which Christianity has exerted upon all nations, and to observe the reflex influence of these nations upon Christianity. But before starting, it will be well for me, in order to point out our line of march, and to prevent misconceptions, to present to you some general reflections on nations in their relations to the Gospel.

In order to determine these relations, let us recur to the distinction which the theology of St. Paul established in human things, between the kingdom of nature and that of grace—between the world of the first Adam, created a living soul, and that of the last Adam, the God Man, the quickening Spirit.

The kingdom of grace is the declaration of redemption by the Incarnate Word, it is the good news of pardon and the Holy Spirit given to faith. The end which God sets forth in this world of the God Man, is the evangelization of all nations, the salvation of all souls that are not utterly hardened by sin, the establishment of the kingdom of God over the whole earth, the formation of a universal Church, or of a humanity of which all the members shall live by faith, hope, and love.

The kingdom of nature or of physical humanity comprehends the family, the nation and the race, civil society with its three classes—labourers, artisans, and commercial men; the State, the fine arts and

sciences. The result of all the works of the natural man is civilization, which is a universal, human fact.

The extension of civilization over the whole earth, and the reign of Christ over all civilized nations, such is then the double end which God has in view in the government of the kingdom of nature and the kingdom of grace.

These two kingdoms being both of one God, cannot contradict each other, nor even remain estranged from one another; but they must not be confounded. To mix the two is to denaturalize both. Woe to the State, be it monarchical or republican, of which the councils are transformed into committees! But woe, above all to the Church, which, surrendering its spiritual arms, seizes the sword of the State to strike the heretics. That sword will soon be turned against the true believers, and that Church will become, if it does not repent, the empire of Antichrist. The two kingdoms of man and of the God Man are called to inter-penetrate without encroaching the one on the other. The lower, which preceded the higher by four thousand years, yields to its powerful influence. The Spirit of God, which descended from heaven into the Church, descends from the Church by the Gospel and by individual faith into the family, the State and civil society, purifying and restoring domestic affections, making working men honest and diligent, citizens just and disinterested, enlightening the learned on their path of perilous research, and illuminating to the eye of poets and artists, the ideal of true and saintly beauty. On the other hand the nations, according to the language of the prophets,* bring to the Church the tribute of their wealth, their talents of moral power, devotion, keen intelligence, profound speculation, and lofty poetry. They understand and practise the Gospel, each according to his own capacity, and as the Gospel is divine, it affords ample scope for all to view it under a different aspect, and to draw upon, without exhausting its infinite virtues. The nations then render to Christianity the service of giving it full manifestation while Christianity carries their civilization to its highest development. There is manifestly a pre-established harmony between the Gospel and the nations.

We have said that the nations form a part of the kingdom of nature. Let us see what is the place they occupy.

They are the organs of the great body of humanity.

Let me explain. Humanity is a divine work, not the product of blind forces. The source of the creation of God is perfection. Perfection can only be defined as variety in unity. The most beautiful type of this unity in diversity is the body of man, with its numerous organs, each contributing in its place to the life, the health, the strength of the whole. The body is thus made the symbol of the State in the

* Isaiah ix. 3—12; Rev. xxi. 24—37.

famous discourse of MENENNIUS AGRIPPA; the symbol of the Church in the epistles of St. Paul; the symbol of humanity in the writings of the historiosophists.

The great body of humanity is composed of nations which fulfil each a special function. These functions correspond to those which are assigned to individuals. We have all the same duties; but each one of us has his special talent, and is called to a certain kind of activity. In order to comprehend the nations, let us look at man.

Man, who is only complete in the family, is a triple being, with a proper and a relative life.

Man is body, soul, and spirit. His life is physical and material, moral and intellectual, spiritual or religious. His duties are threefold (so St. Paul wrote to Titus): *Temperance*, by which the soul governs the body; *righteousness*, which is fulfilled in love to his neighbour; and *piety* towards God.

In his external relations, man has nature at his feet, his brothers on his own level, and God above him. The father of a family, he is a workman, a citizen, a believer. His three spheres of activity are the physical world, which he brings into subjection by agriculture, industry, and commerce; human society, in which he fulfils his political duties, and cultivates the sciences and fine arts, the Church in which he worships God and labours for the advancement of His kingdom upon earth.

The function of every nation will then be to excel in one of the various fields of activity assigned to man; and from the harmonious play of all his various organs, will result the life and health of the natural or physical humanity. Now the Gospel, by its indirect action upon the nations, gives them light, power, and courage in the fulfilment of their task. But it does yet more; while lending its Divine aid to each one in particular, it labours at the same time to draw all together, to unite them in one whole. It cannot bring each member to perfection, without the perfection of the whole body resulting necessarily from that of all the parts.

The body of the nations or of humanity arrives only slowly and progressively at its ultimate condition of perfection. It is subject, like all organic beings, to the law of development, a fundamental law which the Scripture nowhere expressly states, but everywhere implies. All development passes through four stages; the *concealed unity* or the germinal stage; expansion or *differentiation*; the slow labour of *unification*, and the final state of an *organic unity*. Thus, in childhood, the physical, moral and religious instincts—the feelings, reason, and will, form a sort of class in which all is confused and blended; in youth, the faculties assume distinctness, and begin to act independently of each other; but at the same time as the effect of sin, they

become dissociated, and even in contradiction with one another ; there is war between the conscience and the will, between the principles of the reason and the practice of the life, between faith and morals. The soul, formed for unity, suffers from these inward conflicts, and strives to re-establish harmony between its various organs. But I appeal to the experience of all people and of all ages ; not one has succeeded in making his will, his reason, his heart more in harmony, by the mere powers of his human nature ; such a miracle can only be wrought by living faith in Christ. By faith man arrives, if not in this lower state, at least in the heavenly, at that condition of perfection in which the diversity of his powers and aspirations is brought into unity. This very faith is at work now, by the Gospel, and will succeed one day in reuniting all nations in one grand organized whole.

But the Gospel is of much later date than the nations. Predicted in Paradise, and prepared for by the law, it only appeared in "the last times," according to the language of Scripture. Four thousand years separate the last Adam from the first, and the Church did not commence till two thousand years after the State. This tardy advent of Jesus Christ is the application of a second historical law, expressed by St. Paul in these words : "That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual."*

I must beg you to remember that which we said of the triple nature of man and his triple sphere of activity, and you will comprehend of what importance to us is this law of St. Paul. At intervals of two thousand years, humanity has received from God or from Jesus Christ three commandments, which mark his progress on the road to perfection and unity.

Adam and his posterity received the command to bring nature into subjection by agriculture, industry, and commerce ; and we are to-day still carrying out this order in the invention of the telegraph and steam-engines of all descriptions.

To the descendants of Noah was committed the task of instituting criminal tribunals, and founding the State.

Finally, in the last times, the Apostles and their successors were called to create the Church, and to bring into it all nations.

The history of the influence which the Gospel exercises upon mankind and the nations would be very simple, if the inexplicable accident of sin had not caused immense perturbations in the primitive or *antelapsary* plan of the Creator.

The true believers, who ought to act with power upon the masses, by the example of their virtues and by the words of their testimony, are subject to failings, faults, errors ; or, by inconsiderate zeal, create schisms which are a scandal to the world. The half-believers invent or adopt heresies which deprive the Gospel of all its efficacy.

* 1 Cor. xv. 45.

The Church loses its first love, wearies of a purely spiritual worship, opens to the carnal spirit of the world, and finishes by acting in direct opposition to Christ.

Heathen nations will indeed abjure readily the worship of false gods; for polytheism, with its absurd and obscene fables, is in such direct contradiction with our inmost need of unity, of truth, and of holiness, that it cannot long resist the worship of the one only and true God.

But all men have not faith; and, among many called, there are but few chosen. The great majority of the members of a Christian nation are only Christian in name; hearts remain unconverted and heathen; or, if they are no longer altogether icy towards the Gospel, they are only lukewarm, never become fervent, so that they are an abhorrence to God. Yet the Church acts upon these lukewarm and unconverted multitudes by its worship, its discipline, its religious instruction. The catechisms in particular which each generation is required to learn by heart exert, in my opinion, an incalculable influence upon the character of nations, and it is to these books I attribute mainly our reputation for Puritanism. Thus is formed among the people a *spirit of the age*, characterized by the doctrines and precepts of the Church—a prevailing opinion, according to which every baptized person is a Christian. The world then thinks itself converted to the true God, and the Church shares the illusion more or less. But in time the varnish peels off and falls, heathenism reappears, and the nation perishes, destroyed by the double canker of immorality and impiety. Christianity, which had been deemed victorious over the world, finds itself in the end vanquished, and its defects involuntarily inspire doubts as to its Divine power. This is the mournful side of our subject.

To forearm you against this painful impression, I will remind you that Jesus Christ and his Apostles, in their prophetic sayings, never regarded our existing nations as Christian; but, on the contrary, foretold terrible destructions. Remember also that four thousand years are with God as one day, and that, according to St. John, the action of the Church upon the nations is continued and consummated in eternity. Finally, let us not forget that the true history of the Church is that of the conversion of sinful souls, that this history offers only a succession of triumphs, and that every soul saved causes more joy in heaven than the most brilliant feat of arms upon earth. It is to this true Church of the faithful alone that the promises of Jesus Christ belong; it is with this alone that He will be always, even to the end of the world; it is this alone which can never perish. It is eclipsed and hidden from our eyes in times of universal faithlessness or superstition; but even then God has his seven thousand worshippers whom the Elijahs know not of. The

world may vainly try to bury in its floods the Church of true believers; the bright torch of its spiritual life is handed on without the smallest interruption. It is the transatlantic cable which an almighty hand lets down into the deep from year to year, and which will one day reunite the Pentecostal tabernacle on the earthly shores with the Jerusalem which is above.

After these general observations, we will trace through successive periods the action and reaction of Christianity upon the nations and of the nations upon Christianity.

We shall see, first, the nations of antiquity, which were left to develop themselves without the intervention of revelation, handing over to the nascent Church their choicest spirits, and then soon perishing miserably, though they had abjured their polytheism and worshipped the true God.

The history of the modern world will divide itself for us into three periods in which the action of Christianity upon the nations becomes increasingly powerful.

The period of the *Franks*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Anglo-Saxons*, under the influence of a fallen, half-idolatrous Church; the period of the Middle Ages, when the existing nations were subjected to the stern discipline of the all-powerful Papacy; the period of Protestantism, during which the Catholic nations complete their development under the direction of their ancient Church, and the Protestant nations are formed by the Word of God.

Then comes, according to prophecy, the Millennium, or the *regeneration* of the nations by the Word and the Spirit.

These four periods conclude each with a striking defeat of Christianity, which, nevertheless, recommences its work every time with powers renewed.

Finally, after the last judgment and in eternity, the fulness of the Divine power will heal the nations of the saved, and bring them into their final state of everlasting perfection.

1.—THE NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

The two thousand years of the patriarchal economy, or of the concealed and germinal unity, have passed away, and the economy of nations and states has commenced. Mankind is divided into three races and into many nations, which have each their own tongue, and the God who, two thousand years later, will distribute the gifts of the Spirit among individuals, members of the Church, now distributes these talents of the soul among nations, the members of mankind. The nations, whom He has led as by the hand into their different countries, are there fulfilling unknown to each other, their special functions.

In *further* Asia are two nations who are reserved for the last times, and are put in charge of the treasures of domestic life. The Chinese conscientiously practise all its duties; the Indians enthusiastically pursue its joys.

In *nearer* Asia, in that East which was the scene of the great human drama, the Babylonians subdue the earth by agriculture and industry; the Assyrians—those Romans of the Tigris—improve in the sphere of politics, the gifts of prudence, and moral power; the Egyptians, who inhabit the solitary valley of the Nile, and the silent land of the Sphynx and the mysteries, give proof of remarkable wisdom in their social organization, their laws, their industry, fine arts, and even in their religion; the Phœnicians rule the sea by their pacific power and the earth by their commerce. In the centre of this quadrilateral lives, unknown to the world, but known to the angels, Israel, the chosen people of God, put under subjection to the stern discipline of the law from Sinai, in order to become one day, through the Messiah, of whom the prophets speak, a blessing to all nations.

On the east, the north, the west of the Semitic nations are the descendants of Japhet—the Aryas of Persia, bold knights of the god of light, steadfast enemies of evil in every form; the Armenians, in whose race yet slumbers the heroic devotion of the martyrs; the Phrygians, the people of religious enthusiasm, of ecstacy, and voluntary sacrifice. On the borders between the east and west, the ever youthful race of the Hellenes, in whom all the faculties of the soul develop themselves in marvellous harmony. Finally, in the heart of Italy, the manly nation of the Romans, who desire equality of rights among all the inhabitants of the city (the slaves excepted), and in whose mind all the principles and rules of civil law take a definite form.

Amidst all the aberrations and miseries of sin, the nations of antiquity fulfil in a manner the task which has been entrusted to them, and all attain the maximum of glory and happiness which they could hope for in their fallen condition. Some have had their Prince of Peace, who is called in one place Solomon, in another Mou-rang; others their Sesostris and Ninus, whose empire ought to have grown, like that of China, by peaceful annexations; some have had their age of Pericles; some their Augustan age. But while thus improving, each in his own sphere, their various talents, they were not isolated from one another; for, as the organs of one body, there was a constant tendency to draw together and to realize their unity. What transpired, then, in the inner circle of their material life? Hardly had they come into existence when commerce created among them all a vast and complex system of veins and arteries, and the Phœnicians soon became the principal medium of that union which has its foundation in material interest.

And what do we see occurring in the intermediary sphere of political life? The Assyrians, says Ezekiel, are the great cedar, under which the nations found shelter for a little time; and immediately after them the Chaldeans founded the first universal monarchy, to which succeeded that of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Thus to the union of material interests is added that of laws, manners, language, and intellectual culture.

But beyond the physical life is, as we have said, the religious life which, by uniting men to God, unites them to one another by the indissoluble bond of faith and love. What, then, is passing in the higher sphere of the spirit? In the very age of Augustus, when all historical nations were living under one sovereign, Jesus Christ was born, He who is the Peace and the universal Bond, because He is the quickening Spirit. "The Divine hierophant of humanity (to use the language of BALLANCHE), He is about, doubtless, to initiate all nations into the mysteries of the celestial life; to give them not only the same faith, the same hope, the same love, but the same spirit, the very Spirit of God. Renewed, transformed from age to age, by a perpetual Pentecost, they are about all to enter into that universal or catholic association called the Church, which is the *spiritual humanity*.

Such is, in effect, the work of unification which Christianity is to accomplish on the earth; but this work will not be wrought till the end of time, because man is, in every period of history, dead in sins, and the nations, in the age of AUGUSTUS, were dying of old age, of exhaustion, immorality, and scepticism. It was needful, then, for their Saviour God, not to add to their physical life a life divine and spiritual, but to deliver them from death and condemnation; thus Jesus Christ calls himself the Saviour, the Redeemer; and it is only after He has reconciled us with God that He can bring us, by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, unto eternal life.

Need I lead you up and down the surface of the earth to convince you that, under the reign of Augustus, mankind was in real need of a Saviour? Shall I show you Israel, the deaf and blind scholar of the Divine law, wresting to his own destruction the sayings of the prophets, and comforting his carnal heart under its present humiliation by lying dreams of power and glory? Shall I pass in review the Pagan nations—poor heroes, who went forth to the conquest of the world full of ardour, of hope, and joy, and who might have gloried in brilliant successes, but who, as age came on, saw victory forsake them, their powers fail, and decrepitude fetter them with its inexorable chains? These nations died "without God and without hope in the world," as St. Paul said to the Ephesians.

With the prophetic books in your hand, take a mental review of the East, and count on the ensanguined soil all these slain of the

Lord: Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Arameans, Amorites Moabites, Idumeans, Philistines, who die thrust through with mortal wounds by the sword of God, put into the hands of the Nebuchadnezzars, the Cyruses, the Alexanders, the Romans, and say if Jehovah has not made a terrible sacrifice of nations. Ask the Egyptians what are the last results to which their illustrious wisdom has led them! They will lift with profound reverence the veil which hides from eyes profane the sanctuary of their temples, and will show you the serpent, the crocodile, or the cat which they worship. In Greece, once so happy, soon to be scarcely more than a desert sown with ruins—there are no more poets, artists, philosophers, statesmen, or simple citizens; and if Rome is the queen of the world, ask the provinces which have all had their *Verres*, what is the mildness of her laws? They will reply to you, in the language of Daniel, that Rome is a beast “exceeding dreadful,” which tears them with its nails of brass, and devours them with its teeth of iron. Then mark what joy there is in Rome itself, when the great are decimated by the tyranny of the emperors and by suicide, and when the people are besprinkled indifferently with the blood of gladiators and of martyrs.

It is thus that the ancient world, after an era of glory and happiness, concludes with a universal failure, an ignominious bankruptcy. God has given to all these heathen nations time to prove by experience the utter weakness of man’s fallen nature and the awful consequences of sin. This experience was needed to dispose them to accept from God pardon and the Holy Spirit. They would have cursorily rejected these Divine gifts in the time of their prosperity; the Word becoming incarnate under Augustus, appeared in the fulness of time.

Jesus Christ, after having expiated with his blood the sins of mankind on this earth of sacrilege and evil, took unto Himself from the height of heaven the souls of the elect; I mean the chosen souls from every nation, to form a new people, His peculiar property and glory. This people, by its faith, its brotherly love, its holiness, its martyr courage, was the marvel and the admiration of the debauched, sceptical, selfish heathen. It had, of course, like all other nations, its constitution, its authorities and assemblies, its own laws and customs, its style and literature, its orators, philosophers, and poets. And yet it resembled no other people, for it was recruited, not by birth, but by free adherence; it was scattered through all places and spoke all languages. It embraced no one nation; but all nations contributed to its formation. The Greek and the Scythian, the Roman and the barbarian, in becoming members of this people, became brethren, equals; and there were among them no other differences of rank than those of their fidelity, of the trusts committed, or the gifts distributed to them by the Holy Spirit. Yet, as we regard

them attentively, it is evident that all preserved their individual character, the seal of their nationality. This diversity of character formed the riches of the Christian people, whose unity would else have been a poor, monotonous, and unhealthy uniformity. The nations thus reacted upon the Church ; but as Christians are but feeble men still, and as tares abound in the field of the Lord, this reaction becomes manifest to us in history rather by the heresies which the nationalities have brought to light, than by the good they have done.*

A Jew by nation, Jesus Christ had Jews for his first disciples, and he transmits to his followers the holy books of the Jews, which he has sealed with the irrefragable testimony of his Divine authority. If the Jews had been converted as a nation, they would have been the head and heart of the Church. They would have sustained Jesus Christ, the God Man, in His position of mediator, and put a check on the subtle and daring discussions on his double nature ; they would have stifled in the cradle the worship of relics, of usages, of angels, of saints, and of Mary ; would have kept the Church of Rome on a level with its sister-churches ; would have maintained, without intermission, the study of the Holy Scriptures, which would then never have been eclipsed by tradition and legend ; and would have constantly cherished the spirit of adoration, and the expectation of the return of Christ. But the Jews have entered the Church in such small numbers, that their influence in it is hardly sensible. They have left us the grand example of their brotherhood at Jerusalem, and the memory of their attachment to the ancient law, as also the memory of the Ebionite sect, which insisted so strongly on the humanity of Christ as to assail his divinity.

In *Egypt*, the land of *symbol* and *mysteries*, to which the Greeks brought their *philosophy* and their *sciences*, the Alexandrine school gives the Church its first *philosophical* theology, with many bold and erroneous opinions, and the first *scientific* study of the sacred text, with a symbolical or allegorical method of interpretation, which, under the pretext of exhausting the meaning of Divine revelations, largely infused into it purely human ideas, and thus corrupted its severe simplicity. In this very city of Alexandria appeared the numerous Gnostics, who, like Valentinus, historiosophists, saw in Christianity the goal of the natural development of the human mind. Yet, in the heart of Egypt, the orthodox Christians, too faithful to the isolated spirit of their nation, retired by thousands into the deserts, and founded the monastic life, the diseased form of Christian piety. But who is the Christian who is not sickly, and yet in spite of this sickness can do some good !

* Professor Lange has published a celebrated article in the "Protestantische Blätter" on the part of nations in the Church, to which I am much indebted.

Antioch, where the adherents of the new religion first assumed the name of Christians, and whence the first missionaries went forth, was the great city of the Arameans. This Semitic people, of bright intelligence, whose special gift it was to preserve the memories of the past, gave to the Church the schools of *Antioch*, of *Edessa*, and of *Nisiba*, in which the Scriptures were interpreted in their literal and natural sense, according to the healthy tradition of the Church and simple reason, with profound respect for the sacred word, and in a spirit of sanctification. But the Arameans also furnished their contingent to the heresies of the primitive Church; *Menander* was one of them, who, being a disciple of the Samaritan Simon, developed the first germs of the Gnosticism of the Gnostics of Syria, such as SAHOMINUS and BARDESAN, who were distinguished for the severity of their morals and their asceticism as well as for *Mazdeian* dualism.

The Arameans of *Edessa* blended with the small remnants of the Assyrians of the *Tigris*. Worthy descendants of the nomad warriors, the Assyrian Christians attempted with the arms of the Spirit, the conquest of Mazdeian *Persia*. It might have been thought that the people of *Ormuz*, the God of light, would hail with enthusiasm one who called himself "the dayspring from on high," the "light of the world." But, on the contrary, self-righteous pride filled the Persians with implacable hatred to the religion of the Crucified, insomuch that they alone of all the nations of the old world succeeded in extirpating the Gospel in their country. Nevertheless, the Persian Christians and their Assyrian brethren displayed under persecution a truly noble courage and wisdom; their churches counted their martyrs by thousands, and had, so to speak, neither fanatic idol breakers nor cowardly apostates. Subsequently, these same Assyrians, mingled, perhaps, with the Hebrews of the ten tribes, adopted the opinions of Nestorius, pushed their spiritual conquests across central *Asia*, as far as *China*, and uttered their protest from age to age, as they are still doing, against the adoration of the Virgin, against ceremonies which deprive worship of its character of severe simplicity, and against the exorbitant power of the hierarchy.

Persian by birth, and Persian in his doctrines, MANÈS (put to death in 274) if he was not, like MAHOMET, the founder of a new religion, at least gave birth to a heresy of wide significance. Manicheism is the oriental and Asiatic pole of error; further than this, the dreams of imagination, faith in the mysteries of the invisible world, the contradiction of good and evil, and the opposition between nature and grace, cannot go. Yet the influence which the Persian nationality exerted through MANÈS on the development of the Church has not been without blessing, and its salutary effects extend, perhaps, even to ourselves. Thus, ST. AUGUSTINE before his conversion was a Manichean, and while completely laying aside his errors, he retained,

as the result of his transit through this heresy, a view of evil more than ordinarily profound, which was neither that of his contemporaries nor of his successors, and which has become common in our churches through LUTHER.

Thus, again, on the confines of *Persia*, in *Armenia*, the Paulicians shook the whole *East* in the 7th century, by the force with which they contrasted light and darkness, the true Church with the world, the life of faith with the spiritual death of so-called Christian nations. Destroyed by sanguinary wars, their sect revived (about 1100) under the name of Boghomites. It penetrated into the East, propagating, undoubtedly, dangerous errors, but protesting against the corruption of the clergy and the formalism of worship, and aspiring to a purity of manners which earned for them the name of *Cathares* or *Ketzer*. The Albigenses were Cathares, and these last of the Manicheans disappeared from history when the Vaudois, the true precursors of the Evangelical Reformation, appeared.

Phrygia, the land of ecstasy and of a morbid love of sacrifice, was, about the year 170, the scene of the most ancient protest of the spiritual life, against the formalism which was beginning to invade the Church. MONTANUS maintained the priesthood of all, in opposition to the hierarchy; the necessity of regeneration, in opposition to faith as a consequence of birth or of authority; the excommunication of scandalous sinners, in opposition to the laxity of discipline. But while testifying to the marvellous might of the Holy Spirit, he went beyond the truth; he substituted ecstasy for regeneration, exalted celibacy, imposed severe fasts on his disciples, and inspired them with a thirst for martyrdom. In our day, *Phrygia* is Mohammedan; it has no longer either simple Christians or Montanists; it has become the country of dancing dervishes, in whom ecstasy outlives itself.

The Montanist TERTULLIAN conducts us in *Africa* into the region of the *Atlas*, where the Libyans, the Moors, and the inhabitants of Barbary had been civilized by the Semitic race. These last, on the one hand, a wandering people of mountaineers, of simple and patriarchal manners, gave to the Western Church its first Puritans, the Donatists, who protested against the baseness of the Christians of the towns and the plains, who denied their faith in times of persecution and professed it again when the storm was over. On the other hand, the towns of *Africa* produced such Christians as TERTULLIAN, CYPRIAN, ARNOBIUS, LACTANTIUS, and AUGUSTINE, who exhibit a singular and harmonious blending of the oriental spirit of the Semitic races, and the occidental spirit of the Latinized descendants of Japhet,—fervid logic, imagination and reason, boldness and prudence, submission to Holy Scripture and religious philosophy, deep spiritual life and practical sense.

The Iberians or Spaniards, naturally so intrepid in conflict, and so prodigal of their blood, have had heroic martyrs. But the contempt

they entertained for their own life inspired them with equal disregard for the lives of others; they were the first to repress heresy by the sword and the stake, and their descendants were the inventors of the Inquisition.

If we judge of the Christians of Celtic race by PATRICK, ST. GALL, COLUMBAN and PELAGIUS, we should say that their piety was practical, active, devoted; that they had a keen appreciation of human liberty; that moral questions engaged them more than theological; and that, light, frivolous, and without depth, their spirit inclined towards rationalism and deism. The Pelagian heresy is the western and European pole of error; it is not possible for cold reason, aversion to mysticism, and pride of intellect in the spiritual life to go further in the Church.

There remain the Romans and the Greeks, who were the two central pillars of the primitive Church. The Greek Christians, by their language or by their birthright, offered to the Church a triple talent—a philosophical spirit, apt at sounding the most abstruse questions in theology; the conception of ideal beauty, which is an incarnation of the divine idea in a human form; and the genius of eloquence and poetry. The Church owes to them, beside its first orators, the analysis and definition of the mysteries of the Trinity, and of the double nature of the God Man. But good qualities had their counterpoise; the taste for subtleties and scholastic disputes, the confusion of a dead faith with the orthodoxy of the heart, a secret inclination to transform the truths of revelation into human philosophy, and a profound indifference to the liberty of the Church in its relations with the State.

The Christians of Rome, on the contrary, are characterized by a spirit as practical and positive as that of the Hellenic and Hellenized countries, was theoretic and speculative. They had the genius of discipline and organization, and were the founders of that vast system of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which made the whole Western Church a body of imposing unity. But they were not on their guard against the spirit of domination, and their bishops became, in the course of centuries, absolute and despotic sovereigns. The Romans possessed also, in common with all the West, an understanding of ecclesiastical and anthropological questions. If the Church owes its dogmatism to the East, it owes to Rome the idea of the theory of sacraments, embracing in the network of seven different ceremonies the whole of human life.

Such are the spiritual riches which the believers of ancient nations brought in tribute to the primitive Church of Christ, and these tributes are but as the imperfect type of those which modern nations shall yet pay in time, and the nations raised from the dead in eternity.

But is it not evident that these true Christians of all languages who entered the Church were the first-fruits of their nation, the salt which should preserve the old world from corruption, the leaven which was to leaven the whole of humanity? and was not the fall of Paganism in the fourth century the fulfilment of a legitimate expectation resting on the words of the Saviour Himself? This illusion was that of almost all the Christians who lived in the time of CONSTANTINE. They hailed him as the founder of universal peace; the temples and altars of the false gods were forsaken or destroyed, persecution became impossible; Satan, the prince of the world, was banished from his empire; all was about to revive and flourish under the sceptre of Christ who was occupying the throne of the earth.

A century passes—and, oh marvel! oh grief! oh shame! The world thus Christianized is perishing miserably in its blood. But a voice is heard from Marseilles; it is the voice of a true Christian, of a new Jeremiah. CALVIN exclaims in agony of heart, “O God! Thy judgments are just and right. They have not outreached the measure of our crimes.” In this terrible review of the ancient world which had rejected its false gods, and worshipped Christ, there is a great mystery. Yes, a mystery; and a “mystery of iniquity,” as St. Paul has said. (2 Thess. ii. 7.) The leaven had lost its virtue, the salt its savour. The official and visible Church no longer had faith in the omnipotence of the word and the Spirit. It had therefore sought its support in the State, from which it accepted riches, immunities, honours and power; above all, it had thought to give proof of wisdom in offering to nations accustomed to the worship of false Gods, the worship, no less idolatrous, of relics and saints. Then the spirit of Paganism, which seemed to have perished with Jupiter, had crept, by a dark mystery, into the very heart of the Church, and if the Gospel had been powerful enough to gain to Christ all the chosen spirits of Pagan nations, the Church itself, half Christian half Pagan, could not save those same nations, Christian in name, but Pagan in heart, from the destruction to which they were devoted by the justice of God. The heathen writer LIBANIUS said, “The people frequent the churches instead of the temples, but they are heathens still, and only wear the appearance of Christianity.” Like salt that has lost its savour, the Church was, according to the words of Christ, trodden under foot of the Gentiles.

Such were the results of the first encounter of the churches and the nations, and of their first union. The Church thought to reign over the nations, and the nations reigned over it. It was certain of saving them from death, and they drew it down into their own ruin and corruption. It was vanquished, but it was to rise again from this defeat, and God called it to fresh combats.

II.—MODERN NATIONS.

THE GOTHs.—THE FRANKs.—THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The providence of God brings the Church into contact not with old nations which had grown up left to themselves and during their whole career had been immersed in idolatry, but with nations still young, scarcely emerged from the patriarchal life of their childhood, and which possessed, above all others, a naturally Christian soul. The Germanic nations are in fact most profoundly characterized by the strength of individual life, and this life manifests itself in a craving for liberty and an instinctive repugnance to raise forms and false appearances in depth of feeling, in aspirations after the invisible, and a spirit of self-government, which is counterbalanced by a not less powerful spirit of order and fidelity. Such were the excellent germs which the Gospel was to develop into fruitfulness. But these germs were buried under thick clods of earth in the Germanic people, who were the first to be brought under the operation of the Church. The Goths, the Anglo-Saxons, the Burgundians, the Franks, the Lombards, who burst the bounds of the Roman empire, had no longer the chastity and honesty which TACITUS had admired in their ancestors, and in their descent upon the Latin nations they soon caught all their vices, which assumed even a coarser form with the added rudeness of manners and strength of barbaric passions. The Church, on its side, which should have elevated these young nations, had not at all repented and amended under the rod of the Lord; the empire had fallen on it without destroying it, it is true, but also without shaking it out of its spiritual slumber. On the contrary, it sunk deeper and deeper in its idolatry, and was not slow in initiating the people into evil, by the deplorable example of bishops, vying in dissoluteness with the lords.

Whether it was called pagan or orthodox, it was animated by the same worldly spirit. Thus we see the nations passing from paganism to heresy, or to sound doctrine, without the slightest interruption to their course of crime. Nothing in their annals would reveal the moment of their conversion, if that fact had not been registered in its place amidst many others. What specimens of very *Christian kings* are CLOVIS, a perfidious murderer, the husbands of FRÉDÉGONDE and BRUNCHAUT, and DAGOBERT in the midst of his seraglio! What an example of a *Catholic* nation are those Visigoths, whose zeal burst forth only in the massacre of the Jews! What Christian times were those of the *fainéant* kings, whom M. GUIZOT has called the Nadirs of humanity! And let us not be told that these nations were rebels to the Church; on the contrary, none were so docile; for in Spain, the synods of the bishops had become the States-General of the nation.

Doubtless, the golden chain of living faith was not broken even during the deep night, and history tells us, among others, of monks and hermits who were true believers. But the Gospel was no longer preached in the temples, and had no more influence upon the masses.

God prepared a safe retreat for the Gospel (Oh, how unsearchable are His ways, and His wisdom, how fertile in resource!) beyond the limits of the civilized world, in that *Ireland*, which was only known for the anthropophagy of its inhabitants. The sun of righteousness arose in the west to enlighten the world anew in its progress to the East! A faith, living and more or less pure, exerted from *Ireland* its sanctifying influence upon the Germanic nations, which were furthest removed from the centre of Roman corruption upon the idolatrous *Almans*, upon the *Austrasian* Franks and the Anglo-Saxons. We may cite, in proof of this assertion, the regular reading of the Scriptures, and especially of the Psalms, by CHARLEMAGNE, his decrees to have the Bible translated and to have preaching in the vulgar tongue, his zeal for education, and his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy; the stern remonstrances of ALCUIN on the subject of the forcible conversion of the Saxons: the decretals of the council of *Frankfort* against the worship of images; the Biblical and practical schools of *Fulda*, of *Paris*, and of *Oxford*; the re-establishment of discipline in the convents by BENOÎT, of *Anianus*, the admirable public safety of England under ALFRED the Great. The Spirit of God had certainly breathed upon these nations, whose civilization assumed a character of piety and morality foreign to the Pagan world. Everything seemed to indicate that the Christian nations were entering upon an age of definitive unity and general harmony. Everywhere, the conviction grew that the soul was worth more than the body, and the salvation of the soul more than all the treasures of earth; the Church, which had the cure of souls, was held to be higher than the State, and the head of the Church, the Pope, higher than the emperor. The monarchs of the Franks themselves admitted the truth of the principle, while in practice they nevertheless held the nomination of the Pope subject to their approval. The throne in the world of facts was above the altar, but they lent each other mutual support, and their relations might have passed for those of a perfect and final understanding.

The empire of THEODOSIUS and CONSTANTINE, of TRAJAN and AUGUSTUS, re-established by CHARLEMAGNE, was called the *Holy Roman empire*, and it was certainly an advance upon the ancient *régime*. The Germanic element was associated in it with the Roman, the clay with the iron, and that which the new world lost in homogeneity, it gained in liberty, justice and peace. The State was Christian; the chief of the State acknowledged that his power came from God, and that he was

bound to use it for the happiness of his people. At the same time, the new empire had a tendency to re-unite under one sceptre the Latin West and the Germanic peoples, and to conduct the Christian nations to that unity which is the final word of history.

Unity of nations, harmony between the throne and the altar, evangelical civilization, everything seemed to justify the belief that Christianity was on the eve of achieving its work for humanity. But these were only the pale streaks of light, which far in the night herald the distant approach of day; they were only a vague and confused prophecy of that which the religion of Christ shall effect in the last times.

The nations which the Church had taken into its school in their early youth went down all, one after the other, into the grave where lay the people of Pagan antiquity. Yet the times of CHARLEMAGNE and of ALFRED bequeathed to succeeding generations a civil and religious society, semi-Latin, semi-Germanic, of which the institutions, the manners, and the prevailing ideas had been created or fashioned by the Christianity of those times.

Let us pause a moment in our march to cast a rapid glance over the Christian nations of the East. They had not been, like those of the West, renewed and replaced by other peoples, and the greater part, in spite of their profession of Christian faith, were perishing and dying. MAHOMET, that great *destroyer* (*Abaddon*) of souls, cut off from the body of the Church, without the slightest difficulty, several of its paralyzed and corrupted members. Among those who remained faithful to Christ, we distinguish the Armenians, who fought heroically for their religion, and who, in their dispersion, owe to the lateral sap of the Christian spirit the preservation of their nationality. The Greeks of the Lower Empire dishonoured by their immorality the name which they ostentatiously bore. Still the divine power of Christianity kept them from total corruption, and left a possibility of that resurrection which is being accomplished among them slowly and painfully in our day.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

We return to the West. In the 11th century, Latino-Germanic *Europe* "awakes and shakes itself." New nations appear on the scene of history. After the prologue of the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons and Visigoths commenced the drama of the French, the English, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians, not to speak of the Western and Eastern slaves, and the Madjars of Finnish race. These nations have, for the most part, the immense advantage over their predecessors of having been born and reared in the Church. She watched over their cradle; they did not bear as yet the names by which they are known in history, for she educated them in her

school, and they thus never knew any religion but hers. But the task imposed upon them by God had peculiar complexities and difficulties not known to the nations of antiquity. Those nations which had no conception of the Kingdom of grace and of the spiritual life followed simply, in the use of their talents, the impulse of their better instincts, while the Christian nation of the modern world are bound, while improving their intellectual treasures, to remain in harmony with the truths of revelation, to obey a divine law, to act under the spirit of the Gospel, and in all things to bring nature into subjection to the sanctifying influence of grace.

Boundlessly gifted with imagination and intelligence, the Italian nation was destined to take the lead of the rest in all things, to prepare the way for all, and to make all follow in its footsteps. From Rome, the dominion of the Catholic hierarchy extends over Europe. The Lombard and Germanic North produces the first free and republican towns; the whole peninsula was the cradle of jurisprudence and political science, of medicine and the natural sciences, of poetry and the fine arts, of philosophy, and even of the Reformation by the Vaudois and the Patares, by the Franciscans and SAVONAROLA.

The Spaniards and Portuguese—a mixture of Latinized Iberians and Visigoths—are people of heart and action. They are the people of warlike exploits or of the Cid, the people of dramatic poetry or of Calderon. We see them in history waging during seven centuries a war half religious, half secular, with the Moors, for the discovery, conquest, and, in their sense, conversion of immense regions in America and elsewhere; we see them by DOMINIC and TORQUEMADA, by LOYOLA, by PHILIP II., exterminating the heretics and bringing Europe attempting to shake off the Papacy back to Rome. Ardent souls, they yield unreflectingly to their passions; there is something violent even in their piety, and their religious zeal is blind and sanguinary.

Celtic and Germanic, but with more admixture of the Gaul than the Frank, the French are led by their national character, and by the situation and configuration of their country, to amalgamate, if possible, the Roman iron with the Teutonic clay, to serve as a link between the South and the North, to hold in equilibrium the various faculties of the soul and to form a homogeneous nation, powerful and glorious, which should be governed throughout by order and will. Their heart is generous and their soul instinctively reaches forth after the good and the beautiful. The majority of the Crusaders were Frenchmen; chivalry is of France, and piety gives birth among them to thousands of Protestant martyrs, and thousands of Catholic sisters of charity. But the light and frivolous spirit of the Celt, the rationalistic and deistical spirit of PELAGIUS prevails among them over the deep and serious spirit of the Germans, the desire for order over

that of liberty, the unity of the State over the diversity of provinces, central authority over the commune, official religion over individual faith, and in literature, rule over inspiration, beauty of form over originality of idea.

The noble Germanic race, with deep affections, of grave and thoughtful spirit, which had in the 5th century mingled its young and healthy blood with the corrupt current in the veins of the old Latin nations, had, as its mission, to be to those very nations a permanent centre of moral and spiritual life. As the life of the human soul is, in every sphere, the result of contrary forces, so the Germans are called to reconcile all extremes, faith and reason, submission to inspired Scripture and free Christian philosophy, practical piety and mysticism, thoughts of the infinite and a severely defined creed, individual independence and fidelity to the sovereign, communal liberties and central authority, the unity of the nation and the specialities of territory, the diversity of churches and their organization in one body. Contrasting with the French, the people beyond the Rhine err by the predominance of personal over national life, of theory over practice, of unbounded aspirations over common sense. We see them attempting the impossible, the political union of Italy and Germany and the foundation of a Holy Roman Empire, which should be universal as that of the Cæsars. Thus they have all left their *Cologne* cathedrals unfinished.

The English are of pure Germanic origin, subdued and transformed by the Normans, who were Romanized Scandinavians. The practical sense of the conquerors modified the contemplative spirit of the conquered race, and the people produced by the combination learned also by the narrow limits of their life to restrain their desires. Thus the English, whose mission was, on the whole, the same as that of the Germans, formed a less grand, less vast, less ideal conception of it, one more accessible to human infirmity; and by the persevering energy of their will they have attained their end. They have practically reconciled self-government and royalty, personal independence and respect for *the law* (not for the *gendarme*), submission to Divine revelation and immutable conviction, an industrial and mercantile spirit, and the piety which works by love. But the aspirations of the soul after infinite truth and beauty have been sacrificed to the practical and terrestrial.

Brothers to the English and Germans, the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Swedes have like them also their functions, and analogous functions, to fulfil in Christian humanity. But they are more modest, for these people, few in number and neighbours of the northern regions, are lost, as it were, among their islands and mountains, beyond the floods of the *Baltic Sea*.

We pass by the Slaves, who by their religion belong mainly to

the Greek world. They form a religious race, slightly mystical by nature, among whom the family outweighs the State, as in India and China, and which is rather receptive than active, rather imitative than productive. Perhaps it is destined to sum up, in the last times, in one vast cyclopædia all the discoveries of other nations.

The Church, which God had intrusted with the education of the nations, should have trained them up in the Lord, in the faith of the Gospel; and the Gospel, by introducing them into the vivifying atmosphere of its spiritual life, would have divinely aided them in the discharge of their mission. It would have taught the Germans to feel the earth under their feet, and the English to rise higher towards heaven; it would have kept alive in the French the moral sense, the fear of God, and the spirit of liberty tempered by true piety; it would have directed towards the true God, the passionate activity of the Spaniards, and nourished the genius of the Italians by sanctity of soul, and by the pure affections of domestic life. But who knew the Gospel and preached it to the nations, during the five centuries of the middle ages?

The middle ages were the reign of the Papacy. Strong in the universal assent, and the unhopèd for support of false decretals, GREGORY VII. and INNOCENT III. had subordinated the State to the Church, or the flesh to the spirit; the empire of the Christian world had thus passed from the hands of CHARLEMAGNE to those of the successors of St. Peter, and that rival empire, contemporaneous with that of the Caliphs, and of DALAÏ LAMA, was the most vast and at the same time the most absolute that had ever existed upon earth. For as they held the popes to be the vicars of Christ, their empire could be nothing less than that of their Master, and the glorious times of the Millennium predicted by St. John they deemed to have arrived. Such is in truth the opinion not of BOSSUET alone, but of HENGSTENBERG. There was but one fold and one shepherd; the Christian nations all obeyed with docility their Lord, and seemed in very deed to have reached that unity which is the sign of perfection. But this pretended vicar of Jesus Christ was a usurper animated by the ambitious, despotic, and sanguinary spirit of the Cæsars, and the all-powerful influence which the Church and the Papacy exercised over the nations, fettered national genius and individual liberty. If the same faith reigned throughout the West, it was that the odious Inquisition sent heretics, schismatics, Evangelical Christians to the stake, and struck terror into all minds. Worship was everywhere celebrated in the same language, but it was a foreign and dead language which became that of all prose writers, theologians or historians, and the use of which obstructed the regular development of national languages. Everywhere the Church taught the same theology, which was the philosophy and the moral and physical

sciences of the time; but this theology was founded on the Fathers of the fourth century and not on the Bible; by the aid of ARISTOTLE it demonstrated, with the same vigour, the errors of human tradition and the truths of divine revelation, and left no free field for the independent researches of the faithful, or the various talents of the nations. The same monastic orders diffused themselves over all countries, some devoted to the study of the Bible and of letters, others preaching to the masses, directing souls, opposing the corruption of morals, and indirectly condemning by their poverty the luxury of the popes and the clergy, but they were yet themselves the champions of *Rome*, its advocates, its instruments. At the call of the popes, all the nations seized the cross to deliver the Holy Sepulchre, but if these wars proved a certain zeal for Christ, the crusaders conducted themselves like very Pagans. In the same way, chivalry had a certain appearance of piety and charity, but the poets who have sung its praises, were almost without exception strangers to any true faith. These poets, inspired by chivalry and love, and speaking their mother tongue, formed only a single school, from *Catalonia* to *Scotland*, from *Sicily* to the *Baltic Sea*; so great was the unity of Christian nations in the middle ages, but their songs were as profane as those of any heathen nation.

However, even under the dominion of the popes, the Gospel did its work in the heart, and acted with secret power upon the nations and upon civilization. Thrones were occupied here by such men as ST. LOUIS, there by such as HENRY the Birdcatcher, OTHO the Great, HENRY II., CONRAD the Salique, FREDERIC BARBAROSSA, who, by their nobleness of soul and their piety, left far behind the TITUSES and MARCUS AURELIUSES of the ancient world. The love which was sung by many of the Minnesingers was of a truly Christian purity; the spirit of the Gospel breaks in the chivalrous poem of WOLFRAM D'ESCHENBACH, and among the forerunners of the Reformation may be counted WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE. The Freemasons, *free* workmen of the *measure* (maas), took as the plan of their temples the cross of Golgotha, and were inspired in all their work by a truly Christian spirit of devotion, prayer, and adoration. The mystics, who went on multiplying among the Germanic population of the *Rhine* countries, penetrated deeper and deeper into the mysteries of the spiritual life. Lastly, the victims of the Inquisition and a section of the Franciscans, by their protests against false Christianity, and by the holiness of their lives, prophesied a better future.

Taken as a whole, the civilization of the middle ages, which is evidently an advance upon that of the Austrasian Franks, demonstrates forcibly the power of the complex influence which Christianity exerts upon the nations.

But the Christianity of papal *Rome* was too deeply corrupted for

its empire to have any permanence, it fell in the 15th century with the political institutions of the middle ages. Yet the nations survived its fall, and did not go to join their predecessors in the catacombs of history.

They were all, however, in serious case. Catholicism, in subjecting the consciences of the laity to the priests, that of the priests to the bishops, and that of the bishops to the pope, had everywhere paralyzed or even destroyed independence of character, and had thus paved the way, even in England, for absolute monarchy. Everywhere the despotism of *DIOCLETIAN* and of *JUSTINIAN* revived with the interested connivance of the lawyers. Among the Roman population perished, never to rise again, the Germanic self-government, the States-General, and the communes, and while the higher classes and the citizens were despoiled of their legitimate share of power, the peasants, driven to despair by intolerable sufferings, took terrible vengeance. A strange Millennium!

France, whom the preaching of the law of repentance and of the cross would have revived, but whom the Church continued to enervate by its indulgences and vain ceremonies, gave herself up to her love of pleasures and her sceptical spirit. In *Spain* Catholicism exerted upon the nation the same kind of influence as Pagan religions upon their votaries; it cherished, magnified, increased tenfold the natural defects of the people, their intolerance, fanaticism, cruelty.

Italy, by *DANTE*, *CIMABUE*, *SAVONAROLA*, was about to put herself at the head of a truly Evangelical civilization, when the *BORGIIAS* and the *MEDICIS* threw it back into the limbo of Christian paganism, in which the most religious painter was the lover of an adulteress, and in which the epithet of divine is given by *ARIOSTO* to *ST. ARETINUS*. The Germanic nations resisted more effectually than the Romans the deleterious influence of Catholicism; piety, continued living and deep along the Rhine, and political liberty found a sure asylum in the Swiss Alps. Germany, however, which alone had defended the independence of the State against the supremacy of the papacy, had come out of the conflict vanquished, bruised, dismembered, and almost dying. But the Hussites in *Bohemia*, like the Wycliffites in *England*, attested that beyond the Rhine and the Danube, the ancient limits of the Roman empire, the authority of Catholicism over souls was but ill assured.

The Church, which admitted itself sick in head and limb, endeavoured to get itself headed by the Councils of Constance and of Basle, but the remedy was wholly ineffective. Worship became, on the contrary, more and more ceremonial and idolatrous; faith in Jesus Christ was departing; the light from on high was going out, and in the heart of this spiritual darkness, the Renaissance rekindled in

Italy the torch of philosophy and of pagan literature. All minds among the Roman people, rushed towards this brilliant flame, and paganism, which from the time of THEODOSIUS had crept for concealment under the mantle of Christ, came forth again resplendent, and as if assured of triumph.

MODERN TIMES.

But Christ dies, only to rise again the third day; and in fulfilment of the promise made to His true disciples that He would be with them "always, even unto the end of the world," He raised up LUTHER.

LUTHER proclaimed anew the glad tidings of a free salvation, and at his voice Catholic Europe split into two great divisions.

CATHOLIC EUROPE.

From the time of the scheme of *Avignon*, the sceptre of the Western world was broken in the hands of the popes, who saw themselves condemned to exercise no longer anything more than a spiritual authority over the nations. The Church, which had in no way suffered from this humiliation of the papacy, slept on in pleasures, till she was startled out of her sleep of death by the thunder-voice of LUTHER. Then she gathered up all her strength, first that of Antichrist, and afterwards that of the Gospel. The former was concentrated in the order of the Jesuits, which kept her from the true faith, and thus devoted her to certain death. Every triumph of these monks was for the Church a step towards her final ruin. They extirpated by the roots, Evangelical faith in Spain, Italy, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland; they half drowned it in its blood in France and Hungary. The legitimate strength of Catholicism, on the other hand, produced works of piety and charity, of eloquence and poetry far superior to those of the middle ages. I need not do more than quote in France ST. FRANÇOIS DE SALES and ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, BOSSUET, and FÉNÉLON, the author of *Polyeuche* and of *Tartuffe*, and especially the Jansenist school, which is the purest flower of Roman Catholicism. But this school was, like the Reformed Church of *France*, persecuted and banished by the all-powerful influence of the Jesuits.

Since the Reformation, as in the middle ages, Catholicism has been to the Spaniards a hot-bed, in which all their national vices have been nurtured into luxuriant growth. Therefore it is that this people, who under CHARLES V. and PHILIP II. were the rulers of the world, are dying in our day, not in the shock of political parties, each striving according to its conviction, for the public good, but in the convulsions of vile factions, which are the sport and the tool of a few ambitious spirits.

To the Italians, Catholicism has been a prison, in which their noble instincts of truth, faith, and liberty have perished from suffocation. To-day, when by its superstitions, its absurd dogmas, and its intolerance, the Church has made them sceptical and revolutionary, they are attempting in vain to form themselves into a homogeneous nation, a well-ordered State.

France bled almost to death by the expulsion of the Reformers, and the Jansenists, plunged into indifference and atheism by the scandals of military violence and constraint of conscience, trained in hypocrisy by the example of LOUIS XIV., abandoned itself under the regency to unrestrained immorality, and soon after applauded the impious sarcasms of VOLTAIRE. Intolerable oppression brought about in this whole country a revolution, of which the principles were borrowed from the constitution of the United States of *America*. But these principles which the Protestants had drawn from the Bible and carried into practice in their public and private life, were applied in Catholic France by tigers with human faces. To escape from anarchy, the whole great nation threw itself into the arms of a Cæsar, and now, thanks to Catholicism, it is as incapable of bearing liberty as slavery, a republic as royalty, a constitutional monarchy as a military depotism.

Austria is a vast empire without consistence, because the Jesuits have banished from it the Gospel, that which alone gives to bodies politic their framework of bone, by severe and puritanical manners, and the reliable and steadfast spirit of families trained in the Scriptures.* Everywhere, in fine, throughout the Catholic Church, the bishops may convince themselves (and many do confess it with alarm) that existing society is pagan in spirit and life, but they do not surmise that this modern paganism dates from the ages in which the Church re-established idolatry in her bosom, under the form of the worship of images, and from those in which she had recourse against schismatics to the measures, which NERO and DIOCLETIAN had employed against the first Christians. The present Pope himself, PIUS IX., that upright, loyal, noble, humble man, that man of prayer, of hope, and of charity, thinks himself the last pillar left standing in the temple of truth, and does not see that he is an idol whom God is about to overthrow and sweep away.

REFORMED EUROPE.

The Reformation, which was to restore spiritual life to the West, had its cradle in that same Germany from which in the fifth century the West had been re-peopled and renewed. The Germans, converted by the Irish, should have formed a Church independent of

* Happily, a new day is beginning to brighten upon *Austria*.—*Editor*.

Rome, in which, in the unity of the spirit, the true faith should have been developed, without impediment, till the time when by unanimous action it might have reformed Roman Catholicism. But BONIFACE stifled the Gospel among them under the ceremonies, discipline, and despotism of papal Rome. During the middle ages they struggled for freedom by their emperors, their poets, their mystics, and by the Hussites, till the day when LUTHER broke the yoke of Antichrist and restored the Gospel in its purity. Welcomed with joy in the towns, where the severity of ancient manners had been preserved, the Reformation restored to individual life its spontaneity, its conscience, its inexorable authority and the support of the inflexible divine law; to the family it guaranteed its sanctity and privacy; to all men the right to read the Holy Scriptures, and to receive the instruction without which this right would be but an illusion. In Protestant Germany, the Reformation awoke and developed the taste for literature and science, gave to the whole nation, including the Catholics, its written language, by Luther's translation of the Bible; and has given birth in our days (as the Paris Exhibition proves) in all Protestant countries to the painting of domestic scenes, which reproduces while it idealizes the purest and deepest feelings of the human soul. By making free inquiry the condition of faith, it has doubtless opened the door for advanced scepticism, but it has closed it against hypocrisy, and has given a challenge to the zeal of all the faithful. Now, danger to the Church consists not in the violence of the attacks made upon it, but in the feebleness of the defence. The Gospel, in a word, has been the soft and balmy atmosphere in which all the noble instincts of the German character have been freely developed—its sincerity, independence of mind, deep affections, and infinite aspirations.

Prussia, which owes her power in great measure to the Reformation, and her prosperity to the French refugees, is distinguished from all the Catholic States by the enlightened and persevering zeal of her sovereigns for the good of their subjects, by the probity of their administration and by the universal diffusion of education. It is certainly to her moral strength that *Prussia* owes her recent victory over *Austria*; and the Gospel, the Reformation alone can give to the Germans that national unity for which they have been longing for so many years.

It is only since the Reformation that *Denmark* and *Sweden* have taken a place in the system of European equilibrium and the brightest glory of the Scandinavians is the liberator of reformed *Germany*—the pious GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

We find among the reformed Christians of France the characteristic traits of their nation; absolute submission to the Bible, such as their Catholic fathers rendered to the Church, great uniformity of views, a

theology without originality, a strong organization of the Church, which was synodal. But the purity and gravity of their manners, the firmness of their convictions, and their patience under suffering, give striking evidence of what the Church of Rome might have made of the whole French nation, if it had not abandoned the Bible and unlearned the Gospel. Without the Reformation, the city of CALVIN, the Protestant *Rome*, the powerful and salutary influence of which has extended over all the West, would have led under its bishops an undisturbed life, but a life inglorious, easy and quiet, but unfaithful, and my country, the little town of FAREL, *Neufchâtel*, would have left on history no sensible trace of its existence.

Of the Reformation, the State of *Holland* was born. It is a creation of the Gospel, at issue with an idolatrous worship.* In the holy war which they declared against the all-powerful PHILIP II., for the defence of their faith and liberties, the Dutch, who are Batavians and Frieslanders of Germanic race, persevered to the end and triumphed, while the *Belgians*, of Romanized Celtic race, yielded and fell again under the double yoke of *Spain* and of *Rome*. These, after three centuries of silent slavery, have achieved their independence only, to be divided into two camps, both equally hostile to the Gospel, that of atheism, and that of idolatry and Ultramontane intolerance. Reformed *Holland*, on the contrary, has been the land of martyrs, the asylum of the refugees, and the fortress of liberty, the metropolis of immense colonies, and, with a million of inhabitants, the victorious rival of *England* and *France* united to crush her. If she is now divided, no less than Belgium, into two religious parties, the one is that of rationalistic error, which will fall, and the other that of evangelical truth, to which prophecy guarantees the final victory.

England, which, in the time of the Armada, trembled before Spain, is to-day Queen of all seas, while her ancient rival is decaying. Since the establishment of the Reformation and the expulsion of the Catholic STUARTS, the English nation has gloriously solved the problem of the reconciliation of liberty with authority. The Catholics, who admire this parliamentary monarchy and transplant it into their own soil, do not comprehend that the self-government of the Germanic and Protestant races is absolutely impossible among the enslaved Latin races at Rome. What shall we say also of that sanctification of the Sabbath, which FATHER HYACINTH quotes as an example to his hearers; of that family life, so quiet and well ordered; of those deep convictions which the greatest sufferings cannot shake, and which the most formidable opposition only stimulates; of that simple, practical, humble piety, so fruitful in good works; of multitudes of religious

* See M. Groen van Prinsterer's *Holland*, and the influence of Calvin, 1864; and his discourse on religious nationality in relation to *Holland* of the Evangelical Alliance, 1867, in this volume.

societies, of the missionary zeal, of the literature in which all English society finds a reflection, and in which works of impiety and immorality are as rare, as in Catholic France they are abundant?

The New World is the magnifying mirror in which we can study the contrary influences which Catholicism and the Reformed religion exert upon nations. On the one side, are the Spanish republics, in which revolution is endemic, and which are incapable of governing themselves; on the other, the confederation of Anglo-Saxon republics, founded by the Puritans, growing with marvellous rapidity and threatening to embrace the whole of *America*. The *Yankee*, no doubt, has his faults; but his strength of will, his independence of character, his respect for the freedom of others, his morality, his piety, are the bitterest satire on the Catholic society of *Paris*.*

The Roman nations are on the decline, thanks to the Catholicism which has moulded them to a servile obedience. According to prophecy, they will be fused into one empire, of which the last sovereign will be the last and most sanguinary of persecutors.

The Germanic nations rise and increase under the influence of the Reformation, of the Word of God and the Gospel. But will the present economy see them decline in their turn, and perish by the temporary triumph of rationalism over faith? This prophecy has not revealed. Faith in the crucified and risen Christ is our national life, and unbelief is treason to our nation.

THE MILLENNIUM.

After the destruction of Antichrist, of the persecuting States, and of the idolatrous Church, when evil shall be reduced on the earth to the sin which is in the hearts of men, then the Gospel will undertake for the fifth time the education of the people.

The whole converted Jewish nation will be the centre of the Church. All nations will profess Christianity, and the Holy Spirit will be poured out in floods upon the believers, who will be nourished on the Holy Scriptures. War will cease and slavery will be abolished, and every one living in peace under his vine and fig tree† will improve to the full his natural talents and spiritual gifts. The sanctification of the life will extend to the smallest details and descend to the most humble spheres, as says Zechariah.‡ Then the nations, freed from the heavy covering of tyranny and misery, shall appear in their true form and beauty, and each shall fulfil with joy and success its function in the great body of the Church, which shall have become one with humanity. Chinese and Indians, Persians and Arabs, Turks and Mongolians, Copts and Abyssinians, Negroes and Arabs, Spaniards, Italians and French, Anglo-Saxons of the Old World and the New, Germans and Scandinavians, Greeks and Selaves, all shall

* See "Paris in America."

† Micah iv. 4.

‡ Zech. xiv. 20.

bring to the feet of Christ the tribute of their moral riches. The Semitic race shall produce new psalmists, family life shall form the joy of the negro, the Chinese and the Indian, all philosophers shall be of the school of PASCAL, and the Spirit which moved the author of *Athalie* shall inspire all poets and artists. Human nature, with its noble instinct and its weaknesses, shall find another HOMER to be its poet; divine justice, an ÆSCHYLUS; the struggles between the will of man and that of God, a SOPHOCLES; the search after the ideal, a PLATO; the study of the physical sciences and morals, an ARISTOTLE.

But let us not exaggerate to ourselves the power of the Word and of the Spirit upon man, and let us take account of that of the body upon the soul, of egoism upon love, of unbelief upon faith. At the end of the thousand years a universal revolt of the nations against Jesus Christ will take place, even more audacious than that of those times of Antichrist, which will terminate the present economy, and widely differing from that of the sixteenth century which closed the middle ages. But the struggle will be of short duration, and the destruction of the last Antichrists will be followed by the conflagration of the earth, the general resurrection and the last judgment.

ETERNITY.

The symbolic vision of the world to come, which closes the revelation of St. John, is very remarkable. It carries us into eternity and places us on the new earth, yet we could imagine ourselves on our own earth and in time. Jerusalem and Israel are there, still distinct from the Gentiles, and the Gentiles or the nations, instead of having been cast down nationally into hell, inhabit in vast numbers the countries round about *Jerusalem*. These saved from among the nations, or rather according to the text, "these nations of the saved," are without doubt the sheep of Christ's parables, and the inhabitants of the city the good and faithful servants, the wise virgins, the trustworthy stewards of the preceding parables, or the elect Christians of every kindred and tongue. These are symbolically separated from the nations by a *wall* of great height, but in this wall are *twelve gates* always open by which the nations enter into the city. They walk round about her in her light which is the glory of God and of the Lamb, as the planets move around the sun. The kings of the nations come to Jerusalem to bring in tribute all that constitutes their glory and honour, and the capital enriches itself with their offerings, as we have seen the Church below enrich itself by the peculiar talents of each people. These nations and the citizens of Jerusalem eat indeed of the same *tree of life*, but, O marvel! these of the fruits, those of the leaves, and the leaves are for their *healing*. These saved nations are then still feeble, infirm, sickly; they are convalescents, and

the work of purification which the Gospel, by means of the Word and the Holy Spirit, had in the time of the apostles begun among the nations, and which is carried on from age to age, to the end of time, is only consummated in eternity.

Our transit through the ages is finished, and we have been able to convince ourselves, as it seems to me, that the religion of Christ acts upon the nations, as no other does, and that it alone does not perish with the people who confess it.

Cast a rapid glance over the *national* religions of antiquity, each nation having its own gods, and the religion being, like the literature, the mere expression of the character of the people. It never went a hair's breadth beyond the moral standard of the nation professing it. Its most powerful action was only the reflection of the genius which had produced it. Thus *Delphos* itself never proclaimed a truth, which the sages of *Greece* did not know as well as the *Pythian* oracle. In this respect the *universal* religions of the Pagan world are nothing more than national religions. Buddhism has undoubtedly been powerful enough to propagate itself from India to China, where its adherents are counted by hundreds of millions; but we learn that it has not exercised any appreciable influence upon the manners and civilization of those vast empires. In like manner, Islamism, which has alienated whole countries from the Church of Christ, has never created new nations to be compared with the Dutch and the Anglo-Americans. Christianity alone is the leaven which leavens the whole lump, and it has such transforming power, because it comes from heaven, and has been placed by God Himself in the heart of humanity.

This leaven keeps its virtue from age to age. The Church, which is its depository, may fail to make use of it; it suffers no deterioration from such culpable negligence. It passes unimpaired through all the crises of human life, while everything else shares in the decay and death of the nations. This spring of life seems now and again dried up for a generation or more, but its waters are all the while accumulating in the heart of the earth, and suddenly they burst forth afresh and fertilize the lands. May God grant us, as St. Paul expresses it, to know "the exceeding" greatness of His power" manifested "when he raised Jesus Christ from the dead and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places," and which he still manifests every day in snatching souls from death, in healing the nations of their iniquities, and in preparing redeemed humanity for celestial glory.

RELIGIOUS NATIONALITY IN ITS RELATION TO HOLLAND AND THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

BY G. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER,

OF THE HAGUE.

I HAD intended to come here simply to exchange greetings with Christian friends. Pressed to address you by a too great partiality, I have need to ask for a double measure of indulgence in submitting a few observations hastily put together on Religious Nationality, in relation first with the history of my country, and afterwards with the task of the Evangelical Alliance at the present period.

I.

Religious Nationality in its connection with the history of Holland.

You have already rendered, dear foreign friends (since one must needs utter this unwelcome word foreigner in an assembly of brethren), a noble testimony to my country. You have spoken of it as the land of martyrs, as the land of refuge, as the protectrice of liberty and independence; you have spoken of the illustrious House of Orange and of William I. You have spoken of the influence of Holland in England, in Europe, in America. Blending these sketches of the pencil; you have produced a magnificent picture of my country.

There is one feature, nevertheless, which, in my judgment, you have not sufficiently dwelt upon, and that is the important part, the incalculably grand part which *your* ancestors played in what has formed the subject of your panegyric.

Our nationality, and that also of Geneva, has an exceptional character. It is *religious* in the full force of the term; it is simply and alone the result of faith. Our State had no other reason for its existence than religion. It was born of the Reformation. It was a creation of the Gospel in its strife against an idolatrous worship. Follow this thought and you will see the proofs of my thesis in the *origin*, the *development*, the *grandeur* of my country.

1. In its origin.—In the 16th century, we encounter evangelists

on all sides, that is to say, martyrs. The blood of the martyrs gave birth to the Church. From the Church arose the State. To the victims on all sides also succeeded the defenders. The Prince of Orange and his brethren, our Maccabees, were by birth Germans. French, English, thousands of Belgians, emigrated to us. Well, from all these different elements, collected together—fused, nationalized by the fiery trial—out of this chaos the Spirit of the Lord called forth the State, by the Word of God, weak enough as yet, but with the Providential mission to hold up the standard of the sovereign and free grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

2. Look next at the religious *development* of Holland. Observe, dear brethren, that your ancestors did not abandon this new-born State, their child.

I do not speak of the political succours, often insignificant, tardy, delusive, but of the swarms of refugees which new persecutions drove to us. You praise, and justly, the brotherly reception we gave them, but do not forget in your gratitude that there was a reciprocity of benefits. We reaped by this exchange the greater advantage. Those refugees were witnesses, witnesses in the fact of resigning themselves to exile, witnesses especially by coming to tell us of the fortitude and the sufferings of many more, who, not being able to reach the blessed land, had become veritable martyrs. Whenever our country, powerful and prosperous, began to degenerate, these brethren, who had resisted and escaped from persecution, brought us a life, a vigour, a new energy, and came as it were baptizing Holland again in the generating principle of the State.

3. Observe lastly *the source of our grandeur*. It was not achieved by ourselves alone. It was due to the combined action of our co-religionists everywhere. Holland was the centre of activity to Protestant Christendom, the focus of its evangelical propagandism, of its common resistance, the fulcrum of its coalitions, the place where its armies assembled.

Think of the universal character of the war which the Church of Rome then carried on by the arm of the secular power against Christ and His witnesses.* Holland became almost a second country for Protestants; the Dutch flag, the flag of the House of Orange, became

* The most accredited Catholic journal of Holland (*de Tijd*) is scandalized, rather late, at my words. In history and in politics, I think I have given abundant proofs of my impartiality, and I have never forgotten that Christians of all denominations have a common enemy in Revolution (See *L'Empire Prussien et l'Apocalypse*, p. 28). But I will never betray the evangelical cause so far as to conceal or veil the true character of the conflict which our ancestors had to sustain. To those who make this a reproach to me I may, I think, be permitted to recall the words of the French reformers under the reign of a monarch, who, in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, believed himself to be performing an act of faith: "With regard to this word, *Antichrist*, which is in our Liturgy, and hose

their flag. You, perhaps, think that I speak too strongly. I take your ancestors to witness. You have no doubt read *Les Dix Années d'un Galérien*. You remember this youthful sufferer, who, that he might not deny his faith, traversing France from south to north, marched, marched incessantly in order to preserve it, planted the Dutch flag on the citadels of Belgium. Can you not figure to yourselves what it was to our persecuted co-religionists, hunted like wild beasts,—what, I say, the flag of Holland was in their distress? It was the emblem of faith and liberty; it was the sign of deliverance; it was the guarantee against a dreadful alternative, apostasy or the galleys, apostasy or death! The Dutch flag, the motto, *Je maintiendrai*, was the signal for rallying; it was the battle cry in the common conflict for liberty of conscience, for liberty to read the Sacred Scriptures, for liberty to obey God. Ah, you perhaps think that our Princes of Orange were recruiters such as WALLENSTEIN? And these Swiss regiments, in which, from father to son, they served the republic with a fidelity and courage alike hereditary, and these intrepid regiments of French refugees, who, gaining the battle of *the Boyne*, paled the star of LOUIS XIV., were they in your opinion mercenaries who sold their blood to the highest bidder? or that they were Frenchmen who were rebels to their sovereign, traitors to their country? No, a thousand times, no! they were Christians who, when civil war, the war of religion, desolated Europe, devoted themselves to death in battle, as their predecessors had done in the flames, and who after the example of WILLIAM I. never became unfaithful to their sovereign but in order to remain faithful to the King of Kings.

I will not enter further into details. Restricting myself to the expression of my thought now submitted to you, I resume by saying: Religious Holland, Protestant Holland, is the collective work of that Reformation of which my venerable friend M. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ has retraced the history. Holland is the product of the Evangelical alliance of past times.

Past times! They *are* past. This religious nationality But I have neither the mission nor the desire to uncover the troubles of my country. I will not even allude except to those which you all know. But in the name of those ancestors to whom this little corner of the world was so inexpressibly dear, I would say to you, I will say: Brethren and sisters, when you return to your own countries, pray, pray for *Holland*; pray that her Church, that Church once so faithful, so illustrious, may shake off the yoke

words *idolatry* and *deceptions of Satan*, which may be found in our Confession of Faith, these are words which declare the reasons and the ground of our separation from the Church of Rome, and the doctrine which our fathers maintained in those cruel times, and which, after their example, we are resolved, by the grace of God, never to abandon, but to keep faithfully and inviolably to the last moment of our lives."

of this factitious and impious unity, in which blasphemy tolerates the Gospel on condition that the Gospel shall tolerate blasphemy. Pray, pray for *Holland*; pray that the reviving energy of her Evangelical beliefs may deliver her from a law which obliges so many Christian parents to send their children to schools from which the Bible is banished, in which our history is misrepresented, and Christian instruction is called sectarian, to schools in which *independent morality* must necessarily constitute the normal character. Pray, pray for *Holland*; pray that the Lord will make her feel it to be her duty, and give her strength to resist this predominance of so-called modern impiety, which, as has been well shown by M. ERNEST NAVILLE, by having the boldness and the cunning to call itself *Christian* and *national*, tends to confound together the Church, the School, and the State.

II.

Will you permit me still further to communicate, from a more general point of view, some ideas on *Religious Nationality* in its relation to the present task of the Evangelical Alliance.

The principle of *nationalities* stands at present in the foreground. But to what kind of nationality does the question refer? Is it a religious nationality? No, but a nationality separated, and, in a word, delivered from the Gospel.

The question here is not that of the separation of Church and State. It is a question, not indeed in the intention of all, but according to the current of the predominant ideas which drag us along, of throwing off the Gospel and religious faith by nations. This is the condition, so they assure us, of their happiness. And by what bond, by what true national unity, will they replace Christianity, which for so long a time has constituted the unity and the strength of the basis of European society, in spite of the irregularities and vices of men?

By *national boundaries*, it has lately been said. Meanwhile a *common language* is the approved suggestion.

Unity of territory, unity of language; I grant you both the one and the other of these admirable bases of the happiness of future generations. Such, according to the teachers of the humanitarian school, are to be henceforth the conditions and the guarantees of national happiness. As if to secure domestic felicity, the Gospel being rejected, it were enough to speak the same language and to dwell in the same house!

Do you know, profound philosophers, wise politicians, benefactors of modern Europe, if you should attain the *ne plus ultra* of your *Utopias*, what you will then have got?

You will have nations, if they may be so called, without bones and withered, populations, multitudes, masses, confused crowds of in-

dividuals, collections of atoms,—you will have a heap of pulverizations fit to become mud.

You will have materials for a double use, recruits for all purposes of anarchy and despotism. As VINET has said, “Rebels to-day, slaves to-morrow.”

You will have with your unity of territory, of language, of race, you will have races whom DE TOCQUEVILLE describes in his admirable writings:—“Races of sheep-like men with their shepherds, whom they lead to the fold and to the shambles, feeding them in the rank pastures of impiety and vice, to fling them at random to the carnage of the battle field.”

You will have, in a word, the atrocities of a modern barbarism mingled with the most exquisite refinements of civilization.

Gloomy forecasts, assuredly. Too gloomy? I doubt it. We do not describe an illusion. *Evangelical Alliance*, the present crisis clearly shows your task; it is to resist this torrent of systematic impiety, it is to re-affirm the true Christian nationality among different nations.

It is not an easy task. To be sufficient for this duty a spirit of devotedness and of sacrifice is needed, which will raise us above every other consideration, and abase us to become the scavengers of the world. A spark of that sacred fire is needed which breathed in one of the least known but most remarkable words of the Prince whose prayer, “My God, my God, pity thy poor people!” has been magnificently answered in the history of my country—a word, I say, like his whole life, sublime by its simplicity, when in a moment of discouragement, to a man also illustrious in our annals, who was not easily discouraged, and whose name is worthily placed on these pillars—when he said to MARNIX, filled with distress by the ingratitude of men, “*We would let them trample upon us, ALDEGONDE, if only we could aid the Church of God.*”*

“The future,” you say, “is with the Eternal, and the Lord has said, ‘*When you see these things come to pass lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.*’” No doubt; only recollect this: Christianity may and must be reduced to a condition in which it will seem as if it was about to disappear altogether, *but this should never be through the fault of Christians.*

It is not for me to insist on this. But I finish by citing the authority of two men whose words are of great weight.

The first has left us;† he is with God; but he still lives in his

* In reporting these words, MARNIX adds: “Upon which I replied, ‘Since, my lord, you are resolved on that, God forbid that I should say more; employ me where you will.’ And I thereupon obeyed all his commands, *having only in view the conservation of the Churches of God.*”

† In 1861. How is it that as yet we have no complete edition of his works, at least of his Parliamentary speeches?

disciples and in his works ; and he will live in the memories and the hearts of those who honour Christian knowledge, Christian virtue and Christian character. "It may be that they are right," said M. Stahl, speaking in Prussia in 1852, "It may be that in the end they are right, they who affirm that we are being drawn into absolutism. To all their reasonings, I have only one simple reply : It may be that this is our *destiny*, but it ought never to be our *fault*."* I repeat with him, it may be that there is an irresistible current set in towards the apparent defeat of Christianity, but it ought never to be through the pusillanimity or the fault of Christians.

My second witness is a statesman, and a man of faith, who still lives, who seems to grow young again by trials and labours, to greatness in adversity, and who, upon the ruins of Parliamentary government, has planted the flag of the Gospel ; a man whom, as well as my dear and venerable friend, M. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, we clung to the hope, notwithstanding his advanced age, of seeing amongst us, and of expressing to them both a gratitude equal to the liveliness of our regrets. I obliterate myself before M. GUIZOT, that he may speak in this assembly. In the Paris Conferences of 1864, coming powerfully to the help of MM. Bersier, D'Hombres, and Rognon, in their noble and energetic protest against the negation of the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation and of Christianity, he said :—

"I will add only one word. I will call your attention but to one fact, the capital and supreme fact of our actual situation. Look all around you ; the foundations of the faith are everywhere assailed—in Germany, in Switzerland, in Holland, in England, in France. They say there is no fear, and I have no fear, provided the defence correspond with the assault, provided believers do not remain indolent and inert in the face of active and ardent infidels ; I have perfect confidence in the Christian cause, but men are God's agents ; by the faith and the labours of the first Christians, He founded Christianity : by the faith and the labours of Christians of the present day, He will defend it. Gentlemen, we have before us a great opportunity and a great duty, greater than we can measure ; in the conflict which we carry on, in the crisis in which we are placed, we are the advanced guard of the whole of Christendom ; we have behind us all the communities of Christians. Let us show ourselves equal to this great task, and firmly resolve to accomplish it.

* "Es ist möglich, das diejenigen Recht behalten, die da behaupten, unser Weg gehe vorwärtz zur absolutistischen Regierung. Auf diese Behauptungen habe ich nur die Antwort: das mag unser *Schicksal sien* ; aber es darf nicht *unsere That* sein."

CHRISTIANITY AND LITERATURE.

BY REV. L. F. BUNGENER,

GENEVA.

CHRISTIANITY AND LITERATURE.—Another of those subjects which would readily give occasion to speak of everything—and of much besides; in which, therefore, even if our time were not limited, it would be necessary to restrain ourselves. It is no doubt agreeable not to have to search and dig. It is difficult, often painful, to choose and to sacrifice. But it must be done, and I have done it. Without further preface, let us begin.

We have before us a universal fact; religion and literature reciprocally influence each other. Often, indeed, it is more, much more, than a reciprocal influence; religion and literature are one and the same thing, one and the same power. The religion of the Greeks is embodied in their poetry. HOMER was their great theologian, and still more, for his writings were for a long time to them almost what the Bible is to us. Among the Romans the union was less serious, but the forms were preserved. One word, for instance (*Vates*) signified a *poet* and a *priest*. VIRGIL, who was not himself a believer, was gradually invested after death with an authority analogous to that of HOMER among the Greeks. The same thing appears in the ancient civilization of the East, as is brought to light by the discoveries of modern science. Thus, also, not only is all literature religious, as inspired with the tradition of religion, but it forms part of these traditions themselves, it augments the store, it comes down to following ages, not only as a religious, but as a sacred literature. It is so, even with the Jews. For a long time they had no idea of literature that was not altogether religious, sacred books or books gathering round those that were. So with the Mohammedans. So, too, for a very long time with Christians. They for many centuries had no profane literature, and rather than have any they introduced into religious literature works which appear to us but little religious, the *Mysteries*, for example are often full of buffooneries.

The tendency then—a tendency for a long time universal—has been to establish and maintain, between literature and religion, either a complete union, or, at least, the most intimate relations.

What is the present tendency? This appears to us the best form to give to the subject we have to discuss.

This tendency some have *repudiated*, others have expended in an injurious and dangerous sense, while others again strive to represent it as contributing to the progress of truth, and the advancement of the Kingdom of God.

Let us resume. I have said that some repudiate it. I do not speak of those who repudiate it in fact, writing immoral books, preaching what the Gospel condemns, leading directly to what the Gospel calls perdition. It is evident in such a case that the rupture is complete. Unhappily it does not always appear so to all persons. In these times many immoral books are published which carefully avoid giving any *eclat* to unbelief, sometimes they even assume a religious air. Catholicism, it must be said, renders this easy. In a Church where forms play so large a part, and where one may see in some countries even brigands serious and sincere devotees, it is easy in romances to concede some religion to characters otherwise the most depraved, and not to proclaim the rupture, otherwise complete, which exists between Christianity and the writer. Let us not be misled by this.

But I speak of those by whom the rupture is declared. Literature, according to them, ought to be independent of religion. If it has not always been so, this proves only one thing, that man is not yet sufficiently free to search after and find in himself, in himself alone, the elements of his literary development. Literature then is advanced only by philosophy, that is by the human mind. If authors taking this course find themselves in agreement with Christianity, so much the better for them, or rather so much the worse; but Christianity itself has no right to influence literature. Why? Some openly answer, because Christianity is credulity, superstition, obsolete, childish; because it is unworthy to be the guide of man. Others, whether it be from some remains of veneration or respect, or that they may not startle us too much, lean to the philosophic affirmation. The two domains, they say, ought to be kept distinct; for there is really nothing common between the religious and the literary idea.

At bottom this is but one of the applications of the system which is now proclaimed under the name of *Independent Morality*. Here also the last word is sometimes openly pronounced, and sometimes veiled, but always ends by making its escape. Thus very recently at *Paris* a general meeting of freemasons having decided to preserve at the beginning of the official documents of the order the mention of God, *The Architect of the Universe*, the journal *La Morale Indépen-*

dante, in general sufficiently reserved, pointed to this homage paid to God, vague as it was, and openly represented it as a backward step, a spoke in the wheels of the car of civilization. More recently still, in a congress of workmen at *Lausanne*, the solitary word *Providence* raised a storm; and *Geneva* was all in commotion through the enormities uttered by nearly all the foreign speakers at the Peace Congress held there. Let us then not dissemble it, let us see the true state of things in a large portion of the non-Christian philosophical world. They have resolved to drive out God. Some are more, some less polite; this is all the difference. Thus it is with morality, and thus, to revert to our subject, it is with literature.

Is the divorce, and can it be, so complete as they believe who boast that they have effected it? Or, if you will, pursuing the same figure, have they begun by restoring to Christianity all that it brought to the compact? Before speaking so loftily, that they can and will effect a separation, it may be necessary to see if they really have done it.

Thus, of those who cry to us "We can do without morality," we demand of what morality they speak. If it is the morality of "let us eat and drink," or if under a less brutal form it is the morality of self-interest,—yet, in that case it is separated, and that totally, from the Gospel. We wait to know if this morality is indeed a morality, and if, independent of God, it is not miserably dependant on something else, gross necessities and vile passions. But if it be a question of the highest morality, of principles and precepts concerning our dignity, preparing for real and glorious progress, then, almost at every word we can stop them who preach it, and say to them "All these novelties are old; the Gospel has said all that."

So it will be with all literature that is in any degree elevated. The more it endeavours to maintain itself pure and noble, to prove to us that it can do without the Gospel, the more it will borrow from it. It would be a curious list which should present all the ideas which our age humours itself by ascribing to its own intelligence, all the sentiments which it claims as germinating in its own soil, and which meantime it has received, ready formed from our ancestors, who with greater humility acknowledged that they had received them from God.

Certain ideas, it is true, and certain sentiments have received a new fruitfulness in our day. So new, that one might believe it to be their first appearance in the world. It is undeniable that some Christian principles have lain dormant in former generations. We have better understood, better applied the ideas of humanity, equality, liberty, not indeed always, but certainly in most things; we have made rapid progress in social morality, and we have had in many cases the right to be astonished that this progress remained to be made. All this is

reflected in literature ; but all this too often, instead of rejoicing it simply, which would be proper, and making it bless God, dazzles and blinds it. It is man, it is the human mind, it is society that has done it all, and as literature is the expression of society, it is literature emphatically that believes itself to be the author of progress, the mother of modern civilization.

And thus pride consummates what infidelity commenced. Nothing is due to the Gospel. The ancient poet wrote *Ab Jove principium Musæ!* (The Muses sprung from Jupiter). The modern poet is born of humanity, in other words he is self-begotten. He caresses, he sings the false promise of the serpent, *Eritis sicut Deus!* (You shall be as God). This even he finds too feebly expressed and he translates it, *You shall be God*. Yes ; when literature proclaims its divorce from Christianity, it cannot otherwise than associate itself with the Grand Satanic plot to overthrow the throne of God and substitute for it the throne of man. We do not affirm that all writers who take part in it do it consciously ; some, we are persuaded, would recoil from it. But this is one reason the more why we should not cease to denounce this tendency to unmask it where it is concealed, to record where it shows itself, its avowals and designs. Under graver forms there is here, after another manner, something as bold as the infidelity of the last century. The Voltairian war was in comparison of it but a war of skirmishers. Here meanwhile are battles ; and our contemporary wars with their terrible encounters, their perfected arms, their monstrous engines of destruction, are not more in advance of the wars of a century ago, than the war against religion is in advance of what it was then. Great is the temptation for even an inferior author to undertake a part in such company. Since it is understood that God cannot be dethroned but by a god—this god ; humanity, *man* ; it is not merely man in general, abstract man ; but any man who is bold enough by proclaiming the idea to seize the advantage for himself. And all more or less display this hardihood. In deifying humanity everyone deifies himself ; and God, the true God, becomes an enemy for everyone to conquer, or as a competitor to be crushed. You would think they raved, were you to read what certain writers have said. What they have said is what many more think ; for this is the fundamental dogma of a numerous school.

It is not always easy to distinguish between this school and the second of which I spoke : that which does not break with Christianity, but modifies, arranges, transforms it, and transformed, *humanized*, turns it as it pleases, and makes it end where it will.

Where it will, I say, and here is the point of contact with the first school. An author may believe himself to be very far from it who is really near, very near to it. He may have respected, exalted

even, so perhaps, it appears to him, the throne of God, pulled down by impious hands; but upon that throne he does not place God, he places man. Would you have an example? Here it is:

A book appeared at the beginning of the century which was almost universally hailed as a resurrection of Christianity. The eighteenth century had ended in France in blood and filth; Christianity, threatened with all kinds of attacks, sinking moreover under the weight of abuses and corruptions of every sort, had, as it were, disappeared in the tempest. Behold, all at once he comes who restores it, young, brilliant, bewitching. Everybody is astonished, everybody admires. See, the people say, what has been so much contemned and despised! Nothing more beautiful than poetry, nothing more easy than practice. Some old Christians shook their heads; they found Christianity much changed; they asked, indeed, if this were really it. But the book made its way, and, thoroughly Catholic as it was, many Protestants were at their ease notwithstanding, for it appeared to them preferable to the silence of death which had reigned for ten years in the temples deserted and profaned.

Let us not blame them, then, for having applauded this book. But we, who no longer fear, thank God, that in attacking it we should seem to attack Christianity—we, moreover, to whom the more than sixty years that have passed have disclosed all the error and danger of the book—we can and ought to censure it with all freedom.

Well, under Christian forms—I ought to say Catholic, but let that pass—the religion of CHATEAUBRIAND differs little from that which we have already sketched. Preacher, champion, knight of Christianity, he thought that this outside, historical, archæological, poetical enthusiasm which put the pen, or rather the lance, into his hand, was sufficient. He never inquired, What is Christianity? He gathered up a parcel of shreds wherever he could find them, and with admirable skill he patched them up, and sewed them together, but altogether after a human pattern. The divine pattern, the groundwork, the essentials, *the Genius* never offends even in the title-page of the book, where this word stands so conspicuous; it is misunderstood and travestied. He makes of Christianity a religion in which man has the appearance of seeking after God, but he neither seeks nor finds, and in fact sets off and adores only himself. I could give you the proof of this from almost every page. The great proof, alas! I would show you not in the book, but in the author, as he has painted himself, with a melancholy fidelity, in his *Memoirs*.

Never did any man more openly make himself the centre of his thoughts, and of his life, the solitary object of his worship; never did any man more arrogantly add to the pride of talent a contemptuous and insolent personality; never was any man at

bottom less Christian, I would say whose heart was less open to that spirit which fertilizes and transforms; never was any man who made a profession of Christianity less able to say, and I will add, less desirous of saying, "Christ, who liveth in me."

God will judge him; let us be silent. Only the example and the moral may serve us.

Here, then, under not very different forms, is the strange alliance which many writers in France, and wherever French influence predominates, establish at the present period between Christianity and literature. Christianity is nothing more than a kind of ancient literature freely turned to the profit of the new, absolutely as that of the Greeks or Romans; it is nothing more, philosophically, than a system in presence of which one may feel as free as before PLATO or ARISTOTLE; it is nothing more religiously than what every one chooses to make it, the product, according to some, of conscience, according to others of reason, and of a great number of imagination; in every case, that is, of humanity, of man, and in Christian language of "the old man," of his pride, of his broad conscience and narrow heart.

This reconstruction or rather fabrication of the Gospel is oftentimes made in good faith. All the ignorance and levity which formerly distinguished these attacks are imported into this achievement, which is not believed to be hostile, but often enough even supposed to afford valuable help to Christianity. There is no author of this class who has not said, under some form or other, and no matter in what kind of work, history, romance, drama, even comedy, in some page or line, once at least, but peremptorily and flatly, this is Christianity. Some appear to entertain no doubt that it has ever been anything else than what they describe it, others a little more acquainted with history are not ignorant that it has always been understood differently. But that is not their business. Theirs is the true and only manner of understanding it, and they do not hesitate to let it know that if it is not willing to be that it must forego their support.

Ah! no doubt the Christianity of the Church and of history has given them too much the right to say "No! Jesus could not have taught that." They have heard strange and absurd dogmas affirmed, or additions not less strange made to dogmas originally simple. They know that the scaffolding of abuse rises above it all; they know especially what pitiless severities have been employed in the name of the Gospel against every one who dared not to submit, so that the religion of the Gospel has been long made of all religions the most intolerant and sanguinary. They know, finally, that this frightful way of understanding the claims of truth is not repudiated even now by the representatives and heads of a great church; they have read,

as we have, the *Encyclical* of which the last word must necessarily be, if they proceed to enforce it : *Persecution, Destruction*. These are the phantoms which interpose between them and the Gospel, phantoms, we repeat, which, should the power fall into certain hands, would quickly become formidable realities. Hence a legitimate reaction takes place in their mind and heart, but which, connected with much ignorance of the fundamentals of Christianity, makes them see in it nothing but an appeal to liberty and fraternity.

Christianity, then, is the emancipation of the human race, collectively and individually. Christianity is love to man. Yes, I say emphatically, yes ; but it is something besides, and it is only by being something besides that it can truly be that. The emancipation of the human race ! But if that emancipation does not begin with that which the Gospel presents to us first of all, with liberty to the soul and victory over sin—what can it be ? What is it ? For examples of it abound, and we know too well what liberty without the Gospel is. Love to man ! You make of a consequence a principle, and of a part the whole. Of a Christian without love to his brethren, you would doubtless have a right to say that he was not really a Christian ; but to reverse the idea, to oblige Christianity and the Church to regard as a Christian any one who may have or may profess to have certain sentiments of love—that would be, in the first place, a play upon the word, and it would also miserably weaken the idea. When St. Paul, in a well-known chapter, speaks of love as the sum and the essence of the Gospel, it is because in that love the whole Gospel is concentrated. There is not one of its elements that may not be the substance even of Christian doctrine, not one of its roots that is not fixed in the depths of that faith which the great Apostle preached. But that love which a certain kind of literature extols as if it were a religion, religion indeed itself, not only has no root in the Gospel, not only attaches itself to it, most frequently by words only, but often also aims at demolishing the little of it that remains. Yes, often what is preached under that glorious name is the abandonment of all pure conviction both in morality and religion. It is a refuge for every one, though unwilling to make himself uneasy about the errors that prevail in the world, or public or private disorders. It is an excuse for never being roused to indignation, for letting the world go on as it will, believe as it will, act as it will ; an excuse, above all, for being at peace with oneself after having acted in a cowardly manner towards error and evil. “ I a coward ! No. I am tolerant and charitable. You say subversive ideas are being diffused. Liberty ! liberty ! evil overflows its banks ; corruption invades every class... Ah ! let us leave to preachers such phrases as these. Jesus was more indulgent ”—and thus men succeed in destroying within them strong convictions which have become useless, and moral courage which has become embar-

raising. Yes, employed as it is by many of the authors of the present day, reduced to that feeble sentimentality which has in it nothing of the manly love of the true child of the Gospel, Christianity has undoubtedly contributed in our day to enervate every principle. It has become the pretext for an unlimited complaisance towards all aberrations of the understanding, the heart, and the life.

Strange fact, which shows once more the affinity, so often remarked, of extremes. It is in the Romish Church, the Church of the *Encyclical*, in the face of the strictest formulas of doctrine and a multitude of commands and condemnations, it is there, I say, that this literature has been most fully developed. I do not speak of those writers who have been impelled by its absolute dogmatism to exaggerate liberty, and by its intolerance to view everything in a charitable light. I speak of what has been done in it, if not with its formal approbation, at least without its disapproval, and at any rate under its indirect influence. I might go further; I might point out in Catholic literature, truly and officially Catholic, a large number of works in which Christianity is quite as much weakened and impoverished, and quite as thoroughly reduced to a vague sentimentality. The author doubtless is always careful to keep himself in accordance with the Church by protestations of obedience, and by anathemas, when needed, against infidelity, and especially against heresy: the characters who appear at the scene are always excellent Catholics, respectful and practical. As Christians, what are they? They are worth exactly as much as the author; they are what I have said, and the impulse given increasingly to the worship of the Virgin justifies to the utmost my assertion. Christian principle, the spirit of Christianity is more and more absent from books written under this influence, and all Catholics who remain serious remark it as we do. They could not, they say, imagine BOSSUET writing these trivialities: FÉNÉLON even, who was not always irreproachable in this respect, would, like BOSSUET, be indignant at many a writing of the present day. But when Catholics make this remark they might, if they dared, go still further, and ask themselves if their Church is not, in great measure, really culpable. It is so, indeed, by the incredible indulgence it extends to every writer who does not set himself in hostility to it. Let the principle of authority be preserved,—after that, the Gospel may be arranged at his will. He may, like CHATEAUBRIAND, make of it a course of theatrical decorations; like LAMARTINE, harmonious music to accompany every dream; like others, a poetic pillow of indolent repose for all supineness of intellect and heart. Paganism, which had in reality no doctrines, did not allow to its poets greater liberty than that which, with Christianity, most of these writers allow themselves.

And yet it is they who carry on the religious education of millions; it is from them alone that millions learn, or think they learn, what Christianity is. Can we, after this, be surprised at the profound ignorance which we so often find in matters of religion, amongst persons therein well instructed?

In *France* I have often found it really difficult to trust my ears. This lawyer, this physician, this man of letters, this distinguished merchant, whom I heard say such strange things I was tempted to believe that he was mocking me, the few positive opinions, good or bad, which had formerly been given him in the Catechism, he had long ago lost; he had learnt Christianity again in the journals of the day, in that literature of which I have been speaking;—and perhaps he had himself also, either in prose or in verse, sketched like others his little system of Christianity.

But whether authors or readers, levity alone is not sufficient to explain this: there is a deeper cause. The human heart is often more skilful than it appears to be, more skilful than it imagines itself to be. If so many authors, even serious authors, hardly skim over the surface—and what a surface—of Christian doctrines; if so many readers not only forgive their not going deeper, but find themselves in the same position of ignorance and vagueness,—alas! the ignorance is not so complete as to prevent their suspecting, under that superficiality, more serious things, which would require not only the adhesion of the mind, but a reformation and change of heart. They cannot wholly ignore that Christianity has been for many souls a serious faith, a new life, a close and profound discipline, a warfare of the spirit against the flesh, the kingdom of God, the kingdom of the Holy Spirit; they cannot but suspect that in approaching it nearer they would find themselves in presence of a reality. That is the true reason why they keep at a distance, why they consider it but little, and why, when reading, they are glad to have only to do with writers who, like themselves, have thought little and studied little. These superficial opinions, this homage which involves nothing, these pictures which might be admired like a fine passage of HESIOD celebrating the old worship of Greece, these sentiments by which they are lulled to sleep, this melancholy which may move them even to tears without leading in any way to that hidden sorrow which would call forth faith and grace,—that is what they wish and like, not only because of the charm which they find in it, but also, and above all, to excuse themselves from going further. The heart is willing to be *affected*, but not to be *converted*. The intellect would fear the negations of an undisguised infidelity; it delights in the vague affirmations of a faith which believes little, if it may not be called an intellectual and skilful infidelity.

Let us now turn to those who do not thus understand the

alliance of the Gospel and literature, those who employ their pen in the service of a serious and true faith.

This subject, though time may allow us to pursue it but little, would not lead us to consider exclusively religious writings, properly so called; far from it. We have seen a false Christianity find its place in all kinds of works; true Christianity can also find its place everywhere. But it will not figure on certain pages only, like a bill or a placard; it will penetrate everywhere, or to speak more exactly, it will penetrate everything, like the sap of a tree which flows equally in the trunk and in the smallest branches. This certainly is the finest exemplification of the famous adage, *Le style, c'est l'homme même*. If Christianity is in me what it ought to be, if it has conquered my entire being, heart, soul, intellect,—I, in my totality, as a Christian as well as a writer, shall live in every page, and in some sort in every line that is traced by my pen. And it will not be perceived by Christians only. That same world, superficial and light, that same unbelieving multitude which finds its expectations so well answered by the writings of which we have been just speaking,—will feel itself in quite a different atmosphere in a book that is thoroughly Christian. And yet this book may not be treating of any religious subject. Just as a great painter may be known by a magic stroke, a musician by a single note, so by one single word a Christian may be recognized.

But what I have just said—and I regret that I cannot pursue the subject further—is the fundamental idea of all that I might say on the subject of religious literature in the way of observation or advice. It will never be truly Christian unless the authors are Christians. I hope I am understood. I shall surely be understood also when I say that this indispensable condition, often so badly fulfilled in Catholic literature, is not always much better fulfilled in our own. Sometimes this arises from feeble convictions, sometimes from an exaggerated and ill-directed desire of rendering Christianity acceptable and agreeable. In the last case, we are told that meat is for strong men, and that children need milk. Yes; but it must be a milk that nourishes, that combines within it all the principles of the meat. At other times, in the midst of a vague religiousness, the formulas of the strictest, most positive dogmatism are thrown in by the writers as if to recover lost ground, and to justify themselves. A bad method. Dogma must be everywhere, but it must everywhere be living and the source of life. Before passing into your book, it must penetrate your heart. It must not be your conviction merely, an affair of the head, but your faith, the nourishment and even the substance of your soul. Then it will show itself naturally in your pages; then they will be at the same time both meat and milk, the nourishment of the strong and of the feeble. Who has not remarked the happiness with which even an old man reads a book written for children, but good, really good,

that is really Christian? Who has not heard, in some country parish, a sermon by which the peasant and the learned man were equally edified.

To solve the problem, I ask, what was that sermon? It was simply Christian. Let us not then be told with the poet, "Criticism is easy, and art is difficult." It is not a question of art here. Art cannot give to a writing what we require to recognize it as Christian; it can only at the utmost hide the absence of it a little. Art here is faith, a living faith, and the great, the only artist, is God, who alone can give us this faith.

But this great idea, like every other, has been exaggerated and falsified. A book, however much it may be Christian, is a book,—and art, human art, has in every kind of book its rights. This has been forgotten, it appears to me, by most authors; they imagine that the end, or even less, a good intention, is enough. Some, destitute of what may be called talent, and even (which is rare) conscious of it, and owning it with perfect humility, write and publish incessantly; others, capable of doing better, persons sometimes of real talent, treat the religious public in an unmannerly way, which they would certainly not permit in other people. Let us be severe on this point; first, of course, with ourselves; let us be so also in all charity, but in all sincerity, with others; and let us not feel ourselves bound to accept and to commend every work which may recommend itself by good doctrines and good intentions. This pious familiarity of many religious authors, are we right in saying that the public have not alone reason to complain of it? It is a want of respect towards the things of God, and towards God Himself; and just as it would be wrong to put talent alone in the place where faith should be—so that holy cause has a right to require of us, when we employ our pen in its service, that it should be with all the care of which we are capable, and all the talent which God has imparted to us.

But notwithstanding these remarks, and others which might be made, whether general or applicable to any particular country, the vast field of our religious literature is still one of the beautiful spectacles of this age, and provided we give the glory to God, we may well be proud of it. If we regard it only as one of the branches of human industry, we may say that there is perhaps none which has produced so much or made so much progress in the last sixty years. Books for children, formerly so rare, are in themselves an entire literature. Youth, mature age, old age, all conditions, all situations have their pasture perpetually renewed. There is the same richness in every department of instruction. Here certainly it is not all progress, far from it; and we know too well with what sorrowful negations certain works are filled. But we know also what activity the attacks have inspired in the defence, and with how

many writings as learned as they are pious the arsenal of apologetics has in every Protestant country been enriched.

The history of Christianity, of the Church, and the Churches has been the subject of immense works. Popular conferences on all kinds of subjects relating to religion and the Church have established between studious men and men of all classes fruitful and happy relations out of which an entire literature has arisen. To all those books which directly pertain to us, must be added those which we claim as written under our influence,—I mean beyond the circle of Catholic influence, in the spirit of faith and liberty which is ours; all those again which, though prepared for Catholics, copy our philosophers, our historians, our romance writers, our popular authors, even those which are placed in the *Index at Rome*. It would indeed be a curious exhibition in which, on the one hand, should be ranged the literary productions of pure Catholicism, and on the other those of evangelical Christianity and all that are connected with it. On the Romish side would be found apocryphal biographies, filled for the most part with absurdities; fantastical decrees, a medley of liberal philosophism and rigid ultramontaniam; books of so-called history, in which history is made to be nothing more than the humble servant of the Church, and above all of the Papacy; controversial books in which calumnies and abuse occupy almost always the foremost place; insipid romances, and books from time to time more Christian at the first blush, but looked at more closely only more ingenious—evangelical in manner, but ultracatholic in reality;—these and such like are presented to us, and in some countries still less, much less, for there are neither writers nor readers. Avert your eyes. Some books, as I have said, distress us deeply. Others comfort us. What riches pass in review! What arms to exhibit to friends and foes! What meat for the strong! What milk for babes! What immense and fruitful activity of thought from the light and by the warmth of the Gospel.

Finally, you may see this imaginary exhibition realized, in some sort, in a part of that which at this moment is attracting to Paris people and monarchs. Near the principal entrance the stranger who turns to the right sees Catholicism on one side and Protestantism on the other. Catholicism presents an elegant church full of the instruments of worship, altars, pictures, splendid vestments, candles, vessels of holy water, censers, male and female saints, doleful idols, one of which especially, a young dead girl, *chef d'œuvre*—I will not say of what; it would hardly be tolerated in a theatre. Protestantism, on the opposite side, shows a large museum also full of idols, but of idols brought by missionaries from the altars of converted heathens; another full of Jewish antiquities, of its temple, its prophets, and obsolete economy, by means of which our faith travels

up to the first days of the world; a chapel in which the Gospel is daily preached in the different languages of Europe; a bookstall at which is sold in a hundred and seventy languages the Book which we carry to the ends of the earth;—in a word, mind liberated from the yoke of forms, faith lifting men up to God alone, worship in spirit and in the life. Yes! we occupy a noble place in that bazaar of all nations, and thanks be to God, it is a symbol of the place we occupy in the world, men of the Bible, men who “worship in spirit and in truth,” men of free thought, and gloriously submitting to its only legitimate sovereign—God. May God enable us to keep this place! Above all may He make us worthy of it!

CHRISTIANITY AND ART.

BY DR. L. R. BEYNEN,
OF THE HAGUE.

CHRISTIANITY and Art are two spheres in the spiritual universe, concerning whose mutual obligation and reciprocal influence in our times (I mean since the French Revolution) many important thoughts have been developed,—especially from the side of Protestantism. No wonder! The earnestness of our days is too great to permit us to leave a beautiful and divine gift like Art unemployed in the work of Christian education, the development and elevation of the soul, as has hitherto, in general, been too often done in the Protestant, and especially in the Reformed territory: more especially since Art was always the vehicle for the highest aspirations of mankind, and, until the Reformation, was everywhere most closely united with religion. In consequence of the dimmed consciousness of God possessed by the heathen, it was Art which really governed their religion; and in Greece, for example, where it was a national gift, guided by old traditions, had called into being an entire world and worship of Gods, whose deep thoughts and beauteous forms are still viewed by us with admiration, and used for the greater development of our boys and youths.

Among the Israelites, “to whom were entrusted the oracles of God,” Art served their worshippers for the expression of the most exalted poesy in prophecy and psalmody, whilst the art of sculpture was limited to the temple. During the periods of idolatry it was misapplied, by a transgression of the second command, to the making images of God, as was done by the heathen, a sin whose condemnation was so often pronounced by the prophets.

In the middle ages the communities which were formed among the uncivilized and rude peoples, through their child-like undeveloped consciousness of God, were still obliged to look upon much, even with the material eye. From Rome the Church had spread itself chiefly over Europe, and from Rome had she also brought with her, for religious worship, much that was Roman, much that was

heathen, much that was externally artificial. This was employed, ennobled, and exalted by the Christian spirit; and we must confess that there was a time in which the Church of the middle ages exhibited, for the spiritual development of those days in the Christian humanity, a beautiful entirety, which was revealed in unity of belief and of Art, and numbers a DANTE, a GIOTTO, an ALLEGRI, among her noblest representatives. . . . But though belief, here and there indeed much belief was found, revealing itself in admirable deeds of love and self-denial, yet we must confess that it still showed itself too much as an external service of God, and exhibition of God, that it further, through the sensual charm of the visible magnificence of the Church, lost at once the worship in spirit and in truth, and, so doing, suffered shipwreck, and that not without the influence of Art, in its inner divine spiritual life.

II.

That spiritual life was again roused in the sixteenth century by the stirring language with which the Lord filled the heart of Luther. The unity of the Church, as well as that of Art and Church, was broken to pieces. Various Protestant communions sprang up, in accordance with the nature and requirements of the different nationalities: the Episcopal, the Lutheran, and the Reformed or the Presbyterian. The two first-named issued from the Roman Catholic communion, but the first retained still the Episcopate with its pomp and ornaments, whilst the other modified the central point and heart of the Roman Catholic Church, *the Host*, to whose exaltation the whole sacred service, as well in the stately cathedral as in the humble village church, was applied. Consubstantiation took the place of transubstantiation, and at the celebration of the Holy Supper a common table could not suffice to bear the real spiritual body and blood of the Lord, but an altar was required with some adornments, with which all the surroundings must be in harmony, whilst the blissful feeling of being righteous before God only through faith, without the works of the law, united with the German spirit of the greater part of the Lutheran believers, was obliged to express itself in an art-treasure of sacred songs.

In these communions therefore, after their internal reformation and secession from Rome, Art remained not only not a stranger to religious worship, but, up to a certain degree, continued to lend her aid to the exhibition of the Divine.

III.

But the Reformed Church acted in a different manner. She did not come out of the Church, like the Anglican, that she might be relieved from the papal sway; or like the Lutheran, from

a burning thirst after grace, to be free from the insufferable yoke of the works of the law. But the Reformed separated and tore themselves loose from a Church, which with all her external magnificence, and with all her treasures of Art, heaped together through centuries, was to them nothing but a godless Babel of lies and injustice, and whose capital truth, the mystery of the altar, the centre of worship, was, in reality, nothing but "abominable idolatry." Art was hunted away from the threshold, and the community took its place between the naked walls of the plundered churches, which it had taken from the arch foe; public worship was narrowed into a service of instruction; even the notes of the organ must be silent, for this was merely pleasure, and the song of the community ought to arise powerfully but inartificially to the delivering God, who had drawn them out of the snares of Satan, and from the lust of the world and of sin, unto the Lord Jesus; but the songs must be David's old, sacred Psalms. These, indeed, best answered the wants of their souls, and according to the regulations of the different Synods, no other songs were permitted at the religious services of the Reformed Church. And, with regard to images, or paintings, or ornaments, for giving splendour to the general assemblage, or leading the soul on high, the feeling was clearly expressed in the answer to the 97th question of the Catechism, which was directed against Luther, who had asserted that we might consider the representation of holy persons or histories in the Church as "books for the uneducated."

The answer runs thus: "We must not be wiser than God, who will have His Christians taught, not by dumb images, but by the lively preaching of His Word." That lively preaching of the Word for the conversion of sinners, and for the strengthening and edifying of the faithful, was the centre of their public worship, of their domestic worship, of their life. The Word, as the expression of God's free and almighty sovereignty, was the key-note of their heart, and Art, therefore, sank from before them as an idle diversion, as a worldly amusement, as an unholy work, which remained at discord with the sorrows of the cross, and an offence, yea, even a mockery, for a Church which was founded in the blood of martyrs.

IV.

This condition lasted till the French Revolution. Then the churches began to be separated from the State. Knowledge had increased, and the limits of thought were extended. Science with her results laid a heavy weight in the scale of life. Development and civilization increased, chiefly in consequence of improved education, and extended in every direction, and, just as three centuries before the community had arisen from a more external service of God and activity for God

to an inward belief and firm confession of what were called the truths of salvation, so in our days this belief and confession rise and unfold themselves in a divine life through and in the Lord Jesus. Confessions could now no longer serve as a touchstone of truth, and means for the union of the faithful; but, alas! too often appeared as walls of separation, which kept Christians of different communities apart from each other. No! life excites life, and draws life to itself, according as it rises, and is ennobled; the consciousness has sprung up among the faithful of different communions that their life, by which they are drawn to one another, is *the life of the Lord Jesus*, which must increase in and through Him, because He Himself is the life, and that the expression of the confession, and even the experience of the truths of the confession, is less exact than the "growth and increase in the knowledge and grace of Him," who is always the Truth itself.

This change of position in the Christians of different communions to each other, and to their churches, necessarily brings along with it a changed position to the world. Every written law, or command, or article, must define and restrict itself according to its nature. Every real noble life must extend and increase according to its nature. The peculiar feature of all Church communities, in spite of the real life of God which existed in them, like that of every association which is held together by external bonds (and this external bond passed for religion itself, with many members of those communities who possessed no living faith), is isolation, isolation from everything external; and that was and remained nothing but strange ground, hostile territory. This gave a new earnest attitude to Christians, and that in no small degree to the Reformed, the sons of the martyrs, who always discussed as theologians, and dogmatized over the most abstruse words of Scripture; but it was the earnestness of austerity, the earnestness of severity. It was the earnestness—and this characterizes particularly the spirit of the Reformed Church—it was the earnestness of repentance, for itself as well as for others. But, though this may be Evangelical, and exalted, and noble, yet it is not the highest, it is not the holiest, it is not the truest earnestness; it is not the earnestness of the Lord Jesus, and of His spirit; it is not the earnestness of love. It was the earnestness of a John, clothed in camel's hair and withdrawing into the wilderness, though at the same time certifying of the Greater One, whom all must follow. That Mightier One is come in the likeness of sinful flesh; He has become in all things like unto us; He was among His own eating and drinking, and speaking, and teaching, and healing, and preaching the Gospel to the poor; and when He had fulfilled the whole law, He bore the curse of the law in His body on the cross, and so He has reconciled guilty humanity which has transgressed the law with

God. And now he speaks to every one who has become His through faith: Behold the world, it is the field of your labour; of every thing ye shall eat and enjoy it; ye shall call everything yours; only do it in faith, for—"Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." "All things are yours and ye are mine."

v.

And the consequence of all this? That you have already discovered. Upon that field of the world Art grows and flourishes to the honour of God, when it is cherished by Christian hearts and practised by Christian hands. But this same Art plays about in wild and unchecked flames where it is applied, as in France for instance, by the unbelieving realistic school to the tickling of the senses, in the service of sin and the world, just in as great a degree as it stands apart from God. This remark is indeed an important one, to which you give your assent; it cannot satisfy the consciousness of the community in our days, which in the midst of her sorrow and suffering, through her strife and combats, is brought and led to a deeper view of the great Son of God, Incarnate God, and Son of Man. If it be true, as it indeed is, that in the conception of the divine humanity, all apparent contradictions in the spiritual world find their solution, contradictions of word and letter, of belief and knowledge, of divine and human freedom of grace and nature, of God above nature, and God in nature, of God without us, and of God within us,—in a word, of heaven and earth, of time and eternity,—then for such a Christian consciousness the relation of Christianity and Art must be this; visibility may be the watchword for the developing instruction in the schools; in the Church community Art cannot be any longer an integral portion of religious worship, or serve to a making manifest of the divine; and where that still exists it must gradually decrease, because the community must always be led and directed according to an inner spiritual view of the holiest, *i. e.*, of the Son of God, and must attain thereto by a powerful preaching of the complete Gospel, so that the Holy Ghost may work with it in the heart to repentance and conversion. That preaching must be effective by being simple and clear; and every thing which takes away from that, even if it be by means of artifices in the preaching itself, injures, confines, and hinders its force. But let a man once, by God's grace, become a partaker with the Son, and so possess in himself the true life, then is it again the precious duty of the Christian, as an individual, not to turn away from artistic gifts and artistic powers, or to repress them in himself or in others, as formerly, but to cherish them with all his force, to exercise them and apply them in God's honour to the training of children, to the development of mankind, and to the exaltation of his own soul. We go even further. It is not every

man who can be a Dante, a Shakspeare, a Handel or Bilderdyk, but yet every one must so far "*covet after the best gifts*," that he attempt to become, and do, something, to create something; to be original (in a word, to be and show himself as himself), and thus to print upon his work, his words, his aims, that character and mark which became his property in his intercourse with the Lord Jesus, that form which his Lord has attained to in him. And so, just as each one shall once receive that name from God, which no one knows but he who has received it, because that name shall be the expression of his whole life, and therefore, as it were, will exhibit the features of his most inmost personality, wherein he alone shall speedily recognize himself,—our highest ability, *i. e.*, our Arts, must also extend itself, so that we attempt to give in everything the best of ourselves, or rather ourselves in everything, in order to remain fresh, and new, and young in divine power. And because men have not sought these things diligently enough in faith, men have hitherto found them rare; for he only finds that seeks, says the Lord. Art is the highest extension and elevation of human power. What more natural than that it should raise itself to the highest, the most beautiful, the holiest—to God himself? Do we not then see that the greatest artists have been religious artists in their works, and that the greatest masterpieces, in every field of Art, have exalted God and divine things? As Art has thus felt itself constantly drawn to religion and Christianity, and Christianity has applied and continues to apply Art on the Roman Catholic soil, in accordance with a religious consciousness, which is far inferior to ours, whilst the Reformed Church turned away from Art in accordance with principles and an adaptation of the Gospel to life, through which the Church is to rise triumphant: so the time seems come for us, when Christianity must take up Art in its life and works, when Christians, every one in his degree and ability, must be and become an artist; as, for instance, SOCRATES asserted that every one was an orator in that which he thoroughly understood; as BILDERDYK said that every man was a born poet, if the gift were but developed in him.

That gift—and these are our concluding words—that poetic gift of exalting the soul by, as it were, bringing everything, even the most common things of daily life, under the light of eternity; by constantly standing with its most inmost feelings under the cross of the Lord, and there regarding everything from the exalted stand-point of the truth; by making everything that is good, and beautiful, and noble, and touching, and ennobling it with the magic wand of love,—that gift shall be developed in us more and more, and bear fair fruits, if we only ourselves strive to become daily more masterpieces of God; for even God is called an artificer in the Scriptures, and the masterpiece of His hands is Man, created after His image and likeness.

And though that image may be miserably deformed, and that likeness oftentimes no longer recognizable on account of sin, yet still there is recovery.

A new way is opened for us, a way of belief, of conversion, of love; in that way we become a new creature, a creature of God, created in the Lord Jesus Christ to good works. So must we then be built up in the Spirit for a habitation of God, from whom all genius, and every talent, and every power comes down among men, that they may thereby mutually glorify Him in His most excellent gift, which is Jesus Christ our Lord. He must rule in all our efforts and works, in our Art and Science. He must remain our honour, our glory, our excellence, our immoveable heavenly joy, in life and in death.—Amen.

CHRISTIANITY AND SCIENCE.

BY J. H. GUNNING, JUN.,

OF THE HAGUE.

YESTERDAY, one of those speakers whose words will have left a lively impression upon your hearts mentioned a name that must surely call forth the deepest sense of gratitude in the Christian Church: it is the name of AUGUSTINE, a man to whom the Christian Church owes a world of gratitude.

On hearing that name, I reverted in mind to centuries back, and I fancied myself standing in that simple room in the town of *Hippo*, where, amidst the din and confusion of a besieged city—for the Vandals lay before it—AURELIUS AUGUSTINE was dying. We possess many interesting particulars in connexion with that death, which we here, however, must pass over.

But one of them I must mention. AUGUSTINE raised his feeble head to beg his friends and faithful disciples to take care of and protect the library and those manifold books which it had been his care, during his life, to collect, and which the dying bishop considered the means of preserving the faith, and without which, according to his opinion, its purity could not be maintained.

There is a great analogy between the Past and the Present, and it is for this reason that I desire to recall the Past to your memory. At present, too, the Christian Church, like *Hippo* of old, is besieged by a mighty force; but the Church shall come forth a conqueror, for she is better defended and protected than *Hippo* was against the attack of the Vandals.

In the Christian Church we behold a serious crisis, a condition that reminds us very forcibly of a scene portrayed by the prince of our ancient poets, the author of “Gysbrecht van Amstel.” While the castle is being besieged a warrior enters the chapel where the nuns are chanting, and exclaims: “God keep us! is it now a time to sing? The enemy is before the gate, ready to batter it down!”*

* “Dat God ons allen helpe! is't un een tijd van zingen?
De vijand staat gereed de slotpoort te bespringen!”

Often it seems that Science, based upon the Word of God, is, as it were, dying. But like the spirit of Augustine has continued to live in those who have built on the true foundation of Christianity, so the conviction will remain indelible in the Christian Church, that between faith and Science there is a most intimate link existing, that faith is the soil from which Science draws its nourishment.

That faith which we confess does not stand *in opposition* to Science; no faith has Science in herself, and to the prophetic spirit in the Church is it only given to understand the scientific *portée* of faith. This prophetic spirit calls forth a just comprehension and understanding of God's object and design in His actions; it is the spirit that makes the Christian understand what God's intentions are in the events and words in which He reveals Himself. If we rightly understand this spirit, then the Christian Church is not, as it were, a dark and dreary island, threatening to be overwhelmed by the ocean of Science, or where the Christian Church is forced to erect all kinds of dykes to protect herself against the raging billows of so-called Science. No; the Christian Church is the light of the world, and around her is darkness. The Christian Church is not vanquished, but she vanquishes. The Christian Church has not only to *endure* assaults, but she declares war too. Her calling is to fight and to *conquer*, and this she certainly will, when the Word of God has sunk sufficiently deep into the hearts of all. If we all feel convinced that to be a Christian signifies the same as to become a new creature in the Holy Ghost, and that we must live and speak in the strength of the Holy Ghost, then surely the chief idea from which I proceed, that Christianity is called to give liberty to science, will be fully admitted.

As long as such language is addressed to an audience, sympathizing with this feeling, all is well, but as soon as it is heard in the great forum of this world's *savants*, a disdainful shrug of the shoulders will doubtless be the answer. You speak to us of liberty, they say, but we have liberty without you, and liberty you yourself do not possess. Although the Christian Church may not be able to understand it, nevertheless the world goes on without you. You come too late with your arrogant assertion that you are the masters of Science, from all sides the way thereto has been cut off to you. What will you do? look up to the heavens? Astronomy has swept away your fancied firmament. To the earth? Geology has taken from you the ground whereon you imagined you stood. Behind you? Criticism has already pronounced its condemnatory sentence on your fantastic and singular Past. Before you? Science, modern Science, has already long been busy in taking away the difference between things holy and profane, and thus annulling the actual reason of your existence.

And what is our answer to this? It is that we have and feel liberty to raise our voices against that language of the *savants*. We

are quite willing to descend, and enter the lists on the ground you have chosen ; we do not desire to abide on unapproachable heights, and there pronounce mere oracles. No ; we will first of all call the undeniable facts of history to witness against you. And what do these declare ? That all ideas and systems which have shown themselves inimical to the faith can be reduced to three forms. First, pantheism, which has at all times denied the world for a God ; secondly, materialism, that has denied God at all times for a world ; and thirdly, that system to which the great mass hold, a system fluctuating between these two, viz., *rationalism*, which arbitrarily endeavours to unite them. I wish to make this clear by an example. Pantheism is the fundamental thought of mental philosophy, which is at present regarded with so much contempt, though wrongfully so ; and which, from DESCARTES to HEGEL, has endeavoured to explain the mystery of the universe. The last philosophy of HEGEL is considered as a dead thing, since HEGEL has ceased to *think* its God.

The last word of that branch of Science which pretends to some authority is *materialism*, which looks down upon modern theology with profound contempt, as upon one who has remained behind from sheer fear. But, indeed, this so-called theology is nothing else but amphibious Science, and a belief resting upon frivolity.

But what does history teach us ? It informs us that at all times the Christian faith has gloriously withstood these three systems, and has always come forth victorious. And we may expect the same now, if we will but seriously and earnestly believe it.

And what may we learn from these three forms or systems which are repeatedly returning ?

That if we wish this contest to have a satisfactory issue we must, in the present time, meet our opponent in the field of psychology.

Everything depends upon this : Do we who believe live in the Holy Spirit, or not ? Do we who believe, and, as members of the Christian Church, evince an interest in science, participate in this divine life, or do we not ?

If we have this divine life, then we behold with a clear eye, then that which is to us supernatural is clearer and more tangible than what is called natural.^a

Anybody in this world who would deny the existence of trees and mountains would be considered a fool ; but he who denies God is often thought a deep thinker. In the Christian Church this ought to be simply held to : He who says there is no God, is a fool.

Perhaps it is necessary to say a word concerning the term, generally not understood, *supernatural*.

It is not perfectly out of faith to give the precedence to the supernatural. According to the Word of God this is the question : Is this world, which surrounds us, a really natural or a *sub-natural*

world? And then this world is the sunk, the fallen, the sub-natural world, but the Spirit of God makes man, and the creation through *man*, again a natural world.

Those amongst us who practise medicine, will certainly agree with me that, in our days, physicians are one and all endeavouring to make their patients follow, as much as possible, the laws of Hygiene. They say to those who are healthy: Live so that you prevent disease,—in other words, prevention is better than cure.

This now, applied to our subject, furnishes us with this rule: Before all things it is necessary to know what must be the state of the mind of man, in order to see the things of this world and the objects of Science as they really are. And then surely the simple word, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, unless a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God," is applicable to Science and all its divisions; and as all that is terrestrial is founded on what is eternal, he will not see the things of this world either.

According to this train of thought it must be acknowledged that when we inquire after the *natural* man, we must say that the *true* man is not found in the first Adam, but in the second Adam.

But, it may be asked, what has Science, which is a thing of the head, to do with the *state* of our hearts? What, for instance, has mathematics, what has natural philosophy to do with faith? Surely, for Science nothing else is required but a sharp intellect. We reply: Every deep thinker will acknowledge that the foundation whereon these sciences, as well as all others, rest, stands in the closest connection with the human heart. And it must also not be forgotten that the most profound problems of that Science have their source whence all life and light have their origin.

What must the Christian Church think of science, according to these principles, according to this basis? She is called earnestly to love and watch over Science—that is, the explanation of what exists. Those amongst them who received the glorious gift of Science, should develop the same in great love, and the Church is just so called to value these labours.

And let me address you in a word which has its rise in the very depth of my heart. You who confess Christ, you who devote yourselves to the Mission and its holy cause, you who long to mitigate existing misery, pray also for the cause of Science. Hold prayer meetings for Christian Science. Know that it is your calling to honour Science, not as an ornament, as a kind of luxury, which may perhaps be well enough for some special minds, but in reality is of no importance to the Church. You say: What is Science to me? All I care for is to know whether I love Jesus, if my life is hid in Him. But do not forget that in this same Jesus all the riches of wisdom and knowledge are hid. Acquire a deeper knowledge of the

Lord Jesus. It is not permitted for you to leave untouched what He desires to give you. His wish is that we should say: Lord, I thirst for Thee, for the living waters that flow from Thee. We thirst for Thy fulness.

TERTULLIAN erred seriously when he exclaimed: "What has Jerusalem to do with Athens?" That word was not from God. Jerusalem *has* something to do with Athens. To the latter Jerusalem can say: With all thy civilization and polished manners, with all thy glorious buildings and treasures of wisdom and Science, God has winked at the times of thy ignorance, but now proclaims to thee, on the basis of a new life of the mind, a new and higher Science, viz.—the Science of faith.

Jesus Christ is the foundation of the new life in man, as we have just now heard it, most eloquently, said, that He was also *the* model for the artist and for man. I must then also most seriously beg you to remember that the calling of us all is not simply to contemplate these things as an edifying thought. No, we must proclaim these things to the world, that knows not Christ, with that calmness which is sure of victory. We must return to Him, for in Him is life. This position must be maintained by word and deed. That fundamental thought we must maintain as the first of truths. We must, as the Athenian general said at Salamis, "Strike, but hear me," exclaim, though the so-called *savants* may laugh heartily at us, Strike and reject me, but hear me. It is God who will speak the last word, that God who once said, "Let there be light, and there was light."

Let me conclude with a reference to the Prince of Poets, a man not belonging to *our* nation, but to one of those which is represented here by many brethren. It is a word of SHAKSPEARE'S, known to many in the Christian Church as a man who profoundly understood the secrets of the human heart, and how to elucidate them. There is an analogy between the image of *Prospero* that he has sketched us in his *Tempest*, and the position that Science holds in the present day. Behold *Prospero*, the solitary outcast on his island. Through the medium of higher light, coming from a spiritual word, he has delivered Ariel; he has also saved other spirits that were in bondage, and has been permitted to employ them in his service. The spirits in bondage are criticism, exegesis, history, and all those things which belong to Science. They too are waiting for their *Prospero* for Christian faith, not as their enemy, but as their saviour and deliverer, who will set them free from the bonds of prejudice and of unbelief, and then they will serve him in future with gratitude.

But I will not end with Shakspeare, which might appear as if we were forgetting the holy seriousness of our subject; I will mention an image far better than that of *Prospero*. I draw your attention to that

Good Shepherd, who takes the lost sheep, as Science also would call itself, on His shoulders, and brings it back to the flock, so that the angels may rejoice in the unspeakable wisdom of God.

Well, then, he who believes these things has nought to fear. Within him he has a delightful sense of strength, the calm certitude of the coming victory, and this is a feeling that nothing can take from us. He who believes in Christ does not fear for his Lord, nor for the Church, nor for Science, nor for himself. There is only *one* thing he dreads, and that is the fate of his unhappy opponent.

DISCUSSION.

Count POURTALES, as one of the Honorary Presidents, occupied the chair.

The Rev. Dr. KOGEL, *Court Chaplain at Berlin*, spoke as follows:—Although unprepared, I ask permission to speak a few words, for my love to Holland and thankfulness for all I have enjoyed here makes me ready. During six happy years I have served in the Gospel the German congregation of the *Hague*. If ever I could forget Holland, the stones of Germany would rise up against me. But this is not the moment for giving vent to my heart's emotions; let me only speak a few words in my dear Holland on some of the highest topics of Christian truth—the Gospel in its connection with *Art, Science, Popular Instruction, and Nationality*. About *Christian Art* I have heard here glowing and eloquent words. Yes, I too believe the Gospel is the true, purifying salt; we may never condemn Art when, as a Mary of Bethany, it sits down at the feet of Jesus to learn the words of life from His lips. If it does not this, Art is the evil spirit, presiding at BELSHAZZAR's table to scoff at what is holy. Yes, there is a Christian Art; that which built the Gothic cathedrals, and animated the great masters in music. Every Christian ought to hope and pray that the Lord would make artists his labourers, turning the hearts of others to what is pure and lovely and good. Then we have heard that for *Science* also the Gospel is a salt—a wonderful and valuable salt. When the Gospel and Science stand against each other, Science ceases to be real Science, and the Gospel is no true Gospel, for God is the same everywhere, the God of truth and of mercy, the God of nature and of history. We act as traitors to Christianity when we deny the holy vocation of Science and Instruction. The Sun of Righteousness gives the light of real Science too, and in Jesus Christ are hid all the treasures of wisdom. We need not know anything save Christ, and Him crucified, because in this great central truth other truths are enclosed. So for *Popular Instruction*, too, the Gospel is the only really preserving salt. The Honourable Mr. GROEN called upon us to pray for Holland and for its schools, that the Gospel and the Bible may come to have their right place again. So it ought to be. If you do not give

the Gospel to your children, you are unworthy of the fathers, who left you that Gospel as their legacy. Once LUTHER, walking with MELANTHON, passed a farmer's house, when he heard children praying for the success of the Reformation, and he said: "Now all is right, and we need not be afraid, since the children's prayers are for us." So it is. The faithful *Amen* of Christian children is mightier than the world's wisdom and power. And lastly, what shall we say about Christianity and *Nationality* after all we have heard on that topic to-day? There too the Gospel is the nutrifying salt of social life. With every nationality, but more especially with yours, my Dutch friends, Christianity is most intimately connected. We read on the wall of this hall the sententious device of your old coin: *Hanc tuemur, hac nitimur*. This (liberty) we defend; on this (the Bible) we rest. So let it be! Popular faith and popular liberty are one and indivisible. Yes, even between different people the Gospel is the true international link. This we all experience here. The Gospel is the true solution of all social and political questions. It is stronger than the discordances of men. Alas, why so often between different Church denominations or even between individual Church members is unity and love undermined by ungodly strifes? Dear friends, let that other sentence inscribed on the walls of this Hall, be engraved in our hearts, and remain the device of our whole life, *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas!*

Professor T. G. LANGE, of Bonn:—I, for my part, am of opinion that a wrong use of common and often repeated words is a fruitful source of dangerous misunderstanding. So, for instance, often *Science* is mentioned as if it ought to be in antagonism with faith and Christianity. This, however, is really not the case. Let us see how the heroes of modern Science, those occupying the *first* scientific rank, stand towards Christianity. We will not mention the more ancient names, those of COPERNICUS, KEPPLER, NEWTON, PASCAL. We come to our own days, and ask who then are the paragons of Science? Who the father of physiology? ALBRECHT VON HALLER. Who the father of the *philosophical history of mankind and nationalities*? HERDER. Who the father of *scientific geography*? RITTER. Who that of *comparative zoology*? CUVIER. All truly religious, if not decided Christian men. This is one of the reasons why we should not give way to too great a despondency, when we see the awful increase of unbelief and ungodliness. But there is more. In days of open and fierce strife between Gospel-truth and its antagonists, it is quite natural that all those who only outwardly belong to Christianity should desert thus, increasing the ranks of our enemies. But this really ought not to afflict us, for to these deserters, we may apply the words of the Apostle John: "They went out from us, but they were not of us." In the great battle of life for Christian truth the three hundred of Gideon are more than the thousands of the Midianites. But then let us have an open eye for the faults and sins of ourselves and those standing on our side. By a humble confession of sins alone we can be strong, by this alone have God Himself for our ally. So it appears to me that, in the works of

Christian zeal and love, there is often too much of external religiousness, not enough of real spiritual piety; that there is to be found among Christians more *philanthropic combating of misery* than *evangelic contending against sin*. There seems to be some danger, that the *source* of all misery should be forgotten by attending merely to its *results*. Let us have a feeling and sympathizing heart for every bleeding wound of humanity and pour into it the balm of the Gospel, but never, meanwhile, forgetting that the true deliverance is the salvation of the soul, and that Jesus Christ gives the effectual medicine for all evil and suffering, by healing the soul.

Pastor WILHELM PRESSEL, of *Wankheim*:—Glory be to the Lord, our King and Saviour, who thus brought us here together! His holy will is that the whole of mankind should be *formed and educated*. But educated by whom, formed to what example? The answer must be: After the pattern of Christ, who must live in our hearts. Dear friends, there is a kind of *sham-Christian* civilization, which looking only to outward appearances, forgets the spiritual education of the personal individuality, as there is an *anti-Christian*, modern civilization, denying Christ's divine virtues and value, and leading to modern Paganism. Both these are in complete antagonism to that true education of mankind which elevates sinners to God. Really, the combined strength of these two tendencies must not be taxed too low, knowing that the truth of God and Christ's holy Gospel can never be expelled, nevertheless we must deplore that many are bereft of their faith, and that the storm making the ground tremble under our feet, and disturbing the atmosphere wherein we live, though unable to uproot the tree of life and to shake the rock of ages, causes many to be shipwrecked in their faith and hopes. The more strenuously should we struggle against the reigning evil spirit of the age, but not by forfeiting Science and Art. PAUL at Athens knew how to appreciate the works of Grecian Art and elegance—not by burning libraries, like the caliphs of Alexandria, but by acknowledging that religion, the Christian religion alone has *truth and happiness* for lost sinners, for poor forlorn mankind. What Athens had not with all its eloquence and philosophy and luxury, with all that can make earthly life pleasant and enjoyable—what Athens had not, having no knowledge of salvation and eternal life, HE had, and he has still—God's only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, in whom alone is all our wisdom and happiness, and to whom be the glory for ever and ever! Amen.

Rev. S. H. PETTINGELL, of *New York*, remarked that the same struggle of faith and unbelief of Christianity and worldly wisdom is found everywhere in Christian countries, in America as well as here. The great ocean separates the New World from the Old, but the same wants bind Christians of both hemispheres together. The same social questions discussed here to-day, are there too brought before the judgment of the people, though in a somewhat altered light, in the democratic organization of the still growing commonwealth.

Rev. P. HUET, of the *Cape of Good Hope*, gave a nearly similar

testimony respecting *South Africa*. There also (he said) we have the same conflicts as in *Europe*. The armies on both sides are gathering up their strength, and it is everywhere felt that a separation is necessary between believers in the Lord, and the enemies of the Cross. But under these circumstances we feel the necessity of *union* and the blessing of an assembly like this. The Evangelical Alliance is not merely a *name*, a new *idea*; it is a *reality*, a *fact*. Its manifestations may be imperfect, as are all things here, yet it is a shadow of what will be seen perfect and holy in Heaven.

Count POURTALES offered his thanks to the speakers; and the meeting, after singing, was closed with prayer by Dr. KOGEL.

IV.

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY.

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY AND
POPULAR LITERATURE; BY
ARCHDEACON SCHAUBACH OF
MEININGEN.

THE GOSPEL AND THE MASSES;
BY REV. J. H. WILSON, LONDON.

THE SOCIAL EVIL; BY PASTOR
BASTIAN, BERNBURG.

SAME SUBJECT; BY MR. J. STABB,
LONDON.

INTEMPERANCE; BY PASTOR
BLEIBTREU, DUISBURG.

TEMPERANCE; BY REV. J. ROD-
GERS, LONDON.

OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY;
BY REV. F. GRITTON, LONDON.

APPEAL FOR THE FORMATION OF
AN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIA-
TION FOR DITTO; BY M. A.
LOMBARD, GENEVA.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE; BY R. A.
MACFIE, ESQ., LIVERPOOL.

THE CHRISTIAN LAW OF FINANCE;
BY REV. J. ROSS, LONDON.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCI-
ATIONS; BY W. VAN OOSTER-
WYK BRUYN, JUNR.

SAME SUBJECT; BY SEVERAL
SPEAKERS.

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY AND
PRISONERS; BY PASTOR NA-
TORP, OF DUSSELDORF.

PRISONERS AND PRISONS; BY REV.
EDWARD PANCHAUD, LAUSANNE.

RELIGION IN THE ARMY IN TIMES
OF PEACE AND WAR; BY THE
REV. FRANCIS CANNON.

MISCELLANEOUS—

RAGGED SCHOOLS; BY REV.
THOS. GUTHRIE, D.D.

PREACHING IN THEATRES; BY
REV. F. TUCKER.

OPEN-AIR PREACHING; BY MR.
G. KIRKHAM.

THE GOSPEL AND THE UPPER
CLASSES; BY J. H. GLADSTONE,
F.R.S., OF LONDON.

SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY; BY
REV. S. H. PETTINGELL, NEW
YORK.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS; BY
SEVERAL SPEAKERS.

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY AND POPULAR LITERATURE.

BY ARCHDEACON SCHAUBACH,

OF MEININGEN.

As the time is so short, allow me, without further introduction, to proceed at once to the consideration of the important subject entrusted to me, and to lead you without delay *in mediam rem*.

In a wide sense, we may understand by the term "Christian Popular Literature," everything which is read or should be read by Christian people, comprising, in the first place, of course, the book of books, the Word of God itself, and then all the writings which may serve to the edification, instruction, or entertainment of the Evangelical Christian community. But in a narrower sense this term is restricted to *entertaining literature*, to the exclusion of that which is edifying and instructive; or at least with the only occasional introduction of that which is so, and which is, moreover, subordinated to the great object of entertainment. I feel myself all the more constrained to confine my remarks to this department of literature, because it is precisely in respect to it that the greatest evils and deficiencies are at the present time manifest, whilst the circulation of the Scriptures has been largely increased in all directions, and these efforts, under the blessing of the Lord, have also, for the most part, been crowned with a blessed result. Also books aiming at edification of various kinds are daily more and more sought after, and the popular-scientific instructive literature is growing continually in extent and influence; not only the falsely-renowned Art which, under the pretence of enlightenment, aims to bury the faith of Christian people, but also the purer writings of this class.

But the need is far greater and the outlook far more discouraging in the department of entertaining literature, narratives and descriptions, popular books and almanacs, periodicals and newspapers. *The Need*, I say, for the whole of this vast, almost immeasurable field, is in the hands of the stranger, and it is, proportionally, in only a few exceptional cases that Christian efforts are put forth in it; and if we may rejoice that in the last quarter of a century the production of

Christian popular literature has been steadily increasing, yet all is not gold that glitters; the confession has recently been rightly made in a report on such efforts, that among the numerous productions of Christian tendency may be found many that are unsound and delusive—a fact that will give to many persons a welcome excuse for disapproving of the whole work of the distribution of Christian literature. On this subject, the somewhat old treatise of Löwe on Tracts (*Tractatenwesen*) contains much that is excellent and worthy of our consideration. But if it is thus with the green tree, what shall become of the dry? The spread and the influence of a diluted, lukewarm literature, opposed to the Gospel in its indifference, is inconceivably great; and not less great is that of the directly unchristian and immoral Press. I must abstain from presenting to you here examples and proofs, although they would certainly have been very forcible and convincing. I can only sketch certain main points briefly and superficially.

On the imperfections of *form* in respect to the mode of introducing and representing the subject-matter, I will not lay any great stress, although even in this respect we observe from a closer inspection, that often enough men take up the pen who are wanting in every qualification of an author—who are not acquainted with the laws of language or even of orthography. In spite of all this we have not seldom to marvel at a dazzling style in such performances, and this apparent contradiction arises simply from this fact, that many such writers of novels and books read much professionally and thereby appropriate to themselves a store of expressions which they use and misuse at suitable and unsuitable times, just like schoolboys who have made a collection of phrases, in their reading of the classical, sometimes use in their exercises Ciceronian Latin and sometimes miserable dog-Latin that is full of grammatical errors. This is a fact which escapes the observation of superficial readers, and yet it is worth while to take the trouble to investigate it, and I can assure those who do not shun the trouble, that the gain will be a very rich one not only in the writings of mere scribblers, but also in periodicals which have a good reputation with the reading public, and pride themselves upon their excellence.

But the faults in the *subject-matter* of popular literature appear to us to be far more important and lamentable.

Let us just think of the circulating libraries of the third and fourth rank in smaller towns and in the country, and of the monstrous and distorted, the impure and immoral books which they spread among a Christian people. Let us remember the writings which are circulated among the working classes for entertainment and instruction, in which the delusion is nourished as a fundamental principle that Christianity and the Church are to be blamed for the oppression under which these *white slaves* (as they like to call them-

selves) still smart. Or shall I point you to the literature of profligacy, that poisonous weed wherewith the dregs of the journeymen tradesmen intoxicate themselves? These productions shun alike the light of day and the eye of the police, and the sections of the criminal code which would touch them; they only occasionally venture forward in advertisements half hidden under notices of books apparently innocent and unsuspecting, but this branch of literature rejoices in an almost systematic development. There are regular Directories and Guides for strangers through the brothels, Diaries and pretended Memoirs of prostitutes, which betray a strong *haut-goût*, and representations which, under the mask of a moral indignation, only pave the way for still more shameless things. Here an incidental remark occurs to me—our neighbours, the French, are already far ahead of us in this department; but as they understand so well how to give a tasteful appearance to everything, so here they repress these disgraceful things at least in a more elegant manner than German books of this calibre, which display an incredible roughness and coarseness.

Lastly, let us notice here what I expressed in one of my Theses at the Altenburg-Kirchentag:—"That press which proclaims unsparing hatred and enmity against the Gospel and against all true morality is much less poisonous and destructive than that which, under the mask of a certain moral earnestness or even under the delusion of fighting really for truth, freedom and right, by honeyed words and dazzling speeches, deceives and corrupts the masses."

But enough of this; let us endeavour now to answer the question: What is the best form of Christian popular literature, by which we may oppose such corrupting influences? How is this to be attained, and its circulation promoted?

If we take the first question in such a way as to mean that from this time or once for all, we are to find a pattern for the garment in which popular Christian literature is to be clothed, it would be a superfluous and impracticable question. The inquiry would be as idle as if we were to debate which is the most beautiful form of tree, or what kind of poetry deserves the prize. "There are diversities of gifts, but One Spirit,"—this principle is to be followed also in this case, and the whole representation which the Apostle Paul gives in the 12th chapter of 1 Corinthians, free and noble as he himself was—must form our point of view.

For the purposes of education which here come under our consideration, it may easily be seen that the *narrative form* is the most suitable. I would lay special stress here on the necessity that the narrative, if it is not itself true, at least should be *founded* on facts, if possible on some great historical background. There is no doubt that the novel, even without special historical foundation, can repre-

sent facts and states of the minor life, and can thereby form psychological pictures of high perfection and of striking truths; only in the first place that is an art which everyone does not understand; and in the second place, a form which is not to everyone's taste. As far as I know the people (I speak here not of people in the abstract, but of my own nation, the Germans; it may be true of others also), they like especially, in such narratives, historical associations, which are connected with that which is already well known; whether it be some great historical event—the Reformation, the Thirty Years' war, the war of Independence, the year 1866, &c.—or a local story which enters deeply into the life and history of some particular place, or some remarkable incidents in the history of civilization; the invention of printing, the use of steam, the telegraph, &c. It is worthy of notice that a kind of distrust is even frequently expressed about purely imaginative tales. I remember, for instance, how an old experienced Christian woman from among the people, who liked reading much, returned books of this kind with this remark: "I do not like these, they are only legends and untruths." She made the same distinction between historical narratives and mere tales as between God's Word and legends, one was truth, the other falsehood and invention!

Another requisite is *brevity*, in which respect many of the excellent shilling books published at the *Rauhe-Haus*, may serve for a model. As at the present time productions in all departments of life assume a great and gigantic character, this peculiarity extends also to literature. I do not mean here excessive writing in general, nor the incredibly high fees which are paid to authors of the first class in England and France (our German authors are obliged to be somewhat more modest), but I refer to the size of individual books. Tales and novels of a certain number of volumes are no rarity, and remind one of the infancy of the novel, when it excited the wonder and awe of the reading world by mighty folios of from 2,000 to 5,000 pages; for instance, the works of Gutzkow, Laube, and Mühlbach.

We cannot think of anything approaching such an extent and superabundance of matter for popular books.

The people love change and variety, and are not able to follow to the end, without distraction, the thread of a tale spun out to such a length; it is only too easy at the end to forget the beginning and middle. A book of 100 or 200 pages is fully long enough; every page more is detrimental to the end in view.

In connection with that which I have in my eye here, *Peoples Almanacs* and some such periodicals, may serve for examples, of course each of its own kind. It is the one form of popular literature which is not only indispensable but uncommonly popular, and it would be unjust and ungrateful to deny that Christian popular Almanacs have already produced beneficial effects.

But of instructive and entertaining Christian periodicals, such as, to my knowledge, exist and meet with great success in England (I have lately had a copy of such a one in my hand*), we lack time to speak. In order to justify this statement, I need only point to the numerous grades and classes of readers, and to remind you of the saying: "The same thing does not do for all."

We have had certainly for some years in the "*Daheim*" (*At home*), an illustrated magazine which meets a long felt want; but it is too high for by far the greater number of people to be able to strike firm root among them. What I miss for the people is a newspaper, a *weekly publication*, which, in a *handy* form, say quarto, and within the limits of about one sheet weekly, would offer to its readers whatever they want, entertainment and information on popular domestic economy, the various departments of labour, natural sciences, history, &c. I also think political news in a comprehensive form should not be lacking. For the people will, as it has been said, "have something for their money;" and they want to get something proportionate to the time spent in reading; they want all that conduces to instruction and amusement together, condensed as far as it is possible. Such a weekly paper we are entirely without; and as I have been recently quite misunderstood in similar remarks, allow me here to illustrate my view of the matter by giving an example.

At the beginning of such a weekly number there should be a political summary for the week filling about a quarter of a page, which would give in short paragraphs the most important news of the week. Then should follow interesting and instructive essays on the subjects I have already enumerated; tales, descriptions for example of an emigrant's home, an emigrant-ship; German life in New York; life at a farm; pictures of factory life; a day's work at a mission-station; the brethren and sisters of charity of the Catholic Church; the works of love of the Evangelicals, &c. To fill up, there must be very short pieces of information, miscellanies, &c. There might be given statistics, which offer very abundant and highly interesting information, *e.g.*, on the consumption of food in great cities; conveyance of persons and property by railways; comparison between the results of education and of schools in different countries; Bible distribution and its effects; statistics of reformatories, &c. The paper would finish with advertisements, which would cover part of the expense.

I am not drawing an imaginary picture, but I firmly believe that such a paper, which with illustrations need not cost more than two gulden (3 farthings), must have a future before it. But first, of course, capital will be necessary, and a skilful and experienced publisher, as

* The *British Workman*.—ED.

well as an editor who has a heart for the people and their necessities, must be found.

But, I hear many ask, where is the Christian element in this literature? This question is a just one, a very just one; but still it rests on a misapprehension. Just so my former remarks, as I have already noticed, have led to a similar mistake. A few friends of the Kingdom of God took up this idea very warmly, and declared themselves ready to bring such a Sunday magazine into existence, which should contain devotional explanations of Scripture, narratives from the Kingdom of God, and the names of those who were to preach on the Sunday. Such a periodical was not what I meant then, nor do I mean now. Not that I undervalue this practical or edifying literature. I prize it and rejoice over it; may it henceforth go forward more in pure homiletical garb or approach the form of Versmann's "*Sonntagsboten*," or the Supplement to the "*Fliegenden Blättern*" of the *Rauhe-Haus*.

But this necessity is supplied, or at least, is not so urgent. Those who seek Christian edification can find it; and those who do not seek it, we shall not reach with doubled efforts. The question is about the many hundred thousands who must content themselves with bad reading and to a great extent do so with pleasure; to offer them a more healthy nutriment and to ennoble their taste. The question has less to do with believing Christians than with the great masses, the half Christians, nominal Christians, who are estranged from the Gospel, or are in danger of becoming estranged from it, and our object is to win them back again.

By overloading them with spiritual food, which, perhaps, has a theological flavour, we should, far from reaching them, only drive them away; for they are only too ready with the reply: "*Hic niger est; hunc tu, Romane, cave!*"

That would be wrong; no less wrong and even sinful would it be on the other side if we were to seek, by wooing the taste of the masses, first to lull them a little to sleep and confuse them, and then quite gently and unobserved smuggle in a little Christianity, just as children and sick persons are made to swallow the bitter medicine with much water and sugar, that they may take it down without noticing it. No, that would be a pious fraud; and fraud is always fraud.

The chief thing for us to do, is rather to remove from the masses that deeply rooted mistrust and to say to them: "See, Christianity is not so dark and gloomy as you think it to be, or as people wish to make you believe; it despises no aspect of political life as far as it is in accordance with God's Word, but willingly enters into it and even ennobles it." And they must then gradually be prepared to hear of the reports of ecclesiastical and free Christian labours of love,

and must see that Christianity is not a mere matter of ideas but a power of God—a tree of life, which brings forth fruits, fruits which mankind cannot do without, and which grow nowhere else but on this tree.

What has been said relates not only to the press, but also to all departments of Christian life. I will only refer to the exhibition this year of the workmanship of the inmates of the *Rauhe-Haus*. “Come and see,” Wichern could say, and many enemies and revilers have come and seen, and have gone away with far different impressions and views. Or shall I speak to you of that old teacher, a thoroughly sincere man, but one who without being acquainted with Christian refuges and asylums was entirely opposed to them and liked to speak against the “Pietists.” I gave him the hymn-book “*Unsere Lieder*” published by the *Rauhe-Haus*, and asked him to let his children sing some of the pieces. He would not believe that they could be so happy there and sing so heartily, and afterwards he would sing from no other book. Just so, I mean, we must so act as to bring the people in general over to a better opinion.

A book, a periodical which accomplishes this result with the masses, would be a pearl of Christian popular literature, and to labour to establish it is our first duty.

This is not a Utopian idea, but one that may be accomplished by good-will, labour and prayer, with the help of the Lord; and thus the way is prepared for the question: How the circulation of this Christian literature is to be promoted?

Such a periodical, although at first it may need support, recommendation, and so forth, will soon spread itself. We could, as we have the opportunity, point a friend to an article which would be likely to specially interest him (in this way I have already changed many enemies of the “*Daheim*” into zealous readers of the same); for the periodicals reading-clubs might be established, for the books popular loan libraries might be organized and supported, as is already the case in many places with much success. Each province should have its central dépôt for popular books and branch-dépôts should be formed in convenient and accessible places for the towns and villages; we might avail ourselves of the help of colporteurs for the sale of books in some places. In the nature of the case, however, Christian loan libraries must be kept in the foreground; for people do not readily venture on the purchase of a book which serves simply for entertainment, and by lending libraries fifty or a hundred times more books are circulated amongst the people than by sale. It is, of course, an open question, whether the books shall be lent free of charge, or whether a small nominal charge shall be made. As far as my experience goes, I prefer the latter, for if the books are lent free, suspicion is at once aroused that there is something behind;

and besides, every workman is worthy of his hire, and the loan-libraries work ; and finally, everyone values more highly what he has to pay for, even if he has to give only a penny, than what he receives for nothing.

I have only endeavoured to present a few features of the case to you, for instance—the importance, the difficulties, the attempts to supply the need, and the prospects which are bound up with this department of Christian activity, viz. :—Popular literature. I could relate many wonderful things to prove the truth of the saying that the press has become in our days a power, and one can hardly imagine into what circles its influences spread.

Well is it for us that through the Spirit and the Word of the Lord we have the assurance that this power is exerted not only in the service of unbelief and antichristianity, but that it will, moreover, help to promote the objects of the Kingdom of God ; in this respect also is true that which Luther once sang : “ They must let the Word stand.”

THE GOSPEL AND THE MASSES.

BY REV. J. H. WILSON.

SECRETARY OF THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, LONDON.

THERE are now about thirty millions of people in the United Kingdom. The people professes the Protestant Christian faith. On this foundation the throne rests. All the public institutions recognize the Bible. Every diet of both Houses of Parliament is opened by prayer. The Central Post-Office in *London* is closed on Sunday. Moreover, everyone may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The Bible is the cheapest book published, and one in eight of the community can read and write. Yet *England's* people is not evangelized. Instead of this 5 millions out of 13, capable of attending public service, were absent in the census in 1851; viz., $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the country; $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in several large towns, and 1 million in *London* alone. If these absentees were placed in line, three abreast, they would extend from *Calais* to *Amsterdam*. Modify these facts as we may, they show that, although *England* is professedly Christian, *England* is not christianized. Five millions of absentees out of 13 millions, in a population of 30 millions of souls, argues an appalling amount of spiritual destitution.

Now, there are two ways of looking at these figures, viz.: at the bright side and the dark side. One method seems to be to notice the enormous mass of absentees, and to consider what Christianity has not done, the other is to look at the still greater mass of attendants, and consider what Christianity has done, and to draw thence encouragement, not considering those without as lost to us, for they never professed, but looking on those within as gained, for they are by profession, at least, on the side of Christianity. Here then lies our hope; those within must be brought into contact with those without; the vital forces of God's Word and Spirit must be brought to bear on the conscience of this mass of dead or rebellious humanity before it can be saved. For as the late Dr. CHALMERS has beautifully said:—"It is neither a system of unchristian morals, nor the meagre Christianity of those who deride as methodistical all the peculiarities of our faith, that will recall the neglected population; there is not one

other expedient by which you can recover lost humanity, but by going forth with the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the people. Nothing will subdue them but that regenerating power which goes along with the faith of the New Testament; nothing will charm away the alienation of their spirits but the belief in the overtures of redeeming mercy." Such then being the spiritual destitution of *England*, which is just another name for "human misery" and such the remedy for the moral disease, it remains now to be shown how that remedy is being applied, by the means of our Society.

Our "Home Missionary Society" consists of an organization which has for its object the bringing of the Gospel to the poor. It employs 187 Evangelists, some as pastors of village churches, some as ministers of grouped stations, which include a dozen of villages in a cluster, within a radius of six to seven miles, and others as lay Evangelists, going from house to house, reading the Scriptures, holding prayer meetings, preaching in the open-air, and selling as well as distributing religious and social periodicals all under local superintendence.

This Home Missionary Society now occupies 179 Mission and Evangelistic stations, with an increase of 63 agents since the year 1859. The field occupied includes 786 towns, villages and hamlets, situate in 37 counties of *England and Wales*. The Mission churches report 6,089 members in Christian fellowship, 770 having been added during the past year. These churches supplied 233 voluntary lay-preachers, and 1,960 Sunday-school teachers, who instruct 16,043 children in the Sunday-schools. Besides the circulation of 250,000 tracts, the gift of HENRY BEWLEY, Esq., *Dublin*, the agents of the Society sold 2,500 copies of the Scriptures, and about 100,000 periodicals, including the *Evangelical Magazine*, the *Christian Witness*, the *Christian's Penny*, the *British Workman*, and the *Band of Hope Review*.

Beginning with the country, we shall examine a moral waste in one of the southern counties and show how it was reclaimed. M. . . . is a district one mile from the parish church of . . . The church living is estimated at £1,000 a-year, comprising five parishes, but these parishes for many years, except a small Baptist chapel, supplied occasionally by laymen, were dependent on the vicar, who did all that was done for the spiritual wants of the people. For the children of the poor field labourers, there was but one parochial school with twelve boys, and a Sabbath school of about thirty or forty children. There our Home Missionary Society placed a missionary who says, "In visiting 300 families, living on the sides of the hills and valleys, I could only find seven Bibles and twenty Testaments."

By the simple and earnest preaching of the Gospel, circulation of religious tracts, commencing schools, visiting the poor at their houses, preaching in cottages, barns and in the open-air, it pleased God to give a spirit of hearing the word of salvation. In January 1832 the first chapel was opened. In August the same year a second, five miles from it, and in 1837, the third was built. The two first have been each enlarged. The number of hearers, including the children, now exceeds 1,000. We have two day-schools and three Sunday-schools, with 360 children under instruction. Our chapels

are filled in every part. We have five weekly prayer-meetings, all well attended."

To give any correct impression of the changes in these districts by the effects of the Home Missionary Society, is impossible. Many other dark spots in *England's* map of moral depravity have been in like manner reclaimed, not by the agency of the Home Missionary Society only, by which this great work was chiefly done, but by the united, but still independent action of denominational and yet co-operative forces of the British army making conquest from the kingdom of Satan for the enlargement of the kingdom of God.

But the enemy having changed his front, if not his character, we require a new disposal of our Evangelistic forces to meet and overcome him. If the Bible is now to be found in every parish, and almost in every house, the "little Prayer-Book" of the Ritualists with its prayers to the Virgin MARY and its idolatry of priesthood, is, alas! to be found by its side. If the Sunday-school be in every village, it is a mournful fact that multitudes of children are taught to rely on signs and symbols and sacramental service, instead of the pure Gospel of Christ.

To combat this new state of things and to meet the evil as far as possible, our Home Missionary Society established a new order of means, instituted, viz., a Central Mission Church, a grouped aggregate of Church and laymen, as an aggressive personal Evangelistic agency.

Throughout *England* this agency is now being carried out by the Home Missionary Society, through County associations, which consist of all the congregational Churches of a county united to evangelize the outlying fields of labour; the salaries of the agent being paid, one-third by the Head-office in *London*, one-third by the County Association, one-third by the people in the localities where the agents are employed. Other denominations are adopting this organization, and especially the department in which the lay evangelists are employed, for those devoted godly men go from house to house, distributing tracts, selling the Word of God and useful publications, holding cottage and open-air meetings on weekday and Sunday, and not a few of them have returned to their superintendent, saying: "We have seen Satan, falling like lightning from Heaven." Last year the Home Missionary Society preached the Gospel truth in 823 towns, villages, and hamlets, to nearly 50,000 hearers. There are 25,515 families under visitation. The agents employed: missionaries, ministers, lay-evangelists, and gratuitous lay-preachers, is 407. They have under their care 216 Sunday-schools with 14,795 scholars, taught by 1,929 teachers;—the members in communion nearly 6,000, of whom 790 were added during the past year. In addition 229 persons were converted by the lay-evangelists. The tracts given number 300,000 religious periodicals disposed of, upwards of 100,000, and 3,000 copies of the Scriptures were sold.

Turning now to our cities and large towns, there appear for consideration three things, viz.: the work done, the work doing, and the work yet to do. Let us first take the great metropolis.

London is the big heart, whose pulsations are felt in every part of the world. There you have the best and the worst of everything.

But for our encouragement, and besides the ordinary means of grace, there are in *London* 30,000 children in our Ragged School, and 400 Bible women, employed under the superintendence of ladies-committees. About 1,000 young women, now leading a virtuous life, are happy in being plucked as brands from the burning prostitution by means of the midnight-movement meetings. There are 360 city missionaries visiting thousands from house to house, thousands of volunteer lay-brethren, colporteurs among the sailors, temperance societies in every district of the great metropolis, while reformatories are multiplying every day—all the offspring of that Christian benevolence, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the age. We might fill a volume with accounts of special religious services in theatres, open-air meetings, &c., but let these suffice. The tide is rising, and though it may appear at times to be in the backgoing race, it will yet leave its mark of progress on the shore of time.

But, while all these agencies and many more of like character are needed, while the Bishop of *London* seeks to provide a church and a staff of clergy for every 2,000 people in the metropolis, and has already raised 250,000 of the million pounds he has appealed for, to promote this object, we believe that no scheme of effort will succeed like that, which has been called by some the "Territorial Mission," and by others the "Ragged Kirk."

To this one point I would now direct attention. More than twenty years ago the late Dr. CHALMERS, in view of the spiritual destitution of *Edinburgh*, said: "We have long thought that the failure of every former attempt to reclaim the masses of our population, is due to the insufficiency of the means which had been brought to bear on them, and while deeply sensible that means alone will prove of no effect, without the blessing from on high on the devotedness and conscientious labours of those in whose hands they are entrusted, yet we hold it irrational to look for any great or sensible result with so slender an apparatus as that of Sabbath-schools and prayer-meetings, and rare occasional visits from home to home, under the conduct, it may be, of a few missionaries for the whole of a large town, each sinking under the weight of the many thousands who have been committed to his care, and dispirited by the want of any such visible fruit, as might seem to satisfy both himself and his employers, that his efforts are not wholly dissipated or lost to all observation, at least in that mighty aggregate of human beings, wherewith he has to deal. It is under this conviction that we have long advocated the concentration of combined and well organized efforts on a small enough territory. What cannot be done in bulk or all at once, let us try in separate portions, each within the compass of an efficient agency. The very essence of our scheme lies in the thorough operation of what we have called the 'territorial principle,' and if the hundreds of Christian philanthropists in *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*, and the thousands in *London*, were in little separate bands to select their respective localities, and do the same thing, a single decade of years might not pass without our being landed in the blessed results of a better and happier generation." To realize the expulsive power of this new idea, the Doctor resolved to establish a territorial mission on his own responsibility, and work it out as a model experiment. He selected one of the most destitute

districts in the old town of *Glasgow*, gathered the people into a central place of meeting, separated himself from every benevolent society with which he had been officially connected, that he might be the better able to advocate amongst the poor, the doctrine of self reliance, and with a few godly elders so worked this mission that it soon became a prosperous cause. In the year 1846 he was able to build and open a Mission Church or chapel with schools and have them fully equipped, and at the opening service on the 19th of February he said: "I have now got the desire of my heart. The church is finished, the schools are flourishing, our ecclesiastical machinery is about complete, and all in good working order. God has indeed heard my prayer, and I could lay down my head and die in peace." On the 27th of the same month he wrote to a friend in *New York*: "I wish to communicate to you what is the most joyful event in my life. I have been intent, for thirty years, on the completion of a territorial experiment, and I have now to bless God for the consummation of it. Our church was opened on the 19th of February, and in one month my anxieties have been set at rest. Five-sixths of the sittings have been let, but the best part of it is that three-fourths of these are from the *West Port*, a locality which, two years ago, had not one in ten church-goers from the whole population." But valuable as this system of means proved itself to be, from the very commencement of the benevolent founder's experiment in *Edinburgh*, it was yet felt, there was a lower depth which had to be reached by an extended use of this means. We established in 1849 the "Ragged Kirk" of *Aberdeen*, a name less felicitous than characteristic.

The locality in which it is situated was yet more degraded than that of the *West Port* of *Edinburgh*. A policeman who knew the district well described it as a perfect pandemonium, his belief, from large experience, being that there was not a more degraded place in *Scotland*.

A few years after the mission was formed the same authority wrote: "After taking a view of the past, and looking to the present state of things in *Albion-street*, how cheering is the contrast! On that very spot where the low theatre stood, stands now a neat little chapel where God is worshipped, where prayer is offered and praises sung, by the lips of the most quiet and orderly congregations that ever assembled within the walls of any church, and in not a few instances by lips that formerly, on the same ground, blasphemed the name of God."

Many facts might be mentioned to show the practical character of this work, but results will best appear, if we give a summary from the eleventh annual report. That document says the organization embraces three services on the Lord's day, two Sunday-schools, a prayer-meeting, every Monday evening a public meeting for lectures in science and social life in connection with the Temperance Society, a district prayer-meeting, a Penny bank and Mothers' meeting, two day and two evening schools, all being worked on the principle, that the best way to promote the welfare of the working classes is by helping them to help themselves. In the establishment of such missions as those of the Ragged Kirk and Ragged School, means must be provided by Christian benevolence at the outset; and

so it was with our work at *Aberdeen*, and not only were contributions received from friends of every description, but when the facts of the case were placed before Queen VICTORIA at *Balmoral*, her Majesty sent me first £20 for the Ragged School, then £25 for the Ragged Kirk, and then £50, and held the subscription list for a new chapel, down to the time when there were 500 members to pay their own ministers; and our Queen continued her patronage, and was a constant visitor to the church.

Throughout all the large towns of *Scotland*, in *London*, and in very many of the large towns of *England*, territorial missionary and Ragged Kirks are now established, the initiative being always taken by self-sustaining churches; and we cannot but rejoice, that they are also to be found in the city of *Amsterdam*. For example, ten years ago, the district of your *Willemstraat*, was a moral swamp. By introducing an agency, which worked as all such agencies must do, being successful to the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the sunken masses, that swamp has been reclaimed. There you have all the appliances of a perfect Home mission, and you know the good that has been done.

Did not your honoured King, about two years ago, visit that Mission; did not the poor people provide him with their own national guard; did they not tell him how it warmed their hearts to know that, in the time of your great inundation, his courage and devotion to his people's welfare cheered their hearts, did they not inform him also, in the hour of your calamity, that every morning at seven o'clock they prayed for him, and did they not present his Majesty with a silver cup, which he values more than the most precious jewel of his crown; and did he not a short time since inquire how these devoted and loyal subjects were getting on in the world? And have you not another Mission, your *King William's House*, no less remarkable for its history and character? We have visited some of these meetings, looked with intense interest in the intelligent countenances of your homely men and women shaking the hands of your tradesmen; and if ever there was a time when we had to deplore the curse which man's selfishness and pride brought down on the world by the confusion of tongues, it was last evening when we had to speak through an interpreter. But there, with all these disadvantages, had we not proof, in the friendly dance of the eye, the loving smile of the moral electricity which passed from heart to heart? But to carry forward and to complete this great work of Home evangelization, we must cultivate a deeper piety, call forth and realize a higher sense of personal responsibility in the consecration of personal service, of time, talent, and prosperity in furtherance of the work of the Lord.

When Christ ascended up on high, He gave some apostles, some pastors, some teachers, some evangelists, some helps, not only for the edifying of the Church, but to bring the world to Christ. Let us have thus division of labour, rule and organization. Let ministers and laymen join their mutual efforts in common operation to evangelize the world. The priests blew the trumpets around *Jericho*, but it was not until the people gave a shout that its walls fell. Our ministers must blow the trumpet of the Gospel, and that too with no uncertain

sound ; but the Christian people, the rank and file of the Christian army, must fight in the bloodless battles of Christianity, till the kingdom of this world shall become the kingdom of God and His elect.

At a meeting held in *London*, a short time ago, Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY said, in reference to individual effort and personal consecration, "I am afraid we are doing, by proxy, many things which we ought to do ourselves. We have been compounding by our subscriptions, when we ought, in addition, to have been consecrating personal service for the advancement of Christianity at home." I hold very strong convictions on this point, because I believe, with Dr. BONAR, that every Christian has a work to do, which no other Christian can do for him, and which, if not done by himself, will not be done at all. This is a solemn consideration, involving high responsibility, and therefore the question, What can I do? is the most important Christians can individually ask themselves in the present day. Let us then labour for Christ by means of the Gospel. The Gospel and the Gospel alone is the true remedy for human misery, and that is the truest system and means which brings it to bear most practically, most extensively and most lovingly on the human heart. In this we are all agreed, and it remains for us Christians to show our faith by our working, for, as Dr. GUTHRIE has well said, "I love your meetings for prayer, but we must work while we pray, and pray while we work. I would rather see the Christian who has been saved from the gulf below, standing on the rock, casting life-lines to others struggling in the Maelstrom of death, than on his knees, thanking God for his own deliverance, because I believe God would look upon that action as the highest possible expression of gratitude that a saved soul can offer."

With such a conviction we are safe to triumph. Although Romanism is coming in like a flood, although, according to the testimony of the Vicar of *Farringdon* in *Berkshire*, 500 clergymen have gone over from the Church of *England* to that of *Rome* since 1845, although Satan is transforming himself into an angel of light, instead of going about, like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, although evil rises up in a giant's form, yet, by the strength of the Lord, by new baptisms of the Holy Ghost, by united, earnest, Christian actions, by realizing the motto which you have placed on these walls: "In necessary things, unity; in doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity"; by depending on Christianity pure and simple, needing no help but from itself, we shall demonstrate now, as in days of old, the confidence which should animate God's people, implied in the question, "Who art thou, oh great mountain before ZERUBBABEL? thou shalt become a plain!"

"Though the rock may repel thee,
By its cold and sterile pride,
Some cleft there may be riven,
Where the little seed may hide.
Work, while the daylight lasteth
Ere the shades of night come on,
And the Lord of the Vineyard calleth,
And the labourer's work is done!"

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY AND THE SOCIAL EVIL.

BY PASTOR BASTIAN,
OF BERNBURG, SAXONY.

THE great Gospel of the tears of Christ, which will be the subject of preaching to-morrow, as on the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem, in the Church of my Fatherland, brings before us an incident in the life of the Son of God, which is very important and intimately connected with the question which is to occupy us to-day. We see a great crowd from far and near. All are in festive garb, but *One* is most deeply moved—the Son of Man. An indescribable melancholy rests upon His countenance, and wherefore? “*He beheld the city*,” says Holy Scripture. There it lay stretched out before Him, with its busy streets, with its glittering houses. But His eyes did not rest on the exterior; they looked deeper. He saw behind all the beaming brightness a nameless misery, a deep and ever more deeply consuming corruption. But He not only saw *deeper*—He also saw *further*. He saw thousands rush blindfold to the abyss out of which there is no deliverance. Then He burst out into the sacred lamentation: “O Jerusalem, if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace!” But we find Him not only full of deep sorrow; we see Him full also of holy zeal. For immediately after He had uttered these words, He descended from the mountain and took His way to the very seat of destruction. Then full of grief—now full of deeds only. And at the close we read: “And He taught daily in the temple.”

We are to-day to cast a glance into the deep festering wounds of Christendom, particularly into the hidden world of great cities. We shall have our attention directed to fearful powers of corruption. O that He would give unto us something of His sympathy, but also something of His holy zeal and untiring patience!

The charge has been committed to me, to answer the question: “How can immorality be prevented?” I have accepted it with great anxiety. I feel my entire weakness and insufficiency to grapple with

this question ; but I trust in Him who has said that He will be strong in our weakness.

The question is of the greatest importance. We certainly do not read of it in public newspapers, we do not hear that it is included in Parliamentary debates, yet it belongs to the most serious inquiries of the age. For how is it with morality in the midst of Christendom, especially in evangelical Christendom ? A Christian's lips dare not utter all that takes place in the midst of Christendom, but a Christian's lips dare not pass over all these horrors. And how many horrors still take place ? From no one who looks into our age with open eyes can it be hidden that moral corruption has reached a fearful height. The abyss of vice yawns before us most horribly in great cities, but even in the country sins of the flesh prevail in a terrible manner. The stream of corruption flows not only through populous valleys ; it has also ascended to the herdsman's huts on the lofty Alps, which have become in many places genuine homes of crime. Profligacy not only prevails amongst the lower classes of the population ; in the highest circles of society the sixth [seventh] commandment is trampled under foot, in a way hardly to be imagined. To what a height has the number of illegitimate births reached ! In Prussia there are on an average 18,000 illegitimate births and 3,000 divorces every year. How great, how fearfully great, the number of those who make a trade of their own bodies ! And has it now about reached its limits ? All those who have the opportunity of looking on the night side of our times testify that the horrors of immorality are continually assuming larger dimensions, and what is the most terrible, it is continually commencing earlier, and the number of fallen women who are under age is becoming larger from year to year. And what horrible devastation is caused by this crime ! How it desolates heathen and Mohammedan states ! how it ravages even Christian countries ! No other sin so surely destroys mind and body. No one is so bent on self-destruction as the slave of this vice. It destroys all higher spiritual life. Just as certain as it is that the modern theology undermines the morality of a nation, so does the infidelity of our time come much less from the head than from a seared conscience. One who is well acquainted with the people even writes : " I am convinced that *serving the flesh* is the hidden crater out of which flow continually the burning streams of hatred against all that is godly, pure, and holy." And how many other sins has the sin of immorality in its train ! How closely are the most varied crimes united to this sin ! The following fearful facts are reported. Dr. Lankester, coroner for Middlesex, says, in his Christmas Report for 1865, that infanticide has attained such frightful dimensions in London that he does not hesitate to assert that in London there are 12,000 murderers of infants. And what have the newspapers recently

reported of *Paris*? It was officially stated that out of 20,000 infants who are sent from Paris into the country to be nursed three-quarters of the number died. The Medical Faculty were directed by the Minister of State to inquire what were the causes of this terrible mortality. This inquiry has brought incredible things to light. And do these things appear only in London and Paris? A magazine of the Home Mission in Pomerania, published last year an article with the title "Chinese Infanticide in the midst of Christendom," in which it was stated that, "in a city of Pomerania, at the meeting of a Synod, the fact was communicated that out of 3,143 births, 380 were illegitimate." But now further. From statistical tables we learn that the deaths as a rule bear a certain definite proportion to the births. But here it was quite otherwise. Among the 380 illegitimate births were 45 still-born, and 249 infants died before the end of the first year. The matter was inquired into, and they stumbled upon the so-called "*Angel-makers*," for so people call women who get a living by starving children to death. Truly, a Chinese or Indian mother who destroys her child after its birth, in order to save it from the misery of the future, is infinitely more merciful than such a Christian mother. And who counts the thousands who yearly sink into eternal death? These are only a few features in the black picture, but what a view of misery they present to us!

Now, what position is a Christian to take in respect to this evil? It has become the fashion, on the one side, from false shame, never to touch this deep cancer; on the other side to lament it, but do nothing. But can a Christian who believes in the word of the Bible, "Ye are the salt of the earth; if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is henceforth good for nothing but to be trodden under foot of men,"—can he see these horrors which are corrupting the bodily and spiritual powers of his countrymen, and calling down the judgments of God, spreading themselves ever more boldly, without opposing them in the least? No.; it must fill him with deep grief, but also with holy zeal, to put his hand to the work, that the corruption may be stemmed. But *how* can this be done? What are the ways and means?

If we wish to reach a disease, it is necessary first to search out the seat or cause of it. *Knowledge of the disease* is the indispensable condition of *curing the disease*. If we wish to answer the question already proposed, we must first of all thoroughly investigate the causes of this terrible demoralisation. Where must we seek them? The causes are numerous. I will only mention a few of the principal.

The deepest ground of the corruption of morality lies in the entire estrangement of our nation from God. The Christendom of the present day no longer rests on the simple fundamental truths of the Bible. If the band that unites it with God is loosened, the bands of

morality must necessarily be loosened also. Such a man is without restraint. He is delivered up for a prey to the impulses of evil powers within and without. Another cause which is most intimately connected with it is the decay of Christian home government. There was a time when such a thing as this prevailed throughout the whole nation. The father called his children and attendants to morning and evening prayer. With the dominion of modern theology the living power expired which can alone bring a blessing to such exercises. The form still continued for a while, till this almost worthless form also vanished. Upon this followed the complete dissolution of the family bond.

A third cause is the imperfect Christian relationship subsisting between masters and servants. I will not be unjust towards masters. They have many causes of complaint, but it is certain, too, that the ruin of servants is to be greatly attributed to them. According to Christian precepts, servants form part of the family; but how is it in reality? They are generally considered as not included in the family. They are placed outside the family circle. They are cast back on themselves with their joys and sorrows. There is nothing done for their souls. How few masters are there who pray earnestly for their servants. How indifferent most masters are as to what their servants do out of the house, and in what way they spend their leisure hours. But if this is the condition of most servants, how can we wonder that they seek pleasures behind which lurks the destroyer; that they feel happy when the door of the house of service is closed behind them, and that the empty heart casts itself into the vortex of lust and vanity?

Another cause is Sabbath desecration. It has been calculated that out of 80,000 servant girls in Berlin, scarcely 1,000 attend church on the Sunday. A well-regulated attendance at Sunday services is a rare thing. If a servant does not receive food and nourishment for her soul, either by the privileges of a Christian family or by a regular share in Sunday services, what can the result be but the death of all Christian faith and life? Another source of immorality is the immoderate tendency of the age to luxury and adornment. It is natural; if the life of a man loses its minor interests, and with them its contentment, it will necessarily seek these in external things; the lust of the mind, fashion and ornament will rule the heart, and quench the desire for true life. But if the higher classes are not in a position to escape from this tendency to the outward, what power it must exercise over a poor servant! And if we were to inquire into the miserable course of so many fallen women, how often should we find that the desire to get the money for buying finery was the cause which led them into the paths of vice! Another cause is the small demand for the labour of women. According to

statistical reports, two million widows and girls live in Prussia who are dependent for support on their own efforts. Another cause is the disgraceful house-accommodation, particularly in manufacturing districts. Apart from other reasons, how much the feeling of "*homelessness*," as the Dutch call it, is nourished by want of proper dwellings. Another cause is the lack of proper persons to take charge of servants who are out of situations in great cities. Since the opening of railways, the number of servants who come into large cities has increased year by year. Weak in power of resistance, ignorant of the ways of deception, without protection, they stand—and what is the consequence? From 12,000 servants who enter Berlin annually, on an average, one quarter of the number fall into vice. Another cause is the stream of worthless literature which is circulated amongst the people. This is the source of unspeakable evils. For how is it with the daily press with regard to religion and morality? With us its openly acknowledged tendency is, for the most part, to undermine religion and morality. Nay, more, there are even some booksellers who make the service of sin their business. A catalogue was lately sent to a friend, which bore the heading, "Books worthy of notice; to be had of every bookseller." This catalogue contained the titles of 100 books, of which I will only name one as a specimen. It was called "The Modern Decameron." Like the ancient Decameron, five gentlemen and five ladies relate their love-adventures during the outbreak of cholera at Breslau. Through numberless colporteurs this scandalous literature is being spread abroad among the people. And what a conflagration can one only of such books kindle! Then comes the increase of immoral photographs and stereoscopic slides which contain unheard-of things. Most of them are imported from France. The trade in them is so great that a bookseller in Berlin for one month sold daily to the amount of about £8 to £10 worth. Another cause is the soul-selling race of Procureesses, that terrible form of woman. There is no place where their nets are not spread. We have examples of their having crept into prisons and hospitals. They do not stand alone; they form a widespread association throughout all cities. Another cause is the toleration of brothels. Even Mirabeau was obliged to confess that "*C'est une grande abomination de voir chez les Chrétiens la prostitution tolérée*," and he was right. For what is such toleration but an assistance given to the sin of profligacy, a kind of authorization? Another cause is the degeneracy of wet-nurses. In our frivolous and pleasure-seeking and prejudiced age it has become the fashion to employ wet-nurses. But how much evil has been caused by it! For what is the consequence of this custom? Numberless girls are encouraged to sin by the comfortable life and good wages which the wet-nurse enjoys. Most of the wet-nurses in Germany are fallen women. Another

cause is the want of Church discipline. Once it was otherwise. Once the Evangelical Church found itself fighting against this sin. At a Rhenish Synod the former minister, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, asserted that he did not remember, amongst the thousands of sermons which he had heard during his life, to have heard one preached on profligacy.

These are some of the springs out of which, as out of a poisoned spring, the streams of corruption pour themselves into our national life. And what may we learn from them? Very much. We may learn from them that we do not stand very far from these evils; nay more, that we are all implicated in this great social evil. We can learn from them, what will not help us against them. That philanthropy cannot help us which stands upon its own reason and its own strength. A merely social mission like that of Schulze-Delitzsch cannot help us. It cannot be prevented merely in the ordinary way of the law. All that the law can effect is to cause the sin to choose another and less repulsive form. We see this in Berlin. Since 1846 brothels have been removed, but as nothing further has been built on this foundation, other establishments have taken their place, as the *Orphelinen, chambres garnies, rendezvous* rooms in respectable taverns. Merely ascetical methods will not do. It requires all forces to unite in order to overcome this monster. But we learn also where the levers must be applied to move immorality. And what then are the means which we have to use? Let me only just enumerate them.

As we have seen that the extinction of living faith is the deepest source of immorality, it must necessarily be that the most effective remedy is awakening and strengthening of living faith. For, from the nature of the case, moral corruption proceeds powerfully enough to break it, where forces are not brought into the stream of the life of the people. But this might rests alone in Him who has come down from heaven, true God and Man—Christ Jesus.

It follows, then, that it is the duty of all authorities who wish, for example, to aid the morality of city-life, to do everything by which living faith may be nourished, and clear away everything that would undermine that faith. The second cause of the corruption of morality was the overthrow of Christian home government. If we would prevent immorality, we must see to it that this is built up again. If the want of Christian relations between masters and servants is one cause, masters must learn again that they have not only to require service—they also have duties to perform; that they have not simply to care for the bodily wants, but also for the souls of their servants. In the same way must manufacturers remember that it is their duty to see after the poor factory girls, by whose hands they are enriched. If the want of protection and the temptations of great cities cause

the ruin of numberless servant girls, it is needful that the thronging of servants towards these great cities should be checked by all possible means. The fallacy of the hope of higher wages and richer presents must first be exposed to them. But before all else we must see that a helping and protecting hand be stretched out to servants out of place.

As regards the State, it must give up the one-sided *sanitary* standpoint, and take the *moral* standpoint. It is a true and noble saying, which was once uttered by your highly-honoured Minister Van der Bruggen: "The State has undoubtedly to care for the welfare of its subjects, but it has also, as its most sacred duty, to avoid everything that appears like an approval of the sin of immorality." Last of all, the Church has in quite another way to use the means given to her by her Lord. She has to bear open, impartial testimony against the horrors of this sin. She must call it by its right name. The above-mentioned minister said, "The devil has an interest in the exclusion of the word '*Fornication*' from the pulpit." She has to refuse ecclesiastical privileges to unfaithful husbands and wives, and those who would obtain such honours surreptitiously, she must rebuke openly from the pulpit. In short, rescuing love will have to over-reach the sly deception of the corrupter in all points.

And now much has already happened, by God's grace, in the last ten or twenty years. On all sides there is an awakening. The preaching of the Cross continually gains fresh ground, and this preaching has borne its fruit. A spirit of redeeming love goes through the whole of evangelical Christendom. There are 900 evangelical Refuges for orphan children. People have begun to care for young servants and workpeople. In the year 1854 the late Pastor Fliedner, following the example of English Christians, founded in Berlin the first lodging-house, and Institute for training servants. The Lord has crowned this institution with extraordinary results. There are now similar establishments in twenty-seven great cities. Sunday Unions have been formed with the object of securing that the servants' Sunday may be a day of blessing, and not of curse. In Berlin alone there are thirteen such Unions. Much also has been done for factory girls; for example, in Richter's Manufactory at Basel the factory girls receive instruction in all kinds of household work, so that they may be fitted afterwards to manage a house. In Barmen, Elberfeld, Gladbach, Basel, Stuttgart, sewing classes and evening meetings have been commenced. Following the example of England, here and there new departments of labour have been thrown open to women. In various places something has been done to alleviate the horrors of the dwellings of the poor. Beyond all others in this department the cities of Alsace, *Mühlhausen*, *Colmar*,

and *Gebweiler* have excelled. It is especially delightful that now in many places in Germany a movement for the rescue of the fallen has been set on foot. Under the influence of the blessing which the Lord has bestowed in Holland on the Asylums of *Steenbeek* and *Bethel*, six new asylums were opened in Germany in 1865, so that we have now twelve of them. And now has the Lord made Himself known in these works! There rests indeed a black night of sin over our evangelical people, but through this night lightens the glorious brightness of *Zion*. But how much is still to be done! How small the number of asylums and how great the number of the palaces of Satan! How mean the sums contributed for the deliverance of the lost, contrasted with the tons of gold which are yearly sacrificed to the idols of fleshly lust! How small the number of women who go out into the streets, in order to rescue, contrasted with the great number of Satanic women, who go out to destroy! It is high time that all to whom the name of Christ is dear stretch out their hand to one another, in order to stem the horrors of immorality and to deliver the lost. O that in us all that fire burned of which our Lord said, "I am come to kindle a fire upon the earth." What would I rather than that it were already burning! Amen.

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

BY J. STABB,

LONDON.

"MUTUAL kind affections," says Dr. REID, "are undoubtedly the balm of life." Hence the wisdom of our heavenly Father is manifest in the arrangements of social life, as in everything besides. The state of mutual dependence in which all are placed, is adapted to draw forth the better feelings of our nature, and to restrain that self-love which so easily becomes excessive and injurious. The family relationship affords good training for the larger world, and prepares us for the discharge of our various duties.

In the home circle we find the source of those influences which form the character of a community, and determine the national sentiment.

In this arrangement the influence of woman is strikingly evident; to her is committed the formation of the opening mind in the most susceptible period of its development; by her precepts and example the course of the future citizen is in a great degree directed for good or evil. "Who can find a virtuous woman? For her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil. She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness."—Prov. xxxi. 10, 12, 26.

Not only as a wife and mother, but as a daughter and as a sister, her worth is conspicuous. When the grace of God is in her heart and her lips are tuned to love, she moves as an angel within the house; the rough energy of brothers is quietly subdued, the envious cares of parents divided, and the home becomes the abode of peace.

In the surrounding neighbourhood, too, her influence will not be unfelt. It may not command public admiration, but its quiet force will be as beneficial as that of the dew which refreshes the face of nature. Such is the influence of woman, when in her right position, when her soul is imbued with the love of Christ. The mourning heart welcomes her as its best earthly comforter; the guilty conscience finds the promises and prospects of pardon possess a more soothing power when uttered by her lips; bold vice stands abashed in her presence, and the darkest clouds of woe are irradiated by her smile. When the ear hears her it blesses her, and when the eye sees her it gives witness of her.

But how changed is all this, when a woman is in a wrong position, when her character displays all that is evil and of ill report! Then the springs of domestic peace and the blissful influences of home are poisoned, and their streams spread sin, misery, and death. Let woman become immoral, and the effects are felt in all the relations of life; domestic ties are broken; society at large shows the baneful process which is at work; whenever SAMSON sleeps on DELILAH's lap, strength and perdition follow. The power of woman for evil is as mighty as her influence for good: "her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

Where heathenism or false religious systems prevail, these sad consequences may be expected; there too often the manner of life is like that of the beasts which perish, and what we term "the social evil" prevails to an awful extent. Nor could it be otherwise, for an apostle tells us that, where God is unknown or unhonored, the state of society will be "earthly, sensual, devilish."

But what shall be said of professedly Christian countries, where a pure faith is proclaimed, where the arts of civilization, sometimes in the highest degree, are cultivated, and where science achieves its greatest triumphs? What must be our grief and our shame, when we behold the baser passions of our common nature breaking through all the restraints of education, refinement, and religion, and submitting to no control?

Christian men and women will not be content to expend their sympathies in mere regrets, but will try to ascertain the causes, and strenuously apply any well-considered remedy for this fearful state of things. The evil may arise from luxury and licentiousness, from a low standard of morals, from the toleration given to seducers in society, and the absence of a proper estimate of the sanctity of the marriage vow: it may arise in some cases from poverty and improper dwellings, in others from the corrupting tendency of public amusements; but the various sources of the social evil must all be traced to the depravity of human nature, which requires some mightier power to control its outbreaks than an elaborate civilization or a nominal religion. The great fact which everywhere forces itself upon our attention is that the evil exists, and to a frightful degree; it is impossible to fix the limits of its baneful influence.

To counteract this evil various plans have been tried. On the Continent some governments have adopted the licensing system, but this expedient, which seems rather fitted to prevent the consequences of sin than to diminish its prevalence, has in fact, been found rather to extend than to repress the evil, while the principle of implied permission is repulsive to very many reflective minds.

In *England* not only are Christians averse to any recognition of the sin, but the laws are generally opposed to it, and when properly enforced, have produced the most salutary results. Thus, for instance, one hundred houses of ill fame have been closed in the West of *London* by one Society, and that in a short period, and the traffic in sin proportionately diminished; and many persons believe that if existing laws in all our cities and large towns were faithfully administered, the evil would be very considerably lessened. New legislation is not so much needed as the rigid observance of existing laws. But the

chief hope, it is strongly felt, must be placed on the right employment of moral means. These were appointed for the very purpose of remedying the ills of the human family, to regenerate the earth,

“And change this barren wilderness
To Carmel’s flowery field.”

God’s truth urged in love, and applied by power Divine, can bring even those possessed by “legions of unclean spirits” to their right mind. The Gospel of Christ is the enemy of sin in all its forms, and while it proclaims pardon can impart purity.

In order to bring that Gospel to bear upon the “social evil” the “Midnight Meeting Movement” was originated. Several Christian brethren met together seven years since, and held solemn and prayerful discussion as to the best means of stemming the progress of vice. At length it was resolved to go out into the streets, and invite the poor fallen girls to a plain repast, prepared in some suitable place. After some time spent in prayer, they went forth literally “to seek and to save the lost;” selecting the two or three hours before midnight, as the only time when they could expect to meet with the objects of their pity, and fixing upon those places where they assemble in the greatest numbers. They freely addressed the fallen women whom they met with and gave them cards of invitation to attend at St. James’s Restaurant, Regent Street, at the midnight hour, when the Theatres, Casinos, Music Halls, and other places of amusement, would close. Numbers responded to the invitations, and after an hour spent in kind Christian conversation, which was conducted by several friends, male and female, while the refreshment was taken, a hymn was sung, and a prayer offered, and then an affectionately solemn address was delivered by the Hon. Rev. BAPTIST NOEL. The result of that first meeting was, that several poor girls were induced at once to forsake their sinful course. Such was the quiet, unostentatious origin of the Society, and such the reason for its receiving the name “Midnight Meeting Movement.”

It will be seen that its character is eminently aggressive; it seeks that it may save; it goes into the lanes and the streets, into the high-ways and hedges, to collect the objects of its compassion. Homes for the reception of fallen women, who desire to forsake their destructive courses, have been in existence for some time.

The Rescue Society, which has existed 14 years, has 8 Homes for fallen women, and 3 for those who have not so wandered; it has rescued 5,223 since its origin, of whom 528 have been saved during the past year.

The London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, 200, Euston Road, was formed 10 years since; has 4 Homes for the fallen and 1 for distressed servants, has rescued 2,165, of which 559 during last year.

The British Penitent Female Refuge, established 37 years since, has 1 Home; 1,820 have been rescued, 53 during last year.

The Refuge and Reformatory Union, established 8 years, has rescued 1,436, giving an average of nearly 180 annually. In addition to these there is the Female Aid Society, formed in 1836; has rescued 2,700, and trained 2,765 young females of good character for service.

The Guardian Society, formed in 1812, has rescued 2,691 poor girls.

The Home of Hope, erected 6 years since. 760 have been received since the formation of the Society, 207 during the past year. One feature of this Institution is to take poor women with children; provision has been made for 108 children.

Of these and some other Institutions only one besides the Midnight Meeting Movement acts upon the aggressive principle. The doors of all are open, and so far as accommodation permits, every applicant is received; but in addition to this the Refuge and Reformatory Union employs an excellent staff of female paid agents, who seek out lost women.

The Midnight Meeting Movement has a large number of voluntary agents, who are variously engaged in the same work.

It is a fact, which should give rise to much gratitude to God, that by these various means, directly or indirectly, upwards of 1,000 poor girls are every year removed from the streets of *London*, and either restored to their friends, placed in carefully-selected situations, assisted to emigrate, married, or in some way enabled honourably to maintain themselves, after having in most cases been for a longer or shorter period in some one of the Homes; and it is encouraging to know that, while there are of course some cases of relapse into sin, upwards of 75 per cent. of these cases are permanently rescued. The condition of many required them to be sent to hospitals, and several have died rejoicing in the Saviour.

The evil is mighty and, sustained as it is, not merely by the ordinary incentives to sin, but urged and encouraged by a direct traffic in iniquity, it is to be lamented, more than wondered at, that in *London* alone 40,000 are thus treading the ways of death; nevertheless, the measure of success granted to the Midnight Meeting Movement affords much encouragement to its promoters.

"From the commencement of the movement in 1860," says the last Annual Report, "105 meetings have been held in *London*, attended by 13,421 unfortunates. Of these, 580 have been restored to their friends, 1,800 sent to service, 67 married, 5 reconciled to their husbands, 4 emigrated, 4 sent home to the Continent, 2 placed in business, 300 sent to hospitals, 400 assisted to obtain an honest living, and very many are now in the various Homes connected with the Association.

"During the past year, from March 1866 to March 1867, twenty-eight meetings (a greater number than in any preceding twelve months) were held in various parts of *London*, and were attended by 2,089 of the class for whom they were designed, of whom 411 were rescued, 249 being taken immediately from the meetings and 162 received on subsequent application at the Office, 5, *Red Lion Square*."

It should be stated that, when taken from the meetings, the girls are accommodated in a temporary home for the night, and after an examination of their circumstances on the following morning, they are drafted to the various homes, where they are partially sustained at the expense of the Midnight Meeting Movement.

These facts, though pleasing, give but an inadequate idea of the results secured by the movement; for its very existence has awakened

a greater attention to the evil than was ever displayed before; and more strenuous efforts have been made to repress it; public meetings have been held in several places, and many additional Homes have been formed. Indirectly the legislature has been aroused, and important effects produced, and many poor girls have voluntarily sought out the Homes, that thus they might forsake the ways of destruction; so that, by Divine mercy, it has proved itself a most beneficent agency. This has been especially the case with those who are young, and who have but recently fallen, who constitute a large proportion among the "unfortunates."

Since the formation of the Society, Homes have been instituted in *Exeter, Lincoln, York, Manchester, Worcester, Birmingham, Hereford, Derby, Nottingham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Southampton, Bristol, Hull, Cardiff, Brighton, Dover, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, New York, Holland, Geneva*; and recently Mr. THOMAS, of the London Reformatory Institution, and the Honorary Secretary of the Midnight Meeting Movement, in a visit to *Paris*, succeeded in preparing the way for opening a Home there. To have been successful in obtaining a footing in that city, is indeed cause for great thankfulness when it is remembered that, in addition to the 20,000 fallen females licensed by the Government, 30,000 at least pursue the sinful traffic, but evade the license, thus making a total of 50,000 in a population about half the extent of that of *London*.

Still much, very much, remains to be done. The newspaper press has estimated the number of unfortunates in the United Kingdom at half a million, of whom nearly 40,000 perish every year by disease, starvation, and suicide, the guilt of whose death must be imputed to those who led them into sin or sustained them in its continuance. Impressed by these considerations, the Midnight Meeting Movement has sought to awaken some feeling as to the awful crime of thus murdering bodies and souls, in the hearts of the destroyers. The promoters of the movement prevailed upon the Rev. B. NOEL to prepare a book, entitled "*The Fallen, and their Associates*," which has been most extensively circulated among men. They also obtained the services of some gentlemen to deliver lectures to what are termed "fast young men," with an especial reference to the social evil. The attention of the Committee has also been directed to the awful sin of *infanticide*, so frequently the attendant of the social evil. Of course, remedial measures in these cases must be suggested, rather than applied; but it is due to the movement to state that plans and means for the prevention of infanticide have arisen from the influence of the Society. Such is a brief view of the immediate and indirect influence of the Midnight Meeting Movement in the employment of strictly moral means.

Many incidents of the most affecting kind might be mentioned. When, however, it is remembered what has been accomplished for the small sum of £1,200 annually, or an average of less than £3 for each girl rescued, the friends of Christ, who came to seek and to save the lost, will feel that there is abundant cause for grateful joy.

It will also be felt that the means used by this Society are the right means; they are those enjoined by God's Word, and honoured by God's Spirit. Yet the evil exists in mighty force, amid all classes and in all

countries; it is destroying and ruining immortal souls. Thousands who are pandering to the iniquity of others, are growing rich by the hideous traffic in which they are engaged; multitudes are perishing from day to day by the mutual sin of themselves and their betrayers; and to the cry of "What, alas! what is to be done?" The records of this Society give a decisive reply. Let there be more active workers seeking out, that they may save the lost; let Homes be multiplied under wise and Christian superintendence, to receive those who have been snatched "as brands from the burning;" let property be freely and largely consecrated to the holy enterprise, and in connection with all this, let prayer, earnest, unceasing prayer be mingled with everything that is done, with everything that is given, and with everything that is sought after, and then—feeble as may be the instrumentality—it shall be triumphant; and as the walls of *Jericho* fell before the blast of the ram's horns, because God was with the camp of Israel, so shall this horrid, this accursed sin shrink, wither, and die before the light, love, and power of a God in Christ; woman shall be restored to her right position; the vile seducer and destroyer of female purity shall be shunned as the midnight murderer; and righteousness in social life shall make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY AND INTEMPERANCE.

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I AM to speak on Christian Philanthropy and Intemperance, and will enter on my subject at once without preface.

Let us first look at intemperance, and make it clear at the outset, what we comprehend under that intemperance with which Christian philanthropy has to do. It is drunkenness in general, the habit and sin of intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks. By these intoxicating drinks we refer not only to burnt or distilled liquors—brandy, rum, grog, liqueurs, and whatever else they are called, which, with an eighth part of water, contain only alcohol, without any nourishing component, but also to beer and wine. It will be understood, then, that we class intemperance in the use of beer and wine as drunkenness. I quite endorse the title of a popular little book, which says that “More are drowned in wine than in water,” and feel that Wisdom, lifting up her voice in the streets, in Solomon’s Proverbs, still speaks the truth when she cries, “Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine, they that go to seek mixed wines.” And who can shut his eyes to the material, mental and spiritual ruin which are everywhere the necessary consequences of immoderate beer-drinking, especially in England and America, and Bavaria, for example, where strong heavy beer is used?

But having said this much, I must explain that I am dealing especially now with those drinks which in Germany are called burnt or distilled; in France, Belgium, and other countries, alcoholic or spirituous; in the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, are also called strong drinks; viz., brandy, Geneva, Cognac, rum, grog, liqueurs of various names, punch, &c., for these are peculiarly the people’s drinks, the drink of the lower classes, the working classes, although I am far from venturing to say that many a man of the

higher and educated classes has not fallen a victim to the passion for brandy. Brandy is certainly the favourite drink of the people, first of all among the Germanic, Slavie, and Scandinavian nations, especially the North Germans, Netherlanders, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Russians, Poles, Szechs, and so on; also among the English and Scotch, in the colonies of England and the Netherlands, in the North American Free States, in Canada, the East and West Indies, and Australia; also among the Celtic people, as the Irish and Scotch, who belong to the Celtic branch; and in some parts of South Germany, in Belgium, France, and Switzerland, there were complaints more than ten years ago of the growing use of brandy. In order to give a more exact idea of the wide-spread practice of brandy-drinking in the countries named, I bring forward a few figures—only dry figures, indeed, but representing most fearful and desolating facts. It is of no consequence that these statistics are not all of the more recent date; it is, alas! too true that the habit of brandy-drinking is still gaining rather than losing ground.

In England, for example (as Neal Dow stated in London in the year 1867), £88,000,000 were annually expended for strong drinks, and of this sum he reckoned that £60,000,000 was the proportion of the working classes. In Russia, in 1843, the duties paid on brandy amounted to 12-31 of the whole revenue, and the ratio would be still higher now. In 1857 it was calculated that in the States of the German Zollverein 360 millions of quarts of draught brandy were consumed, that is, nearly a million quarts a day. In Prussia, at that time, the retail price of the brandy sold was estimated at 50 million thalers, in 1866 the duty on brandy amounted to 7,480,000 thalers, showing an increase of 145,000 thalers. In the Netherlands, in 1866, the government duty on home and foreign distilled liquors amounted to 12½ million gulden on 25 million measures—the Netherlandish cask of 100 measures, and 50 degrees of strength, being reckoned at 50 gulden. Denmark used, in 1864-5, 13,248,000 Netherlandish measures, being more than 7 measures per head; Sweden 4·07 per head. It will be well for me now to show, by an example, how much corn and potatoes, that is, how much useful sustenance, is sacrificed to the manufacture of brandy. In the countries of the Zollverein, for instance, in 1856 there were used in this way 3,090,083 bushels of grain, and 20,278,691 bushels of potatoes, besides 85,508 bushels of bran, peas, &c. Let it be considered, also, how much spirituous matter is mixed in England and America, for instance, with the strong beers and wines, and thus acts in combination with other drinks.

I do not need to bring forward striking illustrations to prove to you what a flood of ruin follows the course of this flood of brandy among all classes of the people. The strongest colours I could lay on the picture would be pale beside the naked reality. This only let

me say. If we cast an attentive glance over the sins and evils which form the principal claims on the Christian philanthropy of our day, we everywhere discover drunkenness to be the sin at the root of all other sins, the cause or the aggravation of all other evils. The observance of the Sabbath has been spoken of here, and there have been bitter complaints of the desecration of the holy day, but we all know that the intemperate, especially the brandy-drinkers, do more than any others to disturb the rest of the Sabbath by their noisy mirth, their drunken broils and curses. We have heard of the necessity and importance of systematic benevolence, but why must we so carefully consider the best ways and means successfully to parry want? Why have want and poverty grown so gigantic, so hundred-handed? In England nine-tenths of the cases of distress are set down to drink as their cause, and a similar computation holds good for other countries. In Cassel, for example, of 40,000 thalers required for the poor, 16,000 were calculated to be for persons who had brought their poverty on themselves by drunkenness or idleness; and any member of a commission for inquiry among the poor would give assent to such a statement. The essay on Christian Philanthropy and the Social Evil brings before us a race of nameless, wretched slaves of the lust of the flesh, of seducers and seduced, an abyss of sin and misery into which thousands are daily plunging; in England it has been admitted that three-fourths of the cases of youthful immorality are connected with the use of intoxicating drinks, and every attentive observer knows that many a one led away at first into sin, under the wild excitement of drink, afterwards seeks the same stimulant to give him courage to plunge deeper and deeper into crime, while it deafens him to the reproofs of conscience. Thus has many and many a sin against morality begun in intemperance. Let us also hear the testimony of prison chaplains and governors as to the number of their prisoners, who curse brandy (and I willingly add wine and beer too) as the source of their aberrations and crimes. The Netherlandish Society for the improvement of prisons says, in one of its reports: "The Society, from fifty years' experience, is convinced that the use of strong drinks is the commonest cause of crime." According to the report of the well-known advocate of temperance, Pastor Bottcher of Kirchrade, in Hanover, given at the Benevolence Congress held at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1856, drunkenness was the first cause of crime in two-fifths of all the cases in Prussia, and in three-fourths of those in England. Brandy plays a fearful part also in the tragedy of lunatic asylums. The director of the Rhenish mad-house at Siegburg declared to the worthy temperance preacher, Captain Leling, of Asnabruck, that almost a third of the sufferers had been excessive brandy-drinkers. In England and North America it is calculated that more than half the inmates of the large asylums are

brought there by brandy. Of the terrible form of madness peculiar to drinkers, *delirium tremens*, the celebrated physician in cases of mental disease, Professor Ideler, of Berlin, says: "It is especially important to observe that *delirium tremens* is not brought on solely by daily intoxication, but on the contrary, may be induced in most cases by such a use of brandy as still leaves a man sufficient possession of his senses for the prosecution of business." And what number die the victims of this malady? 80,000 was formerly one computation in North Germany, 60,000 in England. Who does not know, also, how commonly even moderate brandy-drinking secretly undermines the health, and occasions premature death? In 1846, 1,200 German physicians pronounced the use of brandy to be injurious, and declared that brandy contained no nutritious or strengthening elements; similar declarations were made in 1836 by 1,500 London physicians, and a few years ago by 500 of the medical faculty in the Netherlands. And how injuriously does brandy affect the rising generation! How often do the children of drunkards inherit from their parents various physical and mental infirmities, imbecility for example! I say nothing of the numerous accidents by land and water, of which drunkenness is the occasion. I will mention only its results in the family—quarrellings, bitterness, gnawing cares, tears, distress, complainings. I will not dwell on the moral result, the utter indifference, nay, more, the settled aversion to everything connected with religion, induced by intemperance, and the fact that the drinker loses by degrees the very capacity of understanding, receiving, and keeping the word of salvation by Christ Jesus. It is enough to say it is written that "drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Let us now ask, What has Christian philanthropy to do in the face of this sin and woe?

I believe that every one who makes even a general claim to the name of a philanthropist—a lover of his kind—must be touched with deep compassion at the sight of the multitude of unhappy slaves to drunkenness, and must and will ask himself the question, "Can I do anything to stem this torrent of evil?" And if we go further and call ourselves *Christian* philanthropists, then we are bound to be guided by the Spirit of Him who said, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another, as I have loved you." This love demands of us that we look steadily into the sin and sorrow of our fellow-men, and consider by what way and means we can come to their relief. First of all, we must set them a good example of renunciation, and not ourselves touch a drop of brandy or any other spirituous liquor, rum, liqueurs, &c., or even punch. If any are prepared also to give up wine and beer with the teetotallers, I, of course, shall have nothing to say against it. I am not prepared, however, to urge as a universal rule and duty, abstinence from

all intoxicating beverages, though I do demand of every Christian philanthropist, not only for the sake of his own physical and moral, temporal and eternal welfare, but also especially for the sake of the influence which he must desire to exert upon his intemperate fellow-men, the most conscientious moderation in their use. But one Christian calls this legality, and in the name of Christian liberty, he will not be deprived of his daily glass of liqueurs out of the familiar corner cupboard. Let me ask, in return, is this Christian self-denial? Does not the freest of all Christians, the Apostle Paul, say, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother is offended or is made weak"?

We should endeavour also to persuade others to a like renunciation. Our great concern is, of course, with the actual drunkards, but we have also a duty to the so-called moderate drinkers. We are bound with all love and all earnestness to show them the sin and danger of which they are themselves probably already conscious, and by deepening this consciousness to lead them to the true Redeemer and Deliverer from all bondage; even to Him who says, "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

It is obvious that I have specially in view those who by their position, calling, authority, or fortune, have an influence over others, ministers (of course also synods and presbyteries), teachers, magistrates, dignitaries, manufacturers, landlords, master-workmen, contractors, and so on; and that all the power of sermons, addresses, and meetings, especially held for the consideration of this great question, as well as the mighty influence of the press, must in every possible way be enlisted in the cause. I would recommend also here the plan peculiar to modern times, of having Free Societies to act in connection with the regular Temperance Societies. These societies were introduced into Europe from North America, and were for a time fostered and continued in Germany, not only by crowned heads, but by the favour of public opinion; but from various causes, most of these societies have been broken up, especially in the storms of 1848, and only a few comparatively still maintain a hard, single combat against the enmity and scorn of other societies, and against the rapidly growing self-indulgence of people of all classes. This should not be so. Thousandfold experience teaches us what a help and stay, what a stimulus and spur it is to many a poor, weak man, to be bound by a promise, which he has made under kind encouragement, to stand in company with like-minded men, who for the most part themselves know by experience the curse of brandy-drinking and the blessing of redemption from its shameful bondage, and who cheer, uphold and strengthen him, when, left alone, he might draw back and fall. There are, however, still many Temperance Societies,

as here in the Netherlands, which form part of a wide net-work of societies under one head, spread over Sweden, Norway, and other countries, especially England, Scotland and Ireland, in connection with which we need only to mention the great temperance preacher, FATHER MATTHEW.

I cannot enlarge further here on these meetings, but one suggestion I wish to make. Such temperance societies have generally monthly, or if not so frequent, at least periodical gatherings, in which the curse of drunkenness and the blessing of temperance are pointed out in various ways; new members are received, or those who, after previous warning, have continued unfaithful, are excluded; and the meeting closes with prayer, singing and exhortation. This is the usual character of the German meetings, which are always of a business kind, or at any rate so uniform in their proceedings as not to be very attractive to people in general. In Duisburg, from which I come, other gatherings of a freer description are held in addition to the regular meetings of the society. The upper story of an Infant School-house has been for twenty years hired for such purposes, and here on Sundays and other holidays, when people are fond of going in companies, the members of the Duisburg Temperance Society meet and drink a glass of beer, provided by a farmer who lives in the house; the chairman or some other member then delivers a short address, and relates or reads something not merely about brandy, but on instructive and stirring subjects, such as the joys and sorrows of the beloved fatherland, or the great deeds of the patriots of the past and present. These themes are chosen especially on the anniversaries of great national events, and on the King's birthday. After the addresses, patriotic or temperance songs and hymns are sung. In these meetings people of different grades, principally of the working classes, become accustomed to meet each other in free and profitable social intercourse. These assemblies have so far had the effect of holding the Duisburg Temperance Society together, and of often reviving it when it has fallen into a low state. But Temperance Societies alone are not sufficient to battle with brandy-drinking. Another power, called into action indeed by these societies, must come to their aid—the power of public opinion, and, impelled and strengthened by public opinion, the power of the State. What has yet to be done in the way of legislation and police regulations, we will briefly point out by reference to what has been already attempted.

At the head of this wing of the battle against drunkenness stand the Free States of North America, with the famous Maine-law. On the 2nd June, 1851, this law was passed in the State of Maine, chiefly through the exertions of Neal Dow, then of Portland. This law is directed not against brandy alone, but against all intoxicating drinks, and it does not merely prohibit all traffic in such drinks, but makes them liable to be confiscated and destroyed, wherever found.

The results of this law in Maine are thus described: "Drunkenness quickly diminished; broils in the street, disturbances at night, and other irregularities ceased; the poor-houses were empty; houses of correction and prisons were scantily occupied, or were altogether closed, while outward signs of morality and general prosperity were everywhere visible."

After this law had been made to give place in 1856 to another, which rendered trade in brandy again possible, it was restored in 1858, with some modifications, and it is now in force in thirteen States of the North American Republic. Very important and beneficial consequences have also followed the abolition of the regular ration of brandy for the North American army and navy. In England, besides the regular Temperance Societies, an association originally formed in Manchester has been at work especially since 1852. It consists not entirely of temperance members, and is called "The Society of the United Kingdoms, for the entire and immediate suppression of the traffic in spirituous liquors." Its aim has been to secure legislation in this respect, and its efforts have not been without result. In Scotland, the public houses are closed by law on Sunday, and it is further forbidden to trade at all anywhere in spirituous liquors on that day. Since 1860, the great Manchester Society has been striving to get a law passed, by which it shall be possible for any town or parish, with the consent of two-thirds of the inhabitants, to have all taverns, beershops, &c., closed, so far as the use of strong drinks is concerned.

It has not yet passed in Parliament, though it was supported in 1864, by 1,818 petitions with 337,000 signatures; it was thrown out by 294 against 37, but it will be tried again. In the same year, a motion was brought forward to close the public-houses in England on Sunday, with the exception of the hours from 1 till 2 in the afternoon, and 8 till 9 in the evening; in the division 123 were in favour of the motion, 87 wished a closer investigation of the proposed law. On the 15th of May in this year, THOMAS HUGHES brought forward a bill for the "Prohibition of Sunday-trading, except in case of necessity, and in the case of certain stated perishable articles;" even in the cases excepted, no trading should be allowed after nine in the morning. Confectioners, and houses where refreshments were sold, should not be permitted to do business except between the hours of ten a.m. and twelve. This law was, however, to make no change in the regulations about the sale of strong drinks. In the Netherlands, the "*Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot afschaffing van sterken drank*," has been already long pressing for legal measures against the sale of brandy, and influential men are advocating the cause in the States-General. The Second Chamber of the States-General declared in 1856 "That drink was a canker eating away the material and moral strength of the people." Yet it only

advocated, at first mere isolated measures of a very indirect kind, without making any distinct propositions to the Government. The War Ministry has since 1821 issued regulations against the use of brandy. I allude particularly to the order in 1860, that coffee with milk should be served in the morning to the troops in camp, instead of brandy. Then, as regards the navy, the Government ordered in 1858, that every man who would give up the ordinary and extraordinary rations of brandy should receive compensation to the amount of 70 cts. per month. We must also notice the resolutions adopted by various provincial states and districts. For example, in 1858, in the province of Groningen, the lock-keepers were forbidden to sell brandy on the canals. Many communities (in 1860 there were 34), among them Utrecht, Leyden, Dort, and others, have passed penal measures against open drunkenness, and some have forbidden the sale of brandy at public auctions. I must pass over what has been done in the way of legislative enactment against drunkenness in Sweden, Russia, France, Hanover, Oldenburg, &c., and only say a few words about the steps taken in this direction by Prussia.

It is known how the kings of Prussia, **FREDERICK WILLIAM III.**, **FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.**, and **WILLIAM I.**, out of hearty compassion for their people, lent the weight of their personal influence to the suppression of intemperance. It is, therefore, not strange that since 1811 the Prussian Government has had its attention directed to the retail traffic in spirituous liquors, in inns and public houses, and has been constantly imposing fresh restrictions upon it. It has acknowledged finally in this year, that the sale of brandy has not only a financial, but a moral aspect. In the Prussian Diets, petitions with reference to the manufacture and further sale of brandy, presented in 1851, 52, 54, 56, 58, and 60, by Temperance Societies and other philanthropists, have met with various, but on the whole with growingly favourable consideration. A similar petition will shortly be presented to the Prussian Ministry of State. We must not fail, however, to direct attention here to what has been already done by the kings of Prussia, as the generals of a powerful national army, which by its moral tone exercises an ever-increasing influence upon the whole body of the people. **FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.** ordered in 1845 that all the soldiers who wished might receive, instead of the regulation quantity of neat brandy, the value of the same in money; and **WILLIAM I.** enacted on the 13th February, 1862, that in the army commissariat coffee should in future be substituted for brandy. I have recently received most satisfactory testimony to the beneficial effects of this measure in the last year's war.

In conclusion I will sum up my essay under three simple heads :—

1st. To do battle with intemperance, and especially with brandy-drinking, in any and every form, is the duty of every Christian.

2nd. We must take up or resume this warfare by means of free, united action, and must in every way in our power sustain and encourage it.

3rd. By appeals to governments and to popular assemblies, we must endeavour to secure more and more legislative and authoritative restrictions on the traffic in spirituous liquors.

May the Lord, who once said, "I have compassion on the people," give His blessing to my essay!

TEMPERANCE.

BY THE REV. JOHN RODGERS, M.A.,

LONDON.

THE object of the Evangelical Alliance is, I believe, to assert, maintain, and contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. Believing all religious truth is embodied in this one truth, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," we determine not to know anything among men but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. But to know this truth fully and efficiently among men, implied with the Apostle, and implies with us, the knowledge of many collateral truths, bearing upon or springing from this centre truth. The knowledge of various sciences enables us to demonstrate that creation and revelation are in complete accordance; that there is no antagonism between them, but that both have the same Author, and both declare the glory of that Author—God.

Temperance is the subject before us for discussion now—a subject of no trifling importance as bearing materially upon the evangelization of the human race. In addressing you on this subject, I speak not merely in my own name, but in the name of the National Temperance League of London, whose representative I have the honour to be. The word "temperance" in the Scriptures is of very general application; it comprehends that which the Apostle graphically details as the practical result of the power of religion in himself, "I keep under my body and bring it into subjection." But the intemperance of England has manifested itself in so marked a manner, and to such an extreme, in one particular direction, that the word is used, if not altogether, yet chiefly, to express that special character of evil, namely—drunkenness.

The object of the National Temperance League is to battle against and put down this evil. It seeks to do this by cure and prevention, that is, by preserving those who are still sober, and endeavouring to restore those who have fallen. There is certainly a great need for a special organization to carry on a special effort of this kind. We have, very properly, special efforts to deal with other special vices (the social evil for example); and we believe that drunkenness is not only a gigantic evil in itself, but that it is the fruitful cause of other vices. Those whose positions enable them to become well acquainted with such matters, testify that the greater portion of the crime in our land springs from drunkenness and drinking. Judges and magistrates, chaplains and governors of prisons, and others, testify to the truth of this. The greater part of the poverty of our country is the result also of drunkenness and drinking. We would not refer to poverty as a

crime, except when it is the criminal result of people's own misdoings, and in such cases it is very generally traceable to drinking as its cause. Again, the good results that we might fairly expect to flow from the educational machinery of our country are counteracted by drinking. Statistics show that a great number of children who ought to be at school are not, and clergymen and others who have the opportunity of judging, certify that the children whose education is neglected are, for the most part, the children of drunken and drinking parents. And what is equally lamentable, the good results that ought to follow in those who have had the privilege of education, are hindered and destroyed by the temptations connected with the drinking customs around them. For example, out of sixty-two in a London penitentiary, forty-four had been Sunday-scholars. Out of 299 prisoners in Leeds Gaol, 196 had been Sunday-scholars, and thirty teachers.

In York Prison, in one ward where there were seventeen prisoners, fifteen had been Sunday-scholars, and these for the most part confessed that drinking had led them into crime. Again, a great and difficult problem which we are trying to solve in England just now is, Why do the working classes not attend the House of God on the Sabbath-day? One great cause, we believe *the* cause of this neglect of Divine worship, is *drink*. Our gin-palaces and public-houses are full on Sunday with the labouring classes, and these are the very people we are trying in vain to get into our places of worship. It is the testimony of ministers of religion, of City missionaries, of Bible-women and others, that a *great*, yea, *the* great hindrance to the reception of the Gospel by the masses, is the drinking habits and customs of the people. This subject, therefore, is worthy of careful consideration at a conference like the present. Here is a great hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, a great stone at the mouth of the sepulchre wherein are lying the spiritually dead, and we hear the voice of the Lord saying to us, "Roll ye away the stone."

The National Temperance League is grappling with this gigantic evil, and proposes as the remedy, total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, a remedy that is thought by some to be extreme, and except in very exceptional cases unnecessary. We are not bold enough to say that it is the only remedy, but we may say that ours, and kindred organizations based on this principle, are the only efforts put forth to deal specially with this great evil; and until a more excellent way is pointed out to us, we are resolved to prosecute this with unceasing vigour, encouraged by the marvellous results that have followed our past efforts. We contend that total abstinence is the most likely, if not the only likely means of reclaiming the drunkard, and that it is the safest and surest method of preservation from drunkenness.

Doctors who have had opportunities of judging of this matter certify that the appetite for drink is so strong in the drunkard, and the moral control so weak, that his only hope, humanly speaking, is altogether to abstain from its use, and the experience of drunkards themselves corroborates this sentiment.

That this is a perfectly safe mode of procedure, and not at all perilous to the physical health of the patient, physicians assure us, and again practice confirms the evidence not only in men who voluntarily abstain becoming reformed from their evil habits, but even more

strikingly in the cases of those men and women who are committed to prison for various offences for longer or shorter periods, and though deprived altogether and at once of the drink they have been accustomed to use to excess, they not only do not suffer in health, but at the expiration of their sentences are found, even on prison diet, in a comparatively robust state of health. And that the practice of total abstinence on the part of those who have never gone to excess, and especially of the young, is conducive to health, we have abundant testimony. There may be certain abnormal conditions of the physical system when it may be considered useful as a medicine to take a little wine; but to the healthy system it is not only useless, but positively injurious in proportion to the quantity used. Men of all kinds of constitution, and in all callings of life, and under all conceivable circumstances, and in all conceivable places, have tried the principle and prospered under it, doing much better than others under the same circumstances who used the drinks. When epidemics are abroad amongst us the victims are chiefly amongst drunkards and drinkers; total abstainers, as proved by statistics, are marvellously exempt, and when assailed, come through the attack when drunkards succumb. Many physicians are changing their mode of treatment in disease; in fever and cholera brandy used to be thought a specific, whereas now it is discarded by many practitioners, and the result is a wonderful diminution in the percentage of deaths. We are, therefore, not proposing a desperate remedy for this evil of drunkenness; but in suggesting total abstinence as a cure to the drunkard, and to the hitherto sober a certain prevention, we are supported in our suggestion by science and experience, which alike assure us that the physical condition would not in any way be deteriorated, but on the contrary improved by the carrying out of our suggestion. Thus encouraged, the National Temperance League has pursued its labours. I know of no organization that at so small a cost accomplishes so much work. With an income of about £3,000, we find its agents and agencies in every part of our land and travelling to other countries. Let me give a brief epitome of its work.

Conferences.—The temperance movement originated with the working classes, and until within the last few years was carried on mostly amongst them, and chiefly by them. But lately the National Temperance League has endeavoured to interest the middle and upper classes in this important subject, not only for the purpose of enlisting their sympathy in helping forward the work amongst the labouring part of the population, but also because of the great necessity for the introduction of this principle of total abstinence amongst the well-to-do and richer portion of the community. We are constantly meeting with examples of ladies and gentlemen who have become the sad victims of this vice; and many homes are made wretched by some member of the family becoming addicted to habits of intemperance. In order to interest the upper and middle classes we have held conferences and drawing-room meetings, and have thus reached many that we could not reach by ordinary meetings. We have held conferences in very many and important large towns. The town-hall or some other convenient building is secured, and the mayor or clergyman, or some other gentleman of local importance, presides.

The deputation from the National Temperance League having advocated the principles of the movement, the subject is open to the meeting to discuss. Such conferences are generally attended by clergymen and ministers, doctors, merchants, manufacturers, and private gentlemen. The discussions have been of an exceedingly interesting and intelligent character, tending to throw much important light on the subject under discussion in connection with the medical, religious, biblical, and social aspects of temperance. The results have been most satisfactory. Many have been won over to our side, and have given their warm sympathy and earnest co-operation, who before had never thought about the subject, and but for these conferences would not have been reached.

We have had conferences in our Universities—Oxford and Cambridge—attended by the under-graduates, and presided over (as regards Oxford) by one of the proctors. We had a very important conference in the Mansion House, presided over by the Lord Mayor of London, attended by clergymen, magistrates, bankers, merchants, medical men, naval and military officers, &c. We have held special ministerial conferences with the ministers of the different denominations. These ministerial conferences brought out the fact that there are in the different Nonconformist bodies 2,160 abstaining ministers, being more than one-fourth of the ministers in these denominations; which, being added to the 600 abstaining clergymen connected with the Established Church, gives a total of 2,760. We have also had conferences with Sunday-school teachers, seeking to enlist their sympathies with the great Band of Hope movement, an organization which directs its efforts solely to the young, carried on with the most devoted energy, and attended with immensely good results.

In addition to these conferences, lectures presenting the subject of temperance in its various aspects have been delivered to very many public institutions. In this way the students of our various Nonconformist theological colleges have been reached, also the students in our colleges for training schoolmasters. In this way also the pupils in very many of our large schools have been made acquainted with total abstinence principles. Thus the minds of the rising generation, and of those preparing to be teachers of the rising generation, have been indoctrinated with the principles and facts of this great question.

The public meetings held under the direction of the League are legion. The annual meeting is, like other meetings held in our great Exeter Hall, of a most soul-stirring character. During the winter months we hold series of meetings in warehouses and at different barracks where our soldiers are congregated. We even utilize a large public bath (the Lambeth Bath); the water being run off in winter, the bed of the bath is filled week by week with large and attentive audiences of the working classes listening to temperance lectures and addresses, and we have it on the testimony of ministers in the immediate vicinities where the meetings are held, that many useful and earnest members have been added to their churches through the honoured instrumentality of the total abstinence movement. In addition to the conferences, lectures, meetings, &c., *sermons* in different churches and chapels are continually being preached, and a few Sundays ago, in one of our metropolitan cathedrals, West-

minster Abbey, the principles of total abstinence were wisely, eloquently, and earnestly advocated to a very large and influential congregation, by a clergyman whose praise is in all Protestant churches—the Rev. Robert Maguire. The great bulk of all this work is carried on for the most part by gratuitous honorary deputations, preachers, and lecturers.

There is yet another important feature in our operations. We make a free use of the press; we have our own organ, the *Weekly Record*. We also promote the distribution of tracts and books to the fullest extent; for example, a copy of Mrs. Wightman's "Haste to the Rescue" was sent to every clergyman in the kingdom. Thus by all means we seek to reach the ears and minds of the people on this great subject, and the result so far has been successful. We have gained the ear of the nation from the legislature downwards, and at least respectful attention is paid to our statements and arguments, and we hope ultimately so to indoctrinate the public mind with our views that England to a man shall say, We will wash our hands of this great curse.

I have thus in a hurried way glanced at the operations of the National Temperance League, and would humbly suggest that as an important organization carrying on a collateral work, bearing on the great work of the evangelization of the world, it is well that this Society should take a place in this important conference of Evangelical ministers and others discussing the work of preaching the Gospel in all its various aspects.

The object of the Gospel is to save the lost: the drunkard is lost, and therefore to seek to save him is in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel. Our Lord describes the object of His errand as being *to save*: this movement seeks to save the drunkard, and therefore it is in complete sympathy with our Divine Master's errand.

It is calculated that 60,000 of our fellow-creatures die drunkards every year in our country. We want to save some of those that are hurrying to a drunkard's grave, and the awful realities that lie beyond, and to prevent others from filling in the ranks as they are thinned by death. We believe this to be a complete specific in each case: Abstain from these drinks altogether. And in order to encourage the drunkard to abstain, and in order to encourage those that are weak and easily liable to be overcome to keep on the safe side and totally abstain, we invite the sober and the strong for the sake of their weaker brethren to adopt this principle of total abstinence. If it is calling for an act of self-denial, is not this according to the spirit of the Gospel, "If any man will come after me let him deny himself"? Was not this the spirit that animated our Divine Master—self-sacrifice and self-denial for the good of others? "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor." "Learn of me, He says. It behoves us to do this in everything, desiring to have the same mind in us that was in Him. And I submit that one important way of thus imitating Christ is that taught by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who drank so deeply of his Master's spirit: "It is good (says he) neither to eat flesh nor drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak."

ON THE LORD'S DAY.

BY THE REV. J. GRITTON, LONDON,
SECRETARY OF THE LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE SOCIETY.

THE importance of the Lord's-day cannot be overstated. The Sabbath, or rest day, is prominent on the page of the written Word. It is also of most pressing moment when considered in relation to our own well-being. It influences all other questions, whether religious or social, and has to do with man both as a spiritual being and as dwelling in a body which is subject to material laws.

It is admitted by nearly all those who have considered the question, that the Sabbath is one of the institutions which God ordained in Paradise. It had its origin when man needed it far less than is the case now. It commemorated a season of work crowned and perfected by an interval of rest. How it was observed, and to what extent, in the long period between the Fall and the Exodus, there is but little evidence to show.

When the Lord led His chosen people from Egypt and selected two signs of their relation to Him, He gave them His Sabbaths as one of those signs. The Sabbath, promulgated afresh, was made to the Israelite not only a commemoration of the Divine rest in Eden, but a memorial also of deliverance from the bondage of Egypt.

Nor was the Sabbath simply a memorial. It is perfectly clear from the argument of Heb. iv. that it was a type also. Its importance as a memorial cannot be denied, and its typical teaching adds to that importance. The rest of Eden is of interest to the whole race of man. The Exodus is of primary interest to the seed of Abraham, but is also associated with the deepest interests of the whole people of God. When to this we add that there is set before the Church the blessed hope of the Sabbath keeping which remaineth; that the weekly Sabbath is the appointed type and foreshadow thereof; and that the type must continue in force till the coming of that which will be its antitype; we can have little hesitation in concluding that it was intended of God for all races, and for all time.

To state it in other words: we deduce the Divine authority and the perpetual obligation of a weekly rest from the appointment thereof

by God to commemorate events of abiding interest to the human race, and to shadow forth to the Church that ultimate rest which in the Divine counsels is reserved for the people of God.

Nor are these conclusions weakened by the circumstance that in some particulars our Christian weekly rest or Lord's-day differs from the Sabbath of the Jewish period: that is to say, it is observed on the first day of the week, and it no longer is fenced and accompanied by the ritual regulations which attach to the Jewish Sabbath. For when we reflect that, from that memorable first day when Jesus rose from the dead, the whole Church of God, with almost entire unanimity of judgment, has observed the resurrection day as the Lord's-day, and has not observed that seventh day on which the tomb held in bondage the incorruptible body of the Saviour, we can suggest no sufficient ground for this change of day, unless we admit the working of Divine will and power, reaffirming the law of weekly rest, and attaching to it fresh sanctions, in full conformity with those which it had before, but making it still more meet to typify the final rest which all along was in the heart of God.

The Christian rest of the Lord's-day is as much higher than the Sabbath of the Levitical ritual, and as much higher than the seventh day which commemorated the rest of Eden, as is spiritual freedom grander than mere deliverance from earthly bondage, and the rest of a pardoned and justified spirit through the finished work and resurrection of Jesus, higher and more important than cessation from mere physical toil.

The Church may well glory in the Lord's-day. It is a precious possession, and will continue till the dawn of that final rest of which it is the most vivid and suggestive type.

It was instituted in Eden—promulgated afresh from Sinai—chanted by Psalmists, and magnified by Prophets. It was freed by Jesus from human traditions and wearying bonds, and re-affirmed as intended for man, the needy creature of God. It was consecrated by Jesus and His Apostles for all time as the day which told of redemption completed. It was separated by Paul, in his Epistles, from the many Sabbaths which were peculiar to Judaism and limited to the earthly Canaan; and has ever been observed by the followers of Jesus as "the day which the Lord hath made," in which the Christian Church does well to "rejoice and be glad."

This ordinance of God is, however, greatly questioned. Men who live in rebellion against the Divine law do not reverence the fourth Commandment more than the other nine. God is far above out of their sight, and is not in all their thoughts. Their thoughts are not His thoughts, nor are their ways His ways. Multitudes demand the day for business and pleasure, and thus rob God of His sacred hours. Multitudes endeavour to effect a compromise, seeking to justify

themselves in giving part of the day to work or to amusement, by rendering on the other part (generally the merest fragment of the whole) an outward service to the Lord.

These breaches of the Divine law are common and continual. We shall pass from them to consider some special circumstances of our times which tend to an increasing disregard of the Sabbath, and necessitate increasing watchfulness on the part of the Christian Church.

Among them is the prevalent LAWLESSNESS OF THESE LATTER DAYS. It would seem as if the world, after ages of unquestioning obedience to existing institutions and order, had awakened to a better mind, only to pass over to the more dangerous extreme of opposition to all law as such. The action of law on the individual, as it is described by Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. vii., is now illustrated on the wide platform of nations. Law, applied to hearts which have not found rest in Jesus, irritates and provokes to rebellion. Thus it comes to pass, that in many communities there is a determined opposition to the most beneficent legislation of Divine wisdom. The fact, indeed, is not peculiar to our times, but can we doubt that the action of this rebellion is more intense and more general than it has ever been before? All governments and all communities feel the intensity of this prevailing lawlessness.

May we hope that, as in the individual the period of rebellious irritation is oftentimes ended by the unreserved acceptance of Jesus as Law Fulfiller, in whom we behold law so obeyed and so magnified, that the soul gladly confesses it to be "holy and just and good,"—so, after the unrest of communities and their kicking against the law of God, the nations may recognize the Messiah, and find rest and holiness in unreserved acceptance of His kingly rule?

Let us hope so, but meanwhile let us take the existing temper of society into account, and take brotherly counsel as to our duty to man in his rebellion, and to the Lord who still reigns, and will by and by reign the one undisputed Master of all.

I would also call the attention of my brethren to the increasing difficulties of Sabbath observance, arising from the fact that we live in a period of GREAT CITIES.

I am not aware whether this is as true of the civilized nations generally as it is of England, France, and America, but in those countries many deeply interesting and difficult questions arise as to Lord's-day observance from the fact that hundreds of thousands, and even millions of people are congregated together. In such cities vast masses of the poor are herded together under the most unfavourable social and physical conditions; the struggle for bare existence is terrible; the lapsed classes, who are scarcely touched by humanizing and Christian agencies, are multitudinous; evil habits of thoughtlessness, procrastination, and improvidence abound. From the absence

of moral support, and from the pressure of physical depression, drunkenness and animal indulgences tyrannize over their victims ; the difficulties of provisioning such dense masses of men are very great, while the larger the city the more difficult does it become to reach the open country without calling in the aid of vehicles.

If we understand these facts, we shall see that, under such circumstances, the inducements to Sabbath-breaking are multiplied, and excuses for the desecration become more specious.

I will refer to but one more circumstance characteristic of the days in which we live. SCIENCE AND ART HAVE BEEN MARVELLOUSLY DEVELOPED, BUT ARE STILL IMPERFECT. Gas has driven the candle and the lamp from our streets, our public buildings, and, in multitudes of instances, from our homes. This is a grand triumph for science, but, alas ! it is an incomplete triumph. The candle and the oil could be provided without Sunday labour, but till now we have not learned how to secure the Sunday supply of gas without the bondage and sin of Sunday toil. Those who, after investigation, have told us that Sunday toil is necessary in gas works, do not tell us that it must always be so. Rather, they hope for the time when advances in science will make it as easy to light all our cities with gas without any toil at the furnaces or the purifiers from Saturday to Monday, as it was easy to secure the supply of oil or candles on the week-days, when we depended on them. But till God shall help the slowness of our scientific progress, and enable men for higher advances than we now behold, it appears that this bondage must continue *to some extent* under even the most favourable circumstances.

Accept another illustration. Twenty years since we could not produce iron without Sunday labour. Science has advanced since then, and many of our iron factories are still and quiet on the Lord's-day. One kind of iron, however, cannot even now be made without the unbroken toil of all the seven days of the week. Day and night, week-day and Sunday, with no intermission, they must toil to produce the hæmatite iron of commerce. Diligent and extensive inquiries made during this very year have resulted in the conviction that, with our present advances, we cannot have hæmatite iron without Sunday toil. It is so till now ; but even since I commenced to write this paper I have heard of a proposal to substitute another process for the transjection of streams of air which has been in use hitherto, a change which may shorten the time employed, and lead to the production of this species of iron without Sunday labour.

These are but two out of many illustrations of the difficulties which beset us from the great but still imperfect advances of science.

Were the evil confined within the boundaries of those industries which necessitate the toil, it would be an evil still ; but this evil is a germinal evil. The habit of mind produced by familiarity with

Sunday toil is unhealthy. Disregard of the sacred sanctions of the Day of Rest leads to indifference, and eventually to a ready yielding to any and every inducement to use God's day for profit. Thus is the evil productive of evil ; and this reproduction ends in the sad fact that whole districts in cities and manufacturing towns are as if there were no Sabbath law and no day of rest.

I proceed now to ask in what way the Christian Church can deal with the existing facts of Lord's-day desecration, and promote such an observance of the Day of Rest as will be in accordance with the mind of God, revealed in Holy Scripture.

First, then, what shall we do in those difficulties which at present seem insurmountable ? " With God nothing is impossible." Let us seek to move the hand which can take up the mountains as a very little thing. God can quicken intellect, hasten scientific discovery, reveal new chemicals, open up light and heat from other sources than coal. Yea, far more than all this ; can do as He will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of earth. Let us then confess our inability, and cast the whole burden of our difficulty on His omnipotency.

But there are things in which, while Divine aid is none the less needful, there is such prospect of success that we may well try to maintain the sacredness and rest of the Christian Sabbath.

To what extent can we move legislative bodies to promote by legal enactments a proper observance of the Day of Rest ? Christian parliaments and congresses should not hesitate to recognize the Lord's-day, not indeed by enforcing any religious observance thereof, but by making it a *dies non* for all commercial purposes, and by restraining selfish men on that day from imposing needless toil. Let us seek in all possible ways to influence legislative bodies to secure the Lord's-day as a rest.

But there is a sphere in which we can all work for the honour of God, in the sanctification of His day, without any of the trammels which hinder us in seeking for legislative action.

Each of us, as an individual member of Christ's body, the Church, is bound by every motive of obedience and gratitude to honour His Head and King. As far as our personal influence extends we must see to it that we flee the evil and pursue the good. Holding as an article of Christian obedience the evangelical observance of the Lord's-day, we must let our light shine in the family, in the congregation, and society. Whatever liberty we feel justified in claiming as to our own conduct on the Day of Rest, we must be careful that our interpretation of Christian liberty does not lead to the enslavement of others. Christian ministers and Christian hearers have much of the guilt of Sunday traffic on them. Trains, cabs and omnibuses, are frequently used on the Lord's-day, that preachers may move from place

to place, and that hearers may not miss the pleasure of listening to a popular or favourite preacher. Many Christian people employ the Post-Office servants on the Lord's-day, and cause their domestic servants much needless toil. I have heard two or three clergymen excuse themselves in actions of an unsabbatic character, by the sadly misemployed remark, "The priests in the temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless."

If only we act in the matter of Lord's-day observance as being ever in the presence of our God, and inform our conscience by diligent study of the Bible, we shall attain to that service which is perfect freedom. The Sabbath will be a delight and honourable, and in the enjoyments thereof we shall find the most constraining reason for seeking to promote a like happy rest among those round about us.

The influence of the individual is oftentimes very great. In Islington, a parish of London, more than a hundred shops have been closed during the last year by the prudent, earnest, and prayerful efforts of one Christian man. May the Lord grant us wisdom—a spirit of consecration and rich blessing on our efforts.

I will conclude this address by quoting* the closing paragraphs of the last Report of the Lord's-day Observance Society of London, of which Society I have this day the honour of being the delegate and representative in this Council of Christian brethren.

SUNDAY PARCEL DELIVERY.

The following circular was widely distributed in November:—

"By the blessing of Almighty God on the efforts of this Society, an important step towards the sanctification of the Lord's-day was won in 1865, by the Cessation of Parcel Delivery on Sundays, from the London Railway Termini. The arrangements then made have worked well. Hundreds of working men have regained thereby the rest and privileges of the Sabbath. No complaints of any moment have been made on the subject. For two years and a half we have watched the operation of the plan, and have rejoiced to find that the same arrangement has been carried out at Brighton, Hastings, St. Leonard's, and some other towns. We are thankful for all that has been attained, and desire that the Cessation of Sunday Parcel Delivery should be won for all the Towns and for all the Railway Stations in the land.

"The Committee are working to this end, and need to be helped by the friends of the Lord's-day throughout the country. We want, very especially, accurate information as to the extent of Sunday Parcel Delivery. Will you help us herein? We append to this letter certain questions, which we commend to your serious attention, and to which we desire as full reply as you are able to afford. If we are abundantly supplied with information upon which we can rely,

* Vide Thirty-Sixth Report, p. 33.

we shall be able more effectually to push the question to a successful issue.

“Questions.—1. Is there any Delivery of Parcels on Sunday in your locality? 2. From the Stations of what Railways is there Delivery? 3. During what portions of the Sunday is there Delivery? 4. Is the Delivery by the Railway carts only, or by local carriers in addition? 5. Can you state the number of men and horses engaged in this Sunday work in your Town? 6. Have any local efforts been made to stop this work? If so, with what results? 7. Can you strengthen our hands by promoting local efforts against Sunday Parcel Delivery?”

Replies have been received from eighty-three places, with the following results:—

In 52 places there is no delivery on Sundays.

In 16 places there is delivery of articles marked “Perishable.”

In 8 places there is delivery of “special” articles.

In 7 places there is general delivery, but limited to two or three hours in the morning.

A very general rule obtains that parcels delivered on Sundays are charged extra rates.

AN APPEAL IN FAVOUR OF AN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE BETTER OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY.

BY M. ALEXANDER LOMBARD,

GENEVA.

IN ascending this tribune from which so many eloquent voices have been heard, I naturally feel some emotion. But I have at heart a holy cause which emboldens me to put aside every merely human consideration which would arrest me. It is the cause of the Lord's-day set down in your programme. To hold back in these circumstances would be to lose a precious and perhaps solitary opportunity to attain an end for which I have been labouring for many years. The end I speak of is this:—that in all Christian countries committees should be formed which should have for their object to aid in promoting the observance of the Sabbath, and to put every man into a position in which he may enjoy the benefits, both temporal and spiritual, of this sacred day.

I ask, then, that this Conference may not terminate without doing something, or adopting some resolution in reference to an object which so deeply concerns the religious state of individuals, and of society. It is said, not without reason, that the doctrine of the Atonement is the marrow and the bone of the Christian revelation. Well, then, the sanctification of the Sabbath may be considered as the marrow and the bone of the Christian life. May it not be said in fact—I appeal to your experience—that without the sanctification of this day all religious life grows feeble and soon expires?

But in order to secure as much as possible the realization of the desire I have announced, I have to propose to you the formation of an international league which should take in hand the sanctification of the Sabbath. It is, perhaps, an ambitious project, but is it not true that we cannot be too ambitious for a good object?

Yes, I invite you to unite your efforts to stem the advancing tide which threatens to annihilate this blessed and primitive institution which God inscribed on the cradle of humanity,¹ when He blessed the day on which He rested and hallowed it.

Need I repeat it? This institution confirmed at Sinai, was not abolished, as some pretend, by Jesus Christ. No, it exists still, but

modified by the mouth of Him who established the New Covenant, and who alone had the right to dispose of the Sabbath—of Him who pronounced these precious words: “I will have mercy and not sacrifice.” And if by common agreement the primitive Church has changed the observance to the first day of the week, it is because that day which commemorates the resurrection of our Lord best marks the beginning of the new creation of which Christ is the Founder and King.*

Such was the design, and such also, I believe I am warranted in saying, were the principles of the promoters of the Evangelical Alliance, of him whom my excellent fellow-countryman and friend, Mr. Naville, so forcibly recalled to your thoughts the other day. I speak of Sir Culling Eardley, that venerated brother whose loss we deplore. It was no less the wish of another Christian, also recalled to the bosom of God, and whose name is as dear to you as to me, the now sainted John Henderson, of Park. If, then, I address you at the present time, I do but acquit myself as towards them of what I consider as a sacred command.

To you, dear and venerated fathers and brethren, who surround me on this platform,—to you, dear brethren and sisters, members of this Alliance,—I appeal to aid me in the accomplishment of such a desire.

It was at the Conference of 1861, after the remarkable discourse of M. Godet, that this desire was expressed to me by Sir Culling Eardley. Immediately some friends undertook the work in our country. I cannot tell you the difficulties and trials they had to encounter and overcome. All those who have attempted similar works have had the same experience. Still, thanks to the assistance and manifest blessing of God, and to the willing co-operation of many brethren, a Society, analogous to that which already existed at Neuchatel, was formed in Geneva, in the month of November, of that same year 1861; and at a meeting, larger and more cordial than we had ventured to expect, the organization of this new work was resolved on. About the same time similar Societies were formed at Lausanne, at Basle, at Schaffhausen, and at Berne.

These committees have not all worked with equal zeal, but all have been steadfast in their adhesion to the great principle of the sanctity which attaches to the institution of the Lord's-day; all have felt the importance of making energetic remonstrances in our country against the increasing abuses which encroach on the Sabbath; all have concurred in forming the first links of that international league of which I ask you to encourage the formation.

From that time different auxiliaries have come to our assistance, and recently attempts have been made to unite these scattered committees into one Helvetic Society. Although it cannot be said that a Society of this nature has succeeded in constituting itself strongly, and in working with activity, we should not despair of ultimately realizing this result.

Very recently, in particular, a committee has been formed at Zurich, in that city which, after having been a great light of the Reformation,

* As the exposition of this plainly Scriptural doctrine gave rise to some controversy, and as the opinion of Calvin as well as of others of the Reformers was alleged to be of a different sense, in many private conversations during the Conference, it appears to me proper to give a *résumé* of them. See the end.

has become such a focus of rationalism, that it might have been doubted if the opportunity could have been found for the attempt.

But if from different quarters we have been joined by active adherents, we have met with many more testimonies showing that the cause which we have undertaken to defend is not only a sacred cause, but that it is one of general interest. How many suppliant voices from the ranks of the working-classes could I cite, which, as soon as we had put ourselves to the work, have cried aloud, "Help us!"

It is true that some, discouraged by the greatness of the work, have drawn back. At Geneva, however, at Lausanne, at Neuchatel, and other places, they persevere, and, please God, will persevere still. A message, which will be delivered to you presently, will show that at Basle also the same claim as I address to you has been formed, that this assembly would sustain the cause for which we plead.*

Bless God with us for this little commencement. It is, indeed, only a feeble germ at present; but by His help, who glorifies Himself by the weak things of the world, this little grain of mustard-seed will perhaps grow into a great tree; under the branches of which many Christians, many families, many work-people, finding with the rest of the Sabbath their liberty to worship, will seek its shelter, and bless you for helping them to regain so precious a privilege.

At Paris also efforts have been made, at present resulting only in certain useful publications; but let us hope that our Christian friends in that city, notwithstanding the greatness of their task, will not be content with these first attempts.

And to your brethren and neighbours of Belgium, where there is as yet little light, I expressed the same desires that I have placed before you, and received this encouraging reply, upon which I have acted: "Certainly something will be done by us in this matter, we promise you."†

Still it is to you, brethren of Holland, to you, brethren from Germany, and all other countries assembled at this Conference; it is to you, dear brethren and dear sisters in Christ, members and friends of this Alliance, that I address myself. Will not you also promise me something?

In the hope of obtaining this most desirable aid, I am permitted by the Executive Committee to announce a meeting to-morrow (Saturday) evening, at seven o'clock, in one of the rooms in this edifice, to consider the basis of such an organization as I have in view.

What shall I now say to enforce this appeal? The few minutes I have to speak obliges me to restrict myself. I will sum up my thoughts in these two words:—

The first I take from the lips of a working-man, and, I venture to say, of all those who have been consulted, whether individually or collectively; and it is this—*There is no profit in Sunday work.* A striking acknowledgment, which ought to have great influence in the consideration of the social questions with which we are occupied.

The second addresses itself to the heart and conscience, and is the

* The appeal from the Society of Basle, to which allusion is here made, was to have been transmitted to the speaker by the Central Committee, that he might here read it to the meeting, but it did not arrive in time. It is, therefore, given at the end of this paper.

† This declaration is confirmed in the "Chrétien Belge," of the 8th of August.

fruit of the experience of grey hairs; it is this—*The more fidelity there is in the Christian observance of this day, the greater is the blessing.*

Yes, I delight to believe that, stimulated by the words you have heard, you will make some effort to arrest the progress, in however small a degree, of the heavy car of Juggernaut under which modern society—often unconscious of the evil it is doing—crushes so many of the unhappy labouring classes, by depriving them of the rest of the Sabbath-day. “This day,” (let the word still press upon us, coming from the lips of one of those victims of the social plague of excursion-trains)—“This day is the saddest of all.”

You understand this cry of distress; it is not an isolated fact. Testimonies and letters, which could be easily produced, would demonstrate to you the sufferings which, in this age of railroads, of manufactures, of telegraphs, are inflicted upon a numerous and ever-increasing class of society. Is it possible, brethren of the Continent, that, in the presence of such a state of things of which you cannot be ignorant, you will do nothing, and allow yourselves to remain in a state of selfish indifference?

No! Stimulated by the noble example of your British and American brethren, you also—let me indulge the hope—will bring some succour to those who are obliged to earn their daily bread from the State or from public companies, and who live on the verge of almost incessant toil. You also will claim for those who possess not the privilege, from which you derive so much advantage—the privilege of enjoying with their families the repose of the Sabbath and the benefits of public worship.

And if, which I cannot believe, you feel no concern for the lot of so many people attached like serfs to this social glebe, at least think of your own children, whom you, Christian parents, are intending should enter into the service of public companies, or upon an industrial career. In any case remember, that it is to these men, who enervate and demoralize themselves by toil, almost without rest, and without God, that you shareholders confide your fortunes, and every time you travel entrust your lives.*

But I think I have said enough to persuade you that there is an urgent necessity for you to stretch out a helping hand to so many who are groaning under a yoke which, I have shown you, destroys alike their bodies and souls.

I will not here enter upon the development of the practical means by which to attain this end; since this part of the subject is reserved for the meeting to which you are invited.

It shall suffice now to reiterate that nothing less than an International Association is necessary, for it is a loud voice alone which can make itself

* I know well that in some great railway companies the agents, or some of them, have a periodical rest of some hours. But besides that this rest is insufficient, it is not, as far as I know, weekly, and if I am not mistaken it seldom happens on Sunday: serious considerations in the moral condition and life of the families of these agents. And how many of these industrial companies are there who encroach upon the rest of their subordinates! The history of many failures proves that in acting thus they reckon badly after all, and that the demoralization which is often the consequence of such a system, presses more heavily upon their *budget* than some of their directors imagine. Have not the terrible accidents, moreover, which so often affright the public, their secret cause in such a state of things?

heard amidst the clashing of the events and interests of life. It belongs to such an Association or its delegates to plead with the sovereigns of the world, who may be supposed in these times of general renovation sincerely to desire the happiness of their subordinates. Such an Association alone would feel itself strong enough to engage the attention of industrial administrations, which, for the most part, include many honourable men whose voice is too often silenced by timidity, or the difficulties of their position. Finally, such an Association only could effectually influence parents who, through indifference or the force of bad example, neglect the proper observance of the holy day, and to enforce its claims in their family.

Perhaps I ought here to finish ; but I must claim your attention for a moment longer. It is discussed what part the State should take in this question ; and this forms a stumbling-block to some.

No doubt, partizan as I am of the principle of a Free Church in a Free State, I do not ask the Government to mix itself up with religious and ecclesiastical affairs. But this question is not simply a religious question, and still less is it one belonging to the Church ; it involves social interests of the highest order ; it is one of the essential foundations of the well-being and organization of society ; it is an institution which, with marriage, is coeval with the origin of the human race, and destined by the Creator to survive to the end. These two institutions are of such a nature that it is evidently impossible to destroy them without subverting Revelation itself, and returning to a state of Pagan darkness and immorality.

The United States have understood this well. Altogether abstaining from any interference with individuals in the choice of their religious denomination, they maintain in the legislation of the different States of their federation these two pillars of all durable civilization—the Sabbath and marriage. Just as they reject *Mormonism* with its kindred polygamy, so they protect the Lord's-day. England also, as is well known, ever since the time of Alfred the Great, has consecrated the day of rest.*

But is not the veil which the Sabbath spreads over the industrial productions of these two nations a silent emblem of the deference to the law of God, which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race, the symbol at the same time of the secret whence they derive their progress, and of the aliment which feeds their prosperity ?

Adam Smith, the celebrated political economist ; Burke, the philosopher ; Blackstone, the jurist ; Macaulay, the historian, and many more illustrious writers, are emulous in setting forth the advantages of this institution. Only Proudhon, the apostle of socialism, fails to perceive them.

In this question, then—without exceeding its proper functions, and without infringing the legitimate rights of individual and industrial freedom—the State can and ought to interfere. It is not only its right, but its duty to do so. Whatever concerns the well-being of its functionaries, of those especially who depend on others for their livelihood, and of whom

* In the year 876 Alfred the Great ordained that this day should be especially solemnized, because it was that on which the Lord overthrew Satan. Athelstan, Canute, Edward the Confessor, and many other English sovereigns, both before and since the Reformation, have maintained this law.

it is in some sort the natural protector, lies within its province. Such is my firm conviction.

Since 1802, the First Consul, when counteracting the excesses of the French Revolution, re-established the week according to the Gregorian calendar, the Sabbath has become to all civilized people a time of hebdomadal rest, acknowledged to be indispensable to society. This legal appointment which makes one day a holiday is really necessary, whether to prevent public works and the tribunals from sitting on that day, or to stop, with all the practical consequences which every thoughtful man will quickly discover, as well the summons of the magistrate as the protest of the merchant; it directly conduces also to the suspension by the State, on the Sunday, of all its works which are not of absolute necessity; it facilitates the exercise of public worship, which without it is almost impossible;* and lastly, it lays down an economical and fruitful principle, which prevents the social forces from being scattered by concentrating them on six working days, alike for all.†

But still further: this legislative principle being adopted, the State, in my opinion, has something else to do. For in order that the day of rest may preserve its character, and the end designed by it may be attained, as I have shown in regard to public worship, the State owes protection to the Sabbath of the same kind as it grants to the repose of night. It belongs to its administrative function.

A question of public police presents itself here, of which I will not undertake to define the limits, and which presents itself under very different conditions in different places. But just because of the uncertainty which attaches to it, I ask that these limits, ill defined, perhaps even too rigid in certain States, of a sumptuary character, which have served their purpose—I ask that these limits should become a subject of serious study to philanthropists and legislators. It is worth the trouble, and will be a nobler work for the Societies, the formation of which I propose.

I do not certainly intend, as I have already said, to encroach on individual liberty or the rights of industry; but these rights themselves, in order that they may be preserved, must not place themselves in antagonism with other rights as sacred. But is not the maintenance of the physical and moral health of every member of the social state more sacred?‡ And if it is shown by the statistics of crime, and by undeniable hygienic proofs, that the interests of society, and the well-being of individuals, require surer restrictions than certain partisans of non-interference approve, how can the State draw back, for example, from a

* There can be no religion without worship, and there can be no worship without a Sabbath, as *M. de Montalembert* has somewhere said.

† If the Sunday had not been kept as a day of rest, and if the axe, the spade, the anvil, and the loom had been kept at work every day during the last three centuries, I have not the slightest doubt that at the present time we should be a much poorer and less civilized people than we are.—*Macaulay*.

‡ Among the different and numerous medical testimonies to the great importance of the hebdomadal rest as necessary to our human organization, from a hygienic and Christian point of view, few are more conclusive than that of Dr. R. Farre, before a Committee of the House of Commons. Those who consult this interesting document will find much valuable information on the subject of this paper. I might cite also the opinion of Wilberforce, who attributed to the pernicious effect of uninterrupted work the fatal end of two celebrated men, forgetful of the Sabbath; they each, as is known, committed suicide; Lord Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, and Sir Samuel Romilly.

measure which some countries have found good, that which requires the closing of public-houses at an early hour on Sunday?¹

I appeal to all the registers of correctional and criminal police, to the experience of physicians, judges, and of all who have served on juries, if the late closing of gin-shops, especially on the Sunday, is not the primary cause of the replenishing of hospitals and prisons?*

How much more might be said on such a subject! But I wish only to express my thoughts. It will belong to those who take this cause in hand to pursue the inquiry on these debated questions, which it is so important should be done.

And if it should be objected that the liberty of Jews and Mohammedans, citizens or subjects in our Christian states, would be imperilled by one such measure, I would reply by pointing to the example of the United States, and would say besides, with a profound thinker before whom this doubtful point was debated—it is a question of the majority.

Yes, as far as concerns these two imprescriptible rights designed to preserve the family weekly day, and the day of public rest, I do not think that I swerve from true economic and social principles, in saying that if these two non-Christian categories think well to avail themselves of the benefit of our institutions they must submit to the consequence; and that since the legislature evidently cannot set apart two days of public rest, it cannot but choose that which conforms to the wish of the greatest number. This wish, I am certain, in the greater part of continental Europe, would be all but unanimous in favour of Sunday, as it would be in favour of Christian marriage. In other words, in a State where the majority profess Christianity the day of weekly rest should be Sunday; in a Mussulman country, Friday; and in a Jewish State, should one ever be formed, Saturday. Thus the primordial and fundamental principle which I maintain would be preserved, and nobody would have any serious right to complain.

But enough. None of you will in any case contradict me if I conclude by saying, that the observance of the Sabbath will be to benefit at once both body and soul; that to promote its observance will be largely to co-operate to the religious and social improvement which it is the object of these assemblies to advance.

Permit me to say to you, once more, parents of families who hear me, and you the friends of every good work, employ yourselves, each in the place of his birth, in tying some of the meshes, so to speak, of this international web, the formation of which I have pleaded before you.

Your hearts and consciences have long told you that the Sabbath is the Lord's-day, that it is also the family day, but above all the labourer's day. If, as a preceding speaker (M. de Pressensé) has said, quoting Gladstone, the nineteenth century is the age of workmen, it is the age also to which it belongs to employ the effective means of association to restore to the workman the freedom of his Sabbath.

It is indeed said that he will abuse it. It may be; but it will be on his own responsibility. And when some, by indulging in drink, have turned to evil the benefit that was given them, is it not true that the

* The proofs are so numerous that they could find a place only in a much larger work.

overseers of the workshop may be more exacting for the return to work on Monday morning, and that they will have thus contributed to regain for society the time which was lost in black Monday? In a great number of cases also the housewife, the mother of the family, will have, what is so essential to her happiness, and to the morality of the children, her husband sitting down on the Sunday morning at their own fireside.

Let it not be forgotten that Sunday commenced in the family is ordinarily finished in the family, just as the day begun in work is too often ended in drunkenness and debauch.

Let us then contribute while we have the opportunity to the restoration of a day which the laws and police regulations of many countries still favour. To resolve thus is urgent, for with the liberal tendencies of the day, these administrative and legal arrangements may before long encounter new assailants, and even be altogether obliterated from the national codes of Western Europe. If success should but imperfectly respond to our efforts, we may at least be assured that many hearts will bless us; for many Christians will be thereby satisfied in their faith, many fathers will be encouraged in their difficult and delicate task, many families will be made happier, many men finally will be stopped in that fatal downward course to which bad examples draw them. Who knows not the force of example whether for good or for evil? Look at that which our brethren of Great Britain and of the great American nation hold out to us. If in the state of society upon our continent it is not always possible to us to follow exactly in their steps, at least let us imitate their zeal and labour to raise in our several countries the moral platform which is so visibly depressed.

In conclusion I only add the devout wish that God may bless to every one the feeble and very inadequate words which I have uttered!

CALVIN AND OTHER REFORMERS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SABBATH.

As the opinion of Calvin was at different times referred to in the private conversations to which the introduction of the Sabbath question gave rise at the Conference, I have thought it useful to reproduce the substance of the teaching of this Reformer, as it stands in his Catechism entitled "Form of Instruction for Children in Christianity," and published by Robert Estienne in 1553.

S. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

M. Does He order us to labour on six days that we may rest on the seventh? *S.* Not absolutely; but allowing man six days for labour, He excepts the seventh, that it may be devoted to rest. *M.* Does He interdict us from all kinds of labour? *S.* This commandment has a separate and peculiar reason. As the observance of rest is part of the old ceremonies, it was abolished by the advent of Christ. *M.* Do you mean

that this commandment properly refers to the Jews, and was, therefore, merely temporary? *S.* I do, in as far as it is ceremonial. *M.* What then? Is there anything under it beyond ceremony? *S.* It was given for three reasons. *M.* State them to me. *S.* To figure spiritual rest; for the preservation of ecclesiastical polity; and for the relief of slaves. *M.* What do you mean by spiritual rest? *S.* When we keep holiday* from our own works, that God may perform His own works in us. *M.* What, moreover, is the method of thus keeping holiday? *S.* By crucifying our flesh,—that is renouncing our own inclination, that we may be governed by the Spirit of God. *M.* Is it sufficient to do so on the seventh day? *S.* Nay, continually. After we have once begun we must continue during the whole course of life. *M.* Why then is a certain day appointed to figure it? *S.* There is no necessity that the reality should agree with the figure in every respect, provided it be suitable in so far as is required for the purpose of figuring. *M.* But why is the seventh day prescribed rather than any other day? *S.* In Scripture the number seven implies perfection. It is, therefore, apt for denoting perpetuity. It at the same time indicates that this spiritual rest is only begun in this life, and will not be perfect until we depart from this world. *M.* But what is meant when the Lord expects us to rest by His own example? *S.* Having finished the creation of the world in six days, He dedicated the seventh to the contemplation of His works. The more strongly to stimulate us to this, he set before us His own example. For nothing is more desirable than to be formed after His image. *M.* But ought meditation on the works of God to be continual, or is it sufficient that one day out of seven be devoted to it? *S.* It becomes us to be daily exercised in it, but because of our weakness one day is specially appointed. And this is the polity which I mentioned. *M.* What order then is to be observed on that day? *S.* That the people meet to hear the doctrine of Christ, to engage in public prayer, and make profession of their faith. *M.* Now explain what you mean by saying that the Lord intended by this commandment to provide also for the relief of slaves. *S.* That some relaxation might be given to those under the power of others. Nay, this, too, tends to maintain a common polity. For when one day is devoted to rest, every one accustoms himself to labour during the other days. *M.* Let us now see how far this command has reference to us. *S.* In regard to the ceremony, I hold that it was abolished, as the reality existed in Christ. *M.* How? *S.* Because by virtue of His death our old man is crucified, and we are raised up to newness of life. *M.* What of the commandment then remains for us? *S.* Not to neglect the holy ordinances which contribute to the spiritual polity of the Church; especially to frequent sacred assemblies, to hear the Word of God, to celebrate the sacraments, and engage in the regular prayers, as enjoined. *M.* But does the figure give us nothing more? *S.* Yes, indeed. We must give heed to the thing meant by it; namely, that being engrafted into the body of Christ, and made His members, we cease from our own works, and so resign ourselves to the government of God. (*Translated by Henry Beveridge for the Calvin Translation Society. Calvin's Tracts, Vol. ii.*)

The opinion expressed by Calvin in the preceding extract is only a summary of what is more fully developed, and is most worthy of attention, in his *Institutes*, c. viii, book ii.—an opinion which it is impossible to read without admiring the just and profound Scriptural views of this man of God.

With regard to the other Reformers, as far as a rapid examination of their works enables me to affirm, they are unanimous, with some slight shades of difference, in their controversies with the Sabbatists in maintaining the rest of the Sabbath, as also the sanctification of the day. If

* Considering the now popular and conventional signification of this word, and its post-Reformation origin, it is, perhaps, scarcely just to Calvin to employ it as the translation of his words, "*C'est de cesser de nos propres œuvres.*"—ED.

some justly insisted upon the privileges of the new Covenant, there is not one who does not strongly affirm not only the Divine institution of the day, which the Creator, at the beginning of the world's history, consecrated by His example, and its confirmation in the decalogue; but also its perpetuation under the new economy. All likewise, although in different degrees, declare the legal and Judaic primitive Sabbath to be abolished. (*See on this subject the Catechism of Farel, the writings of Bucer, Viret, Zwingli, &c.*)

As to the modification introduced by the New Covenant *Luther* goes much further than the rest, as may be seen by his Catechism, and by some passages in his Table Talk which have the appearance of levity, but which we need not dwell upon. Still he clearly maintains, as also does his friend *Melancthon* (*Loci Theol.* iii. 4th Command.), his disciples *Musculus* (*Loci Comm.* Tilt. xi. p. 92-3), and *P. Martyr* (*Loci Comm.* bk. ii. ch. vii), the divine origin of the Lord's-day. Like his disciples, the great Reformer insists upon its conscientious observance, not only after the example of the Creator, but in the interest of man himself, and for the rest of servants and workmen; and also for the exercise of public and private worship. "Sanctify it (he says) as much for the sake of thy body as of thy soul . . . for thy Creator sanctified it from the foundation of the world," &c.

In the 17th century the same earnest controversy was carried on between the Sabbatists and Anti-sabbatists. *Cocceius*, one of the distinguished theologians of this period, in becoming the organ of the latter, is very guarded in his controversy with *Hoornbeek* on the foundations of this institution. He not only, with his opponents, recognized the Christian and social need of the day, but he declares that it will remain immoveable to the end of the world (*De Sabbato et Quiete*, N.T. 81).

LETTER FROM THE BASLE SOCIETY FOR THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE LORD'S DAY.

Honoured Gentlemen and Brethren,—In the name of the Basle Society for the Sanctification of the Lord's-day, and through that in the name of the whole of Switzerland, we take the liberty of addressing the Evangelical Alliance assembled at Amsterdam, imploring upon it and its transactions the blessing of the Almighty.

Permit us to inform you that after the invitation of your Society at the Geneva Conference in 1861 to the friends of the Gospel to occupy themselves with the question of the better observance of the Lord's-day, many associations were formed for this purpose at Geneva, Neuchâtel, Basle, and Schaffhausen, and their efforts have been attended and followed with a blessing. But the torpor which has weighed so heavily and for centuries upon the subject of the Sabbath hinders the development, the growth, and the establishment of our work, and without a fresh impulse it is in danger of becoming stationary, that is of retrograding. And if we look at the events which agitate states and nations, ought we not to see in the hand which presses upon the whole earth a warning from the Most High, for the neglect of this solemn and important ordinance, which dates from the beginning of the world? A new movement, an awakening cry, an appeal to consciences is then absolutely necessary; and from whom should it come if not from this same society, this Evangelical Alliance which made its voice heard in 1861, and which from its European position is able to make it resound through the whole of Christendom?

Will you then, honoured gentlemen and brethren, receive our communication with Christian kindness, and in taking up the subject of the Sabbath, as announced in your programme, adopt such measures as may be efficacious to awaken the zeal and activity of all the faithful and devoted friends of the holy cause of the Lord's-day?

SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

R. A. MACFIE, Esq., *Liverpool*: I am an original member of the Evangelical Alliance, having been present at Liverpool where the preparations were made, and at London when the foundation-stone was laid. I have also attended the several General Conferences. As a friend of the institution (a layman), I wish to say a few words on the subject of the Lord's Day. I cannot acquiesce in the views contained in the papers. These views are not universally entertained by any means by Christians, especially of this continent, and so far, therefore, are alien to the Alliance's legitimate range of action. I would say to the truly good brother from Geneva who read, JOHN CALVIN did not think as he does, nor, I suppose, did MARTIN LUTHER. It is an unspeakable privilege that we have a Lord's Day. God in His providence secures us it, but it is not enjoined on us. I distinguish between the law which was given to Israel and the rules or precepts for all men which are laid down, rather than commanded, in the New Testament. It is true our Lord declared that He came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil. Yet He has been pleased to emancipate from the external bonds of the law (*o νόμος*) and place His Church under the constraining influence of love, the law of liberty. At the first great conference, that at Jerusalem, recorded in the 13th chapter of Acts, the Holy Spirit lays down four requirements, that distinguished the Jews from Gentiles, as things necessary to be observed by converts from among the heathen. Among these we do not find a Sabbath. This absence of precept was recognized by the primitive Christians, and the leading Reformers too. They saw the Epistles of Paul agree therewith. I cannot sympathize with the Scotch or Judaic view that there is a Sabbatic element in the Lord's Day. Still less would I feel at liberty to teach such a view to others. How serious the responsibility some take! In China, I am sorry to say, certain missionaries and Churches have suspended native converts for not keeping the Sabbath. This I lament, and consider non-accordant with Scripture, which excludes judging in the matter of Sabbaths. But to come nearer ourselves. How does such legalism affect—ay, trouble, and endanger—young brethren and others engaged in business in continental cities. They must in many places find difficulty in complying. Why then should we burden their conscience without Scripture warrant? Let us, however, for ourselves value, and let us encourage them too to value, the weekly rest, and its precious opportunities of meeting together and studying the Bible in private as a privilege for which we all ought to give the Lord thanks, and which we ought all to cherish and embrace to the utmost of our power.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PLAN OF CHRISTIAN FINANCE.

BY REV. JOHN ROSS,

LONDON.

THIS is the “age of great Cities”—also of great Discoveries—great Enterprises—great Missions—great Charities. Great Funds are essential to sustain existing religious and philanthropic enterprises—for human want is now being gauged, human misery is now being laid bare. First, to erect sanctuaries of Divine worship, and to maintain worship and a sacred ministry—again, the urgent soul-wants of three-fourths of mankind, entirely ignorant of the only Saviour, Jesus Christ, require large giving—then, there are the ceaseless calls of education and philanthropy. These three grand departments demand vast and ever augmenting resources.

What is more certain than that in the course of civil, social, and personal expenditure, unless *systematic provision* be made for works of beneficence, they will be jostled aside, and fail to obtain needful funds? Is not method better than no method? Are not general methods of finance in God’s work merely human? Is not a Divine method better than a human one? Can a Christian consistently ignore a Divine method? Can he innocently cling to a human one, after he knows of a Divine one?

Well would it be if the learned and gifted felt that they may yet have some truths and measures to learn from practical compliance with the Word of God, and if their motto, “The Bible, and the Bible alone,” were their only allowed guide in Christian beneficence, as it is in Christian doctrines and morals; sufficing for all states and wants of Christ’s Church, and needing and permitting no human expedients. Little considered in the earlier ages of her history, either in the *truth-sealing, martyr age*, or in the subsequent *truth-inquiring, and truth-preserving age*, when she had enough to do to stand her ground against powerful foes; the Church of Christ is, in this truth-propagating age, from sheer necessity, investigating *Church finance* in the light of Holy Scripture. Within the last thirty years five series of Prize Essays on this theme have reached the public eye from the press of Britain and America; and the British Systematic Beneficence

Society has, chiefly through its volume of Prize Essays, "Gold and the Gospel," and its organ, "The Benefactor," during seven years' indefatigable labour of its enterprising Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Cather, greatly stimulated thought and conviction thereon.

In the statement of a startling truth or measure, a bold course is often the wisest. In now presenting this subject under a novel proposition—THE FINANCIAL LAW OF CHRIST THE NECESSITY OF THE AGE—the author affirms his full belief therein; and were not brevity necessary, he would adduce personal testimonies to sustain it. He alone is responsible for the opinions here advanced.

I—WHAT IS THE FINANCIAL LAW OF CHRIST?

That God claims a part of man's property for His own glory and the good of mankind, what Christian will deny? God is the only real Proprietor of what man holds merely in trust. The claim of creative right has deepened by the infinite price of the Redeemer's blood, who demands its devotion as a Saviour Lord. Apart from what the Christian applies to personal, family, and civil uses for the glory of God, some portion of his possessions is required for worship, evangelization, and humanity.

Fallen man deserved the anger of God. God graciously spared him, and instituted worship through sacrifice of valuable animals, as a remembrancer of personal guilt, and as a promise of Divine atonement. God claims of every man towards Himself, penitential submission—implicit faith—cordial love and devotion—and grateful tribute. On behalf of man, God claims sympathy and benevolent bounty from his fellow-men. God asserted this claim when he bade Adam hold the fruit of one tree sacred to Himself, Gen. ii. 17.; Abraham and Jacob met this claim by devoting tithe, Gen. xiv., xxviii. God claimed tithes and gifts for worship and the poor in the Jewish law, Num. xviii., Deut. xiv., Lev. xix. Conspicuous features of these demands are—the *priority of God's claim*—that *provision* for it be made before man's self-enjoyment—that it bear some *suitable proportion* to the Divine glory and grace—and that for fulness and power, *system* is essential; *i. e.*, that the work of God be provided for before man's indulgence, and at all risks.

The New Testament also has its plan of meeting God's claim, containing the same elements of *priority, certainty, proportion, and system*. "On the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him," 1 Cor. xvi. 2, sustained and illustrated by the weighty arguments and motives of 2 Cor. viii. and ix. *Universal giving*, "Every one of you." *Proportion in amount*, "as God hath prospered." Surely one-tenth, unless of a small income, and more of a considerable or a large income. *Systematic provision*, "lay by him in store." *Sacred devotion*, "on the first day

of the week." Herein God claims a part of every man's income, to be laid aside from ordinary funds quickly after receipt; the Sabbath being preferable, whenever it is not impracticable.

God expects of every Christian real and substantial tribute. He leaves him who knows his own condition to determine *what*, in the light of Scripture, and in the exercise of conscience, justice and love.

II.—PROOFS THAT THE INJUNCTION CONTAINED IN 1 COR. XVI. 2, IS THE FINANCIAL LAW OF CHRIST.

Of the Patriarchal and Jewish Churches Jehovah was the only Lord. When Israel asked for a king, God distinctly stated what extra liabilities their choice involved, 1 Sam. viii. Ages afterward, when questioned concerning national tribute, Jesus taught the payment of this, and also of God's claim, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," Mark xii. 17.

Christ is *Sole King* in His Church, Matt. xviii. 15—20, xxviii. 18. He taught His disciples that He would make further disclosures to them, "When He the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth." The Saviour sent the Apostle Paul to the Gentiles, Acts xxvi. 17, 18; Rom. xi. 13. The constitution of Christ's Church is Christian, not Jewish. The Apostle Paul was the great organizer of Churches. The first epistle to the Corinthians is the great Church-organizing epistle. In its closing chapter the Apostle institutes a system of finance. This system bears the character of an authoritative and repeated law: "*As I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye.*" What language could be more authoritative than this? Concerning the visit of Timothy, the bearer of this epistle, Paul says, "For this cause," &c., iv. 17. Does not this involve that this instruction was also given to the other Pauline Churches? Does this carry no authority for us? Paul did not claim authority for himself, seeing that he says elsewhere, "Speak I, not the Lord." When he does not so guard his statement, does not the Lord speak through him?

The Jews were taught to infer proportional offerings to possessions in all particulars, from an example given in relation to trespass-offerings in Lev. v. Were not the Corinthians left to infer equally the best mode of action, from the command given by the Apostle Paul concerning this necessity? Devout Jews presented gifts when they came to the temple worship. Christian converts, glowing with love, laid their offerings on the altar of Christ, for the interests of His kingdom and the relief of His people; the natural outgrowth of love for the Saviour and His saints; the practical and material operation of a vital heart-fellowship in Him; at once an indisputable evidence of sincere unity and love, and an exhaustless store of needful

supplies. The method taught by the Apostle Paul, to provide the revenues of the Church, is the expansion of the Jewish and Pentecostal Church systems, of making instant provision out of all realized gains at the first diet of worship, for home purposes; to the making of the same provision for more remote requirements—the practice for the home necessity having proved its effectiveness for other objects—when the home want was less urgent and the distant want very urgent. Is not this for us an implied and inferential obligation, sustained by a cumulative and presumptive argument?

New Testament institutions are not given with Sinaitic form and severity. They meet us as sacred provisions for urgent occasions. Their fitness for similar occasions implies their Divine obligation. They appeal to a willing heart, more than to a legal mind. “If any man will do His will,” &c., John vii. 17. Christ rules in love. Has His will, therefore, less authority? or less constraining power?

From the choice of deacons by the primitive Church, many Christians infer that the diaconal office is permanent; and from the freedom of Gentile Christians from Jewish ritual observances, Christians infer their own equal freedom. Why then should the *incidental* disclosure and practical application of this Apostolic financial method be treated as carrying less authority?

Man needs from God *all* that the Scriptures teach. The teachings of Scripture are *sufficient* for man. “Whatsoever things were written afore-time, were written for our learning.” Some guidance on this branch of Christian conduct surely may be looked for in the New Testament. Does not the Apostle Paul imply this in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. “All Scripture,” &c.? Does the New Testament contain any other method than this? Has any one who has honestly tried it, abandoned it as impracticable? Will the Christian say that this contains no direct or implied guidance for him? The Christian can only treat this method in one of three ways—ignore it, or accept it as an Apostolic rule, or adopt it as a suggestion from God. Can any Christian innocently treat it with neglect? If he adopt it as a suggestion from God for his own guidance, he does it the highest honour. If he does not, is it without the character of an Apostolic *rule* for him? If he will not rise to the spirit and doings of grace, does he not continue under the letter of *Apostolic rule*? Should not those who participate of the Lord’s Supper on the Apostolic warranty to Corinthian Christians contained in 1 Cor. xi. 23, also obey the *Apostolic financial principles* taught in the same epistle?

Seeing that the arguments and motives by which this method is commended in 2 Cor. viii. and ix., were not given till their original object was just terminating, were not these chapters intended as much for us as for the Corinthians?

The Apostle Paul stimulated to noble devotedness for Christ’s

sake, as the practical application of the grand doctrine of the Resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 58; xvi. 1, 2. Has not this glorious truth the same cogent lessons for all subsequent Christians, on behalf of the entire work of Christ?

Seeing that Paul urges Gentiles to the support of the Christian ministry, by the Jewish law in relation to priesthood, "saith not the law the same also," 1 Cor. ix. 8, and that he then affirms this to be an appointment of the Lord, though we lack any express form of it, "Even so," &c., &c., v. 14, *is this law nothing to us in its great principles of proportion, system, priority, and certainty for the Lord's claim?*

Let any one who demands a more literal law than this, add what words he pleases to make it so. Then let him candidly say whether such addition would not imply either his want of mental power to infer a sacred obligation, or his want of sufficient love to raise a Divine suggestion to a chosen rule of life? What would a more positive rule than this be short of a stringent law, demanding absolute obedience, and giving no scope for love?

If Christians accept, as privilege or precept, only what is directly commanded in the Word of God, and reject what is implied, or to be inferred, how much of their assumed charter of grace and rule of life remains to them? *Is it verily so, that most Christians admit general claims of sacred stewardship, till one is advanced which requires to be reduced to practice, such as that of making provision for all claims?* Do they then say this is to us neither a law of life nor a lesson of love? By all that is sacred and earnest in truth, I ask what then is this teaching to us? Has it no lesson for us? If it has the lesson of proportion, why not that of time and method also? Does not dislike of Scripture rule prove absence or great feebleness of piety? Prodigals and rogues dislike law, but society needs and imposes laws notwithstanding. Christians are neither without nor above rules of life "Being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ." 1 Cor. ix. 21.

III. HOW THIS FINANCIAL LAW OF CHRIST IS THE NECESSITY OF THE AGE.

The present age greatly needs loftiness of aim—seriousness of feeling—steadfastness of pursuit—and ardour of devotion. These would strengthen each other. Faithful consecration of substance to God elevated by Christian love to a financial rule of life, would nourish every moral and spiritual principle in the soul. Storing the Lord's portion on the Lord's Day is "the necessity of the age," from its tendency—

1. *To check the idolatry of money, and to strengthen the love of God in the heart.*

Prominent among features of the age is the idolatry of money. Mars, Bacchus, and Apollo have their votaries, but Mammon is the god whose favour the millions pursue. Whether for accumulation, enjoyment, or ostentation, the love of money greatly increases. To check this passion, a higher object of love to which gains would be cheerfully devoted is needed. Frequent money-getting for self, strengthens money-love and self-love. Frequent getting money for God and devoting it to God, strengthens love of God and weakens love of money, by exercising, to use Dr. Chalmers's words, "the expulsive power of a new affection." Dethroning Mammon from the heart, and enthroning Christ there, it provides first and substantially for His glory. Its frequent devotion in hallowed exercises, cherishes reverence and love to God, and elevates the soul to higher spiritual life.

2. *Adequately to meet the demands of religion and humanity.*

The funds now applied to religion and humanity constitute a large aggregate. Still, requirements vastly exceed receipts. The measures used to obtain funds are various—often unworthy. They prove want of unity of plan, of high liberality, and of warm love to Christ. What is needed is, deliberate purpose to give—a plan and principle of giving—and the constant provision of a measure of receipts, at least up to a determined point, in order to be prepared to give. *Giving*, not paying. *Giving of love and gratitude*—not of mere justice and duty. Providing on receipt of income, from love to Christ, a proportion worthy of His surpassing claims and glory.

Let a few examples explain and illustrate:—A merchant who paid an annual sum, made it four-fold when he offered it in worship to God. A new spiritual joy more than repaid his larger gift. A person who paid 15s. a quarter, pew-rent, gave instead of this, 30s. of what he had stored for God Sabbath by Sabbath. A labourer who paid 2s. 6d. a quarter, gave 2s. 6d. per week of the stored Lord's portion. A tradesman who paid £2 a quarter, gives 10s. weekly of Sabbath storings. A mechanic who gave 1s. a year for Foreign Missions, gives 3d. out of every Sabbath's storings. A gentleman who gave £5 Mission Subscription, gave £15 of a year's Sabbath store fund. A manufacturer who formerly helped many benevolent objects, requires to look out for other objects, now that he stores on the Lord's-day. Were all Christians thus to act, how much more adequate to needs would Christian gifts soon prove!

There are noble givers on other methods, but they are exceptions. One of the noblest lately said, "If I had known of this method when I was young, what thousands more I should have given, and how much more pleasantly I should have given them!"

3. *To exhibit the power and beauty of godliness.*

(a.) *By a warm Christian liberality.* The human side of piety is

godlike goodness, benevolence and bounty, from love of and in imitation of Christ. All men can understand this. The Apostle felt that this would assure Jewish Christians of the sterling faith of Corinthian believers, and call forth in response their grateful prayers, 2 Cor. ix. 13, 14. The lover of Christ is commended to man by His teachings and His sacrifices. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." "Ye know the grace," &c., Acts xx. 35, 2 Cor. viii. 9. Liberality is not salvation. Giving is not grace. Yet the Apostle urged Corinthians to like proof of a state of salvation and inwrought grace as Macedonian believers had given. "See that ye abound," &c., "Prove the sincerity," &c., "Shew ye the proof of your love," 2 Cor. viii. 7, 8, 24.

(b.) *By asserting the supremacy of, and providing for, things spiritual and eternal.* Man's schemes for gain assert the supremacy of things temporal, and as it regards many persons, make eternal realities to be fictions, if not falsehoods. The continual devotion of the best of the temporal to the furtherance of the spiritual and eternal, carries resistless conviction. Christians must manifest the superiority of the spiritual, by sacrificing worldly gains for the interests of heaven, before their profession will become a vital force and blessing to man.

Man must meet the demands of his animal and mental natures. The line between what is lawful and what is excessive is not easily drawn, and varies with different persons. The craving is for indulgence, under the plea of need. Unless care be taken first to "honour the Lord with substance, and with the firstfruits of all increase," almost certainly wants, with wishes for indulgence, display, or avarice, will so far drain resources, that when the claims of religion and benevolence arise, no adequate gifts will be at command. Worse than this, a strengthening passion for the material will effectually stifle all vivid realization of the spiritual and Divine. To this state of things fashion, ambition, and pleasure are fast hurrying millions.

(c.) *By fostering simplicity of life, and personal fidelity to God.*—When man breaks away from simplicity of life, no bounds can be fixed to his cravings. Ambition is insatiable. While he lives as in public, comparing himself and his means and gifts with others, man will find abundant nourishment for pride, or for discontent; and he will have little inclination, and small funds at command, for works of bounty. If he cherish simplicity of character and habits of life, his wants are easily satisfied, while a peaceful contentment brightens his faith and joy in God. If he reflect on his deserts as a sinner before God, he will always find rich ground for gratitude, and also find some whom he is able to befriend. In a word, the New Testament system of storing the Lord's portion on the Lord's-day is found in practice to be eminently helpful—to habits of self-denial and contentment—to a broad sympathy with humanity—to earnest effort

after fidelity of stewardship before God—to a lively gratitude for and abiding trust in Divine goodness—and to an humble and joyful sense of interest in the free grace and love of God in Christ.

(d.) *By liberally sustaining the honour of Christ in the sight of man*—the Saviour is the only Lord in His Church. Obedience is the test of Christian discipleship. “If ye love me keep my commandments.” “If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed.” This financial rule either is, or is not, one of the “commandments,” one of the “words” of Christ to His Church. Who will say it is not? *Let those who admit that it is, obey it!*

The kingdom of Christ in this world requires funds. To meet the case and honour Christ, these funds must be large, and cheerfully rendered. The claims of earthly governments are obtained by effective system, and not left to the mere convenience or caprice of subjects. The experience of every year proves, that more of system and principle is required in providing for the Lord's treasury. Sabbath storing for God by Christians generally, besides providing for the Lord's work *first and certainly* a suitable proportion of men's receipts, would cultivate love and allegiance to God, and would demonstrate to the world, by substantial resources, real devotion of heart to Him, “Whiles by the experiment,” &c., 2 Cor. ix. 13. Here is a mine as full as God's bounty to man, and as yielding as man's grateful love to God. For these among many spiritual reasons, and because it cherishes family economy—freedom from debt—cash payments—provision for contingencies—peacefulness of mind—and faithfulness of heart in prosperity—the spirit and the needs of this age loudly call for personal Sabbath storing for God and mankind. Has the low moral influence and the insufficient funds obtained by all human methods combined no voice on this subject?

The system called weekly offering or offertory, is an adaptation of this system to Church necessities. This plan was practised in the Apostolic Churches full two centuries subsequent to the death of the Apostles. Its success depends on breadth of aim and constancy of practice.

Time would fail to answer objections to this method. Let a few sentences anticipate some of them. 1. As to Sabbath storing and giving. Sacred seasons are needful for sacred services. Only under the hallowed associations of the Sabbath, is man likely to provide suitably for spiritual claims. The spirit of the counting-house will fall below the claims of souls and of the cross of Christ. A Christian vowed in God's house to give £5 to a certain object. The counting-house spirit reduced it to £2. The darkness of soul thereby incurred, led him to confess the fact fourteen years afterwards with shame and grief, on his death-bed. 2. Frequent receivings call for frequent givings, if self-love and money-love is to be mastered, and if

fulness, ease, and pleasure are to be experienced in giving. Are not *frequent periodical seasons* found to be needful for proper sleep, for food, for business, and for worship? Are they not equally needful for worthy giving of our substance to God? 3. Instead of cherishing formality, it cherishes conscientiousness. 4. It provides for regular wants, and also to respond to extra demands. 5. The best evidence of regret of the late perception of this method, will be its instant adoption. 6. The test of PRACTICABILITY and virtue is hearty trial.

Do not the urgent wants of man, and the royal authority and love of Christ, invoke Christians to cease from human measures of finance, and to adopt that which is taught in the statute-book of Christ, and which multitudes have found to be fraught with such varied and blessed results? Is not the grand obstacle to the wider success of the benevolent enterprises pleaded before this assembly of Evangelical Christians of many lands, DEFICIENT FUNDS? *Can Christians more easily remove this obstacle, than by prayerfully practising the Financial Law of Christ?*

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

W. VAN OOSTERWYK BRUYN, JUNR.

IN what way can the Young Men's Christian Associations be rendered not only useful, but attractive, in order thereby to fulfil a social requirement?

The answering of this question gives me the desired opportunity of communicating some particulars concerning the Young Men's Christian Associations, which I feel sure, with God's blessing, will greatly tend to awaken and enliven the interest in institutions which certainly may be reckoned among the remarkable signs of the time. The origin, extension, and most blessed effects produced by these institutions may well fill us with gratitude to God, who put it into the hearts of His children to discover means most appropriate for that object, and which tended, under all circumstances and ages, to strengthen the weak, to heal the sick, to bring back the lost, and to save what still could be saved.

The two principal objects that I shall endeavour to keep in view while now addressing you are: the peculiar requirements of young men, and the way in which in a Christian manner these requirements can be fulfilled. It is not necessary to say that the most important and most delightful time of life is youth, but at the same time it is the most dangerous. And if now we would try to assist the young man in this most important epoch of life, we have only to follow him in his choice and inclinations, to consider his actions and occupations, and he himself will show us what means we must employ, to become a blessing to him, and which, without coming into conflict with his *peculiarities*, may save him from the ruin of sin. There are two things which must be carefully observed and provided for. Youth seeks *social converse* and *activity or employment*. The longing after social converse is one of the most beautiful points of Christian civilization. The Christian has his fireside, a thing of which a heathen has no idea; the family circle is the centre around which all the circles of a man's life here on earth revolve, the centre from whence stream all rays of love and joy; which comprehends our entire existence here on earth, with all its sorrows and joys, but which also makes it a school and rearing-place of all virtues, and a preparation for our dwelling in the House of our Heavenly Father with its manifold mansions. Happy the youth who knows and loves his *home*, who enjoys the sweet delights of the parental roof, who never ceases to regard himself as a link of that whole, which he calls his family. But

some young men's callings render it impossible for them to dwell in the home of their parents, and moreover in some countries (especially in Germany) a young man has to leave his home at an early age in order to see the world and prepare himself for his calling. At all events it is a delusion to fancy that a young man will feel inclined *always* to remain at home, it is in perfect contradiction with his peculiar requirements and wishes; the dove may repeatedly return, and with pleasure, to the well-known spot of a certain roof, but nothing can prevent her flying abroad. But a young man, on leaving his home, takes with him this longing for social intercourse. He does not like to take his walks abroad solitary and alone; he cannot speak to himself and work alone. He feels the want of conversing with other young men, and this intercourse is of the most vital importance for his after-life, yea for eternity. How can we now be of beneficial influence to him in his choice? How recommend to him, by word and example, the paths of peace and justice? With whom shall he walk first—and with predilection—in the paths of righteousness? The discipline of the school is a thing of the past, the voice of the catechist has died away, the parental roof is left behind, it is *now* that he pre-eminently requires *christian friends*. For a young man there is no greater blessing than to meet with a true and faithful friend; the most beautiful examples of self-sacrifice, of unswerving fidelity, of love, assistance, and advice, the most charming souvenirs of our lives, stand in closest connection with early friendships.

Young Men's Associations ought, therefore, first of all, to be the place where such ties of friendship are knit. There a young man must have the opportunity offered him to begin the most intimate relations with his comrades in inclination and age. There the plans must be framed and the *future* discussed, which occupy his mind. There he must meet with that sympathy which his young heart yearns after. If the world offers *young men* ample scope *jointly* to ruin themselves, if one young man is most apt to carry along the other young man on the path of destruction, if the conversation of the one is most suited to lead the other to the use of immoral and frivolous language, and thereby leading to the loss of self-respect and proper shame; if one young man too often succeeds in filling the heart of another with the germ of doubt and unbelief, of conceit and mockery, of leading him to the dancing saloon, the theatre, and house of bad repute—who is more fitted than the Christian youth to gain the heart and inclinations of another young man, for the pleasures felt in the service of the Lord—for striving after and using his talents and strength in the attainment of all that is noble and good? From whence it follows of itself, that the Young Men's Christian Associations should endeavour, by all means in their power, to further a pleasant intimacy between young men, and to promote everything that can make them feel *at home*. The pleasanter and the more inviting the exterior appearance of the buildings employed for the Young Men's Christian Associations are, the better it will be; the greater the interest and the intimacy young men can be made to feel for one another, the better it is. A special locality, and the appearance of a Christian club-room should be—and has for the greater part been—an object never lost sight of.

But there must be not only the opportunity granted of pleasant and friendly intercourse, but also to *do* something. There is certainly nothing more melancholy than to see the spiritual life of our youths, which ought to flow like a lucid stream, become stagnant in the pestilential pools of barren, theoretical contemplation and self-sufficiency, thereby all life and freshness becoming lost. *Occupation* is indispensably necessary for our young men who are more inclined towards *acting* than *reasoning*. And first and foremost, it is the study of the Bible that should occupy the minds of our well-inclined youths. It is only in the sight of God's Word that a youth can walk in safety, and keep in the path of the righteous. It should be a principal object of the Young Men's Christian Associations to awaken a desire to read, converse, and thoroughly examine the Holy Scriptures, and all that stands in connection therewith. And, my dear friends, what an extensive and noble field presents itself to our hearts and minds when we take *this* view of the matter. It is, alas! a fact that there are thousands of young men, who bear the Christian name (and not young men only, most grievous to say), who find time and opportunity to devour a multitude of books which are perfect poison for their inner life, who feel ashamed of dedicating but *one* single hour in the week in order to meet and jointly to shake that tree, which, in one continuous stream, pours golden apples down upon us; who are perfectly loth to listen to serious and kindly admonition and advice, from whence flow heavenly consolation and comfort; there are thousands who feel not the slightest attraction for those invisible things which are revealed to us in the Gospel, who examine the Word of God only and alone in the endeavour to find out the seeming contradictions therein contained, and then to criticize it according to their one-sided views—shall all this prevent us from putting the Book of Life in the hands of our young men? No, all Young Men's Christian Associations are useless *if they do not point out* through means of God's Word and Spirit, *to the young men the path of life* if the salvation of their souls is not the primary object of all their endeavours. And it is not only Biblical history, the doctrine of salvation wherewith their minds ought to be occupied; it is also the wonderful history of the Bible itself, its effect and influence, not only on individuals, but also on the world, which should enlarge and enrich his *mind*, after he has been labouring with his *hands* during the greater part of the day. It is, therefore, with joy that we can state the fact that it is the Word of God on which these Associations are generally founded, and that it is the study of the Bible which forms the centre of their studies and labours. The work to be done can be very appropriately divided into two classes, the work to be done *within* and *without* the building of the Association, but between both there is a most intimate connection. If they meet for mutual prayer, it will be to gain strength for the good fight that must be fought in the *world*; if they meet *within* doors to acquire a deeper knowledge of the Lord's ways and doings, it will be the object to show *without* that they have learnt how to act according to the prescription of the Bible.

But the labours of our Young Men's Christian Associations will also greatly depend upon the number and acquirements of the members, upon the financial means they may have to dispose of, and

so forth. The opportunity of practising singing is highly desirable; for mechanics and apprentices it may be very useful to receive instructions in reference to their callings; often young men may meet with some object of charitable purpose, and it is especially the Sunday-school teacher who can again impart to others what he has learnt during the week; social readings, delivery of poetry, give ample and pleasant occupation to those who are more developed in mind; the study of history, universal, and of our own country, more especially again of the Church and of the Mission, enlarge his views, and awaken great interest in the events occurring in the world, and give a more lucid idea of that contest which unceasingly, and everywhere, is going on between light and darkness. We must not forget the pleasant meetings of so many young men, the unity of feeling thereby engendered, the celebration of annual feasts, and then we shall be able to understand that the Young Men's Christian Association transplants a youth into a sphere in which he is rendered able to wage war with greater chances of success than otherwise, against egotism and the world: there he can repose from all the difficulties and fatigues to which a Christian's life is prone, and gain fresh courage to continue the warfare; there he can find a place of safety and a refuge against the temptations that surround him; it is there that he can know and enjoy the love of our Lord; then his soul being freed from the strength of sin, the peace of God can enter in; there he may learn to see and understand that all terrestrial treasures are as nothing compared with the fulness and glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Who of us would not desire that all our young men should participate in such an inestimable blessing?

I have endeavoured to give a concise idea of what we may expect of our Young Men's Association; let us now see in how far the Associations now existing meet the existing requirements, and what should still further be done to render them more useful and perfect.

For the kingdom of God nothing can be brought about by artificial means. Every plant that is not planted by the heavenly Husbandman withers, but whatever He plants originates, as it were, of itself, and develops itself naturally and freely under His faithful care..

Well may we feel astonished when we begin to consider how very little Christianity, during a long lapse of time, has done for young men; how not the least precaution has been taken and exercised when it was most necessary to save him from ruin. But this fact is not an isolated one. Have not the eyes of Christians been opened by the Spirit of God, some twenty years ago, to all that was yet to be done? Innumerable Societies have arisen for the benefit of young and old, for poor and rich, for nominal Christians, Jews, and heathens, for the most abject and deepest fallen of human creatures; and the Young Men's Christian Associations form an indispensable link in them all. By the grace of God, our youths have been most specially remembered. With the exception of some young men, who, like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, united in the good conflict,—with the exception of some solitary endeavours here and there made to unite young Christians,—there did not exist any Young Men's Association in the real sense of the word; there was no opportunity given for young men to meet according to their pro-

fession and time of life, to labour together, and, above all, there was no opportunity of young men exercising as a body a beneficial influence on others. It was but in 1844 that such Associations began to arise. Generally it was young men who met, but without any clear idea what success would attend their endeavours; insignificant and unobserved attempts made at *London, Geneva, Berlin, and Amsterdam*, without any suspicion whatever that similar Associations existed elsewhere. But their joint object certainly was to do good to young men, to unite Christian young men, to convert the unconverted, and to induce them to enter the service of God. Is not this fact truly remarkable? Is the hand of God not clearly visible in this matter? It is thus that the Christian Associations have originated, and, as it were, had a natural development; in every country the condition and requirements of young men are seriously considered; and at present the whole world is covered with a net of such Associations, all of them endeavouring to induce men to serve the same Master.

CONDITION OF YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

That the internal arrangements of these Associations in different countries and towns is modified according to the requirements of the young men, will already have become clear from what has been said. In *towns*, they must, as a matter of course, be differently arranged than in *villages*. America has different requirements from Europe; young artizans require something else than clerks; but for them all *one* thing is necessary. A Christian centre-point, an open door, a lively and joyous spiritual life, is everywhere desirable, and not seldom found.

It is very noteworthy that all the Young Men's Associations belonging to the Protestant Church, without declaring themselves for any special denomination in particular, stand on the ground of *positive* Christianity; that it is the same truth that renders young men free, and produces the same blessed effects upon all hearts. To acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ as our Great God and Saviour,—to confess that the forgiveness of our sins can be found only in His blood;—and justification by Faith in His most glorious Name only,—that is the Gospel which everywhere among our Associations proves itself to be a power which gives salvation and perseverance to every one who believes. It is this only, too, that gives strength and courage and desire to do all that can be done to make young men enjoy the pleasures of life in the real and best sense of the word; thereby making the choice easy to them, and giving them an opportunity of employing and developing their means and their talents in the best possible way.

And now I am come to what we may call the *visible fruits* of this branch of the Home Mission, and to which, in conclusion, I desire to draw your attention for a few moments.

There is little doubt that here, as in many other cases, eternity will reveal to us results that will strike us with delightful astonishment; but much that can rejoice the heart is already known to us here *below*. We may safely say that many a young man who has joined the Association has been saved from the acquaintance and contact of sin, thereby saving, too, the joy of his heart, and the freshness of youth; we may maintain

that it was here that his first bonds of friendship were formed, that have been a source of joy throughout his whole life, and that the Word of God proclaimed to him from the pulpit, or in some other way, but that never entered his heart, or made any lasting impression on his mind, has here reached his conscience, though in another form. The young man finds himself here in the circle of his equals, as regards the realities of Christian life, and is the more readily induced to make a decided choice. Many a young man, and not seldom when on his death-bed, has confessed that it was this that gained him for the cause of Christ. Young men converted to the Lord, and who have met with many difficulties, and who had a severe spiritual struggle to pass through, have here found support and consolation, as they had an opportunity to come together with their fellow young men in their temptations and difficulties, and to pray and struggle with them. Young men have there found many an opportunity of becoming a blessing to their companions, and to employ the talents given them in the best way. It has been proved that during the last years—for instance, in Holland—most young men who have offered themselves to preach the Gospel to the heathen have been induced thereto by attending the Associations. During the civil war in *America*, the army has continually been supplied with assistants coming from these Associations. They dressed the wounds of the soldiers in the battle-field, though in the midst of dangers, and also carried them off and cared for them. They distributed Bibles and New Testaments, held prayer-meetings, and exercised such an excellent influence on the army, that the generals were as much astonished as they were delighted. More than a million dollars were collected by them for the wounded and relations of those who had fallen. During the raging of the cholera in the *Wupperthal*, many young men of the Christian Associations assisted in tending the sick. Thousands of young men are busy throughout the world as teachers in Sunday-schools, in order to proclaim to the children the great love of the best Friend of children. Young men belonging to these Associations have brought the peace of the Gospel into many a family; sorrowing parents have received their children again as from the grave, and they have in consequence blessed the Young Men's Christian Association as the means thereof. And among that throng, that none can count, and that our Lord Jesus Christ has ransomed with His most precious blood, there are not a few who have been prepared for that Heavenly Harvest in the Young Men's Christian Association.

EUGENE BERSIER, of *Paris*, wants to speak a few words in behalf of Juvenile Associations. During twenty years he watched their influence in *Geneva* and *Paris* with the utmost interest. The beginning was small indeed, the growth slow, but the result now already is great and promising. When he was a young man, these associations were only just coming forth, and were very deficient; still he owed much to them. Now they are better organized, especially in *Paris*. Pastors like *D'Hombres*, *Rognon*, *Pressensé*, and others, hold conferences for young men, attended by several hundreds, often thousands of hearers, amongst whom are many Roman Catholics. The turning questions of the day are most freely treated in these meetings. No! we ought not to feel despondent when

we look at the school youth. It is sadly true, youth is not really young always now-a-days. Atheism and materialism are often in fashion amongst them. Still, we must not forget that those who make the greatest noise are not always the most numerous or the most influential. Positivism may have its *adherents*, or rather its noisy *professors* among young men; but on the whole there are very few real positivists among them, if really any at all. Indeed nothing is less compatible with youth than this cold positivism, opposed to all feeling and poetry. Now all young men are poets, not one of them is a positivist, if he thinks himself one. I have seen these young men, the most decided materialists as they *boasted* themselves to be, I have seen them, these young students of medicine, at death and sick beds, denying all that scepticism and incredulity they so openly proclaimed. Many young men are much better indeed than they care or like to appear. Many of them have not quite lost the religion of their childhood, and feel still on their brow the impress of their mother's holy kiss, the loving sealing benediction, and are not able to sin without feeling that some kiss of love burns their forehead like a hot iron. No, really our youth is not quite perverted; and Christians ought to seek before everything *their* highest welfare. Let us try to train the growing generation, and the Church of Christ will be saved.

Mr. MECKEL, merchant, from *Elberfeld*, gives some communications about the so-called Union-houses (*Vereins-häuser*) in Germany, which young men, especially belonging to the working classes, much frequent. These places are often centres of a most fruitful home-mission.

Professor LANGE says that he too is much occupied with young men's associations, consisting of students. There may be such societies of very different kinds. Let the form differ, if only the spirit be the same. Church history reminds us of some such associations, sometimes quite opposite in nature. So that society, founded by *Ignatius of Loyola*, shows us what a Juvenile Association ought *not* to be. A better example was given by *John Wesley*. He, too, founded a society of young men, and it became a salt of truth and piety for England, France, and America. In many respects this union may be considered a pattern of our Juvenile Associations.

Pastor AUGENER, from *Langenberg*, has been occupied from his youth with this topic. He tried to do some good in that way in his own town (*Bremen*), and has given an example that has been followed in *Elberfeld* and other places of Germany. Associations like these seem really to be necessary. The school, however excellent and religious, is not sufficient. What is begun there, ought to be pursued. Luther was quite right when he said, "Will you play the devil a good part—you must train the young for the Gospel."

Mr. G. WILLIAMS, from *London*, addressing the members of the Juvenile Associations, wished them all good things bodily and mentally, daily the true bread of life from God's Word, and a good meal for the hungry stomach every day; light, air, and labour daily, too, as the best of medicines; no other drugs, but if any be necessary, then as few and little as possible—best of all, homœopathic.

Mr. E. W. SHIPTON, from *London*, gives some details about Juvenile

Associations in England, and especially in London, having watched them for about twenty-five years with a blessed result. The number of these associations is now as follows:—

	Associations.	Members.
England and Wales	101	11,917
Scotland	47	3,098
Ireland	10	816
British Colonies	13	223
Holland	73	1,434
Belgium	11	167
France	53	804
North Germany	99	3,006
Rhenish Westphalian Union	130	4,160
French Switzerland	57	663
North America	142	32,142
	736	58,430

Besides there are in

Wurtemberg and South Germany	43	} Together 191 Associations from which no returns in detail have been received.
German Switzerland	38	
Italy	5	
Mediterranean Coast	5	
North America	100	

and in course of formation in

England and Wales	20
Holland	30

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY AND PRISONERS,*

BY PASTOR NATORP, OF DUSSELDORF,

PRESIDENT OF THE RHENO-WESTPHALIAN PRISON ASSOCIATION.

"I WAS in prison and ye came unto me!" We are reminded of this saying of our Lord and Master, whenever we have to speak of the exercise of Christian philanthropy in prisons. It is one of those powerful *mementos* which the Redeemer of the world inscribed on the consciences of his disciples. Strictly speaking, the expression, "*I was in prison*," in its fullest sense, can only apply to those dear brethren who endure bonds and chains for the sake of the Gospel, because only in them the Lord lives and suffers. But even though our ordinary prisoners, instead of the seal of Christ, almost without exception bear the brand of crime upon their forehead, may we not in their case still speak of an "imprisoned Christ"? Is not the last relic of Christian consciousness, which is present even in them, such an "imprisoned Christ"? Is not that prison chaplain right, who from the experience of years testifies, that in spite of all the degradation and enmity to Christ, a deep feeling of pain and misery pervades the prison-world, which reminds us of the creation of which we read in the Epistle to the Romans, as groaning and waiting for the redemption? And the hosts of converted prisoners who testify both here below in prisons, and yonder before the Throne of the Lamb, that "the punishment of discipline" has proved to them to be "the path of life,"—do not they prove that in prisons Christ lies imprisoned, and is waiting for us to come to Him and bring Him into freedom? Does Christian love dare to tread in the footsteps of that Synod which refused to insert in their Sunday Liturgy a prayer on behalf of prisoners in general, under the pretext that the apostolic admonition, "Remember them that are bound, as bound with them," applies only to Christian martyrs? And if Paul recognized the call of the Lord in the cry of the man of Macedonia and unhesitatingly followed him, must we not also, in the cry of need which reaches us from prisons, acknowledge the call of the Lord Jesus?

And from how many thousand voices does this cry for help sound to us? It is certainly impossible to give an exact statement of the numbers confined in, for example, the German or even the Prussian

* By the permission of the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, this Address appears more in detail here than it could be given at Amsterdam.

prisons only, because the statistics have not yet been fully made; but it may be safely asserted that the large numbers they will represent, will far outstrip ordinary conceptions. If, for example, we consider that in the judicial year 1839-1840, in the Prussian Rhine provinces, with a population of, at that time, about two millions and a half, altogether 155,118 individuals were brought to trial, and of these about 15,000 were punished with imprisonment or committal to the houses of correction, while the remainder were handed over to smaller local prisons; that in single houses of correction in the same province, from 500 to 900 persons are to be found at one time, and in the course of each year from 1,300 to 3,500 persons; that generally about half per cent. of the entire population are every year detained in prisons and houses of correction, while the entire number of those who have been punished by law amounts to almost five per cent. of the same,—it will be easily seen how extraordinarily great is the field of labour amongst prisoners. And how much greater still does it appear, if we consider that Christian love has not only to do with the prisoners, but also with their *families*, and with those who have been released from prison, and that every year new masses of criminals fill the prisons! The Rhine province alone has besides its ten larger houses of correction, with their 16,000 inmates, 120 smaller local prisons, some of which in the cities are so much crowded, that 1,200 persons pass through them every year.

And what a mass of *moral* wretchedness do these numbers represent! If we inquire about the failings and crimes by which these unhappy ones have lost their freedom, we find that according to official calculations, among every 400 criminals, 238 were convicted for theft, 25 for ill-treatment, 21 for vagabondizing, 19 for swindling and extorting money, 18 for sins of the flesh, 14 for highway robbery, 13 for coining, 9 for manslaughter and murder, 3 for incendiarism, 2 for infanticide. If we look at the scale of degradation, and take relapses as the measure of the dominion of crime, we find in the year 1859, for example, that out of 5,524 persons who were committed to Prussian prisons, only 3,720 were in prison for the first time; 973 had been convicted once before; 411 twice; 209 three times; 100 four times; 57 five times; 34 six times; and 20 seven times and upwards—altogether 1863 relapses. If we may take the length of sentence which the law pronounced as a measure of the moral desert of the prisoners, we find that of the above-mentioned 5,524 persons, 2,007 were sentenced to two years' imprisonment; 2,637 for from two to five years; 981 from five to ten years; 151 from ten to twenty years; 28 were sentenced to imprisonment for life. The following circumstances also throw special light on these numbers:—among these 5,524 persons, 3,046 were unmarried; 2,040 were married; a proof of how great a protection the holy state of matrimony is, and how many crimes have their origin in the errors of young and unrestrained life. But that ignorance and neglected education especially are the most prolific sources of crime, appears from the fact, that of the above-mentioned 5,524 prisoners, 1,070 could neither read nor write; 879 could only do one or the other; thus, more than a third of the number were destitute of the commonest elements of education. And one more index of their moral condition: 334 persons among them (one in thirteen)

were *illegitimate* ! These numbers proclaim loudly enough the greatness of the moral and religious misery which we meet with in prisons ; and although the shadows lose a little of their blackness when we leave the prison and enter the house of correction, and thence enter the smaller local prisons, still it is sin everywhere in its grosser forms which meets us in them, and requires our labour.

Still more of the spiritual aspect of the misery was shown us lately by a prison chaplain in a picture he gives of the prison world ; he says :—"According to his experience prisoners on an average belong to six classes in about equal numbers. The first is composed of open scorners, the sworn enemies and despisers of the Divine Word ; the second of the brutal in morals, often sunk to the level of beasts ; the third the absolutely stolid and indifferent ; the fourth the superficial and light-minded ; the fifth hypocrites and religious impostors ; the sixth the better class, really prepared to receive God's Word." And an assembly of prison chaplains and officials who listened to this description did not dispute its correctness in any essential point.

What a field of labour then, full of thorns and thistles, is the prison-world ! And might we only venture to indulge the hope that the prisons which inclose this mass of corruption were really what they ought to be ; that is, houses of correction and discipline in which the first intention of the law, the penalty for guilt, and its highest aim, the deliverance from corruption, were really fulfilled. But in a great number of prisons, and in most countries—it must be said, the greatest number—this end is not attained. Prisons, which with regard even to their construction and arrangement could be anything else rather than real houses of discipline ; prisons, which must be called true "*Academies of Crime*," because the prisoners, and especially the youthful ones, come out from them worse than they went in ; prisons, which as *casinos* of a privileged bodily and mental idleness are even *sought* by criminals, especially in winter, in which through crowding together the refuse of society, especially at night, all the works of darkness revel, in which the corruption of those who are placed as guardians of the law rivals the corruption of those whom they ought to watch over ; in which on the one hand wickedness and cruelty take the place of the sacred earnestness of law, and on the other hand the permission to indulge in animal lusts takes the place of compassionate love. How can such prisons produce anything else but the exact opposite of what they ought to produce ?

But the more melancholy this condition, the more imperatively does the duty press upon us, to take such a sad field of labour in hand. And every one without distinction should feel himself pledged to this work. For what is crime, but the blossom and fruit of the ordinary corruption of sin existing in a nation, in which every individual directly or indirectly has a share ? Or who can fail to see that God the Lord by the necessity of *seclusion* points out the need of work amongst prisoners ? Who can deny that the stream of corruption which unceasingly pours into the prisons, must flow back from thence with redoubled strength, and must spread with consequences more and more fearful for the entire people, if we do not rightly and wisely seek to improve the condition of the prisoners ? In fact we may say, as the prison with its criminals is a standard of the *corruption* present

in a nation, in the same way the care and labour which a nation devotes to its prisoners is a standard of the height of its *moral and religious*, nay more, of its *political and social position*.

If we inquire more particularly as to agencies which ought to undertake the work of dealing with this extensive and intensive mass of misery, it cannot be questioned that it pre-eminently falls to the *State*. He who dispenses the laws which have been transgressed, and who bears the Divine authority to inflict upon the transgressor the punishment due to his sin, has also the sacred duty to take care that the law in all its utterances is an outflow and expression of the highest law—the will of God (as the well-known ancient German books of laws, the “*Sachsen-spiegel*,” so beautifully expresses it in its preface), and that the infliction of the punishment by the co-operation of Church and school, home and society, should be adapted to promote the *reformation* of those who are punished. But although this duty of the State is so indisputable, yet for centuries, in heathen, Christian, Evangelical and Catholic States alike, it has been only imperfectly fulfilled, in part, wholly neglected; even at the present day States of the highest culture fail to a marvellous degree in responding to demands so well grounded on their justice, wisdom and mercy; and even the Church cannot be acquitted of an almost incredible neglect of prisons—those moral hospitals. As long as these two chief agents do not exhibit more earnestness and feel themselves as “bound towards those who are bound,” it will be the duty of *Christian philanthropy* not only to lift up her voice in testimony against the present position of things, but also independently to lay the axe at the root of the corrupt tree, in order, as far as it lies in their power, to work a reformation in the head and members. A noble example is set us by the *Quakers* in Pennsylvania, a *Howard* and an *Elizabeth Fry* in England, a *Fliedner* and a *Wichern* in Germany, and especially the honoured pioneer of labour in the prison-world of this country.

But what has Christian Philanthropy to regard as its duty with respect to this question? We mention first the thorough *study* of the prison-question. We find that even the very directors of large prisons have raised the inquiry: “Is there then, a history, literature and science of prison-life?” And the question need scarcely excite wonder if we remember how little is done for the training of prison-officials for their profession, and if we consider that even learned Germany has only since last year possessed, in the excellent book of HANELL of Gottingen, a scientific “*System of Prison Science*.”

It is also a complaint only too well founded, that the higher governing officials, who exercise authority in prison matters, at their entrance on their duties are generally mere novices in prison affairs, often allow themselves to be long deceived by the outward appearance of order in the prisons, while they do not dream of the defilement that lies hidden under this varnish, and when they are just beginning to see it, are generally called away to some other field of labour. It is so much the more needful that all who will work voluntarily for prisoners, particularly the “*Prison Association*,” should first *study* their duties. But not in books alone!—here autopsy, and still better personal, earnest continued labour among the prisoners, is the best school. How right were the views of *Vincentius von Paula*, who

caused himself to be chained with the galley-slaves, in order to understand them, and to make known the Crucified One to them in a right way! And how could a *Fliedner*, a *Fry*, and others have been able to work with such blessed results for the improvement of prisons, if they had not become acquainted with them from their own experience? More especially in our days, when the prison-question has become equally important for jurisprudence and theology, political economy and education, and the friends of prisoners are engaged in the hottest discussions as to fundamental principles, this self-instruction belongs to the foremost duties of a Philanthropic Association. It must have a scientific conviction, a certain principle, and goal placed before it, and know by what means it wishes to attain it. With respect to this all larger associations are recommended to engage special agents, scientifically trained men, who themselves labour among the prisoners, to visit home and foreign prisons, to study continually all literature that bears on the subject—in short, to make the prison question, the question of their life.

But, resting their views upon study and experience, Prison Associations have the right and duty, not to confine themselves only to visits and Christian conversation with the prisoners, or to the personal care of released convicts, but their high mission is to strive after a *fundamental reform of the whole prison-system on the principles of Christianity*, and for the accomplishment of this end the following things are most needful:

First, and before everything else, care should be taken to secure *adequate instruction in the Divine Word*, special care for souls, which is nowhere so necessary as in prisons, and to provide *suitable places for Divine worship*, at least, in all the larger prisons. They should particularly avoid giving the duty of prison-chaplain to the generally already overburdened clergyman of the place to bear, in addition to his own duties, and rather appoint for every three or four smaller prisons which are not situated too far from one another, one common chaplain, than add this charge to the present duties of the local clergyman. In respect to this matter, in spite of all the care of the Prison Associations, there still remains much to be done, and they ought rather to procure men and means themselves, than wait until the State supplies the present need.

Equally necessary is the appointment of Christian-hearted *teachers* in prisons. If in one Rhenish prison among 600 inmates, 155 were found who were destitute of all school-education, and 72 Evangelicals alone who had never been confirmed—if in one Reformatory among 626 young inmates there were 351 who had *never* enjoyed the advantages of education—the prison cannot accomplish its purpose without schools; and thus, while the efforts of Christian friends in opening Sunday-schools, or of prison-directors in the appointment of educated prisoners as teachers of the youth, are worthy of acknowledgment, still from the different ages and moral degradation of the convicts, the work is so great that it requires also professional men who devote their whole strength to this arduous work.

The third requirement is the removal of that idleness which destroys the soul and leads to all crimes; which, although truly it has nearly disappeared from the larger prisons, in many of which there is an

almost extreme degree of work, yet in the local prisons in nearly every place flourishes fearfully, and generally without being heeded. If the officials cannot or will not assist in this matter, the associations must undertake the work, even if at the cost of some sacrifice. But their principal care must be for the employment of the prisoners in religious exercises, that they may put an end to the shameful conversation which poisons and stifles the last remnants of conscience and Christian thought, that the way may be prepared for the Spirit of God. The associations must provide Christian libraries, in large as well as in small prisons, appoint Christian men and women to visit the prisoners, to read to them and converse with them, instruct them in letter-writing, &c. The prison chaplains and teachers, must especially employ every leisure hour of the prisoners, and for this purpose should hold Bible-classes, appoint hours for mission and catechizing-classes. public reading, conversation, and so forth.

A more pressing necessity is the introduction of the *classification*, as far as possible, of the prisoners. Youths and children shut up day and night together with criminals grown grey in crime; those ready to receive God's Word chained to scorers and enemies of the Gospel; those in prison for the fifth or tenth time put into the same category with those who have fallen for the first time, and that, perhaps through being surprised by temptation; even the sexes here and there not kept sufficiently apart—how can this be an appropriate field for the Christian training and care for souls? Fliedner once cried for help against the *soul-destructive* want of classification and complained loudly that from day and night communication, sin increased in a *frightful collective power*; and if his efforts succeeded in causing separate women's prisons, institutions for prostitutes, solitary cells for cases of discipline, even separate denominational prisons—to be erected, and in almost all Rhenish and Westphalian prisons certain classes of prisoners to be separated, this is a proof that the associations also can effect by petitioning, much which they could not carry out themselves.

But an authority in this department, PROFESSOR DR. MITTERMAIER of *Heidelberg*, says very justly, "All that is done in connection with penal laws, is only work half done if we do not extend our care to that which lies at their basis, the *reformation of the penal institutions*;" and although the Prison Associations may be only able to effect this reformation by petitions, still they dare not draw back from this work. For *which* system of prison-discipline they will decide must certainly be left to their conscientious judgment. In Germany, in intelligent Christian circles, opinion seems to incline more and more to the *Irish* system, which, as it is well known, unites solitary confinement with confinement with the other prisoners, and the intermediate plan, and seeks to secure the best points of all systems. But especially if only houses newly built and rebuilt could be carried out on known scientific principles, and experience thus be gathered on which the future might build! and that the associations can effect much towards this object is shown by the fact that through our Society a number of new prisons have been built, for which and others from the year 1833 to 1843 in Rhenish Westphalia alone 350,000 thalers (£52,500) have been expended.

Yet the best arranged institutions as such cannot do the work,

and we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by all the appearances of a modern beautiful building. While an *Obermeister* in his time at *Kaiserslautern*, amidst the most trying circumstances of ordinary prisons, worked actual miracles of conversion amongst the prisoners by the might of his personal piety, we are often obliged to say of many a beautiful building, "O man of God, there is death in the pot!" because the officials are not animated by the right spirit, and not instructed rightly for the discharge of their important duties. This applies particularly to the *under* officials. The greatest number of these are taken from the military on the civil establishment, who, very badly paid, have hard labour day and night, are constantly surrounded by prisoners whose spirit infects them, whose enmity embitters them—these under-officials are the most to be pitied of all under-officials, and easily become accustomed to the worst corruption, while their influence from their constant intercourse with the prisoners, if they were animated by the right spirit, might produce most blessed results. Here a thorough reformation is necessary, which can only be carried out by systematic training of the personal attendants by the State. Still even here the associations may do something; for example, by providing Christian-minded men, who will undertake volutarily the heaviest service, and would, by our Prussian officials at least, be gladly appointed; further by conferences of the higher officials, particularly the chaplains with the lower officers; by the distribution of such books among the warders and keepers as are likely to make their duty plain and dear to them; by occasional support of faithful officials in cases of special need, and especially by the training and education of deacons and deaconesses for the duties of warders.

But especially every Prison Association must exert its influence, actuated by a Christian spirit, upon everything that stands in radical connection with prison-management. It will, for example (to show something of the work of the Society represented by me), bring frankly before the notice of the officials all the wants which it may find in the prisons. It will endeavour that all unnecessary and embittering severity in the treatment of prisoners be done away with, and not that (for instance, as took place in a German prison lately) after death the heads be sawn off and hung up in the prison as in the fortress of the King of Dahomey; that they should not be made to wear iron fetters from 25 to 50 lbs. weight, by day and night, sick or well, as was the case in the same prison; that their corpses should not be buried without religious service, or indiscriminately given up for the purposes of anatomy, &c. It will also strive that young criminals, who have acted without the power of discrimination, are not placed in prisons but in Christian refuges. It will seek to bring about that the short sentences are carried out on the days of the week, not as formerly on the Day of the Lord. It will seek, when need be, an amelioration of the police superintendence, from the experience that it often unnecessarily aggravates the difficulty of the restoration of the prisoners. It will set on foot large conferences of prison-chaplains, prison-officials, and friends, for public discussion on prison-subjects; use every opportunity before diets and synods, parliaments and governments, to bear witness to their principles,

awaken sympathy for prisoners, by preaching and addresses, correspondence through the press, and the distribution of Christian prison books. It will keep that most difficult, and yet too little considered question of the right organization of prison authorities before its eye, in order, according to its strength, to work for reformation on these points; in short, nothing will be foreign to it which can further the welfare of prisoners.

A wide field of activity thus opens up to the Prison Association in this direction. But the other department of its work, the duties outside the prison in the *families of prisoners and those who have been released*, is no less important.

With regard to the families of those imprisoned, it is enough to remember that most of them suffer the deepest poverty, the bitterest contempt is heaped upon them, and they often exhibit also hatred towards the imprisoned member of the family who has brought such misery upon them. It is a very common thing for the families of released prisoners to refuse to receive them again, and a prison-chaplain reported that in 17 cases out of 20 the wife of the prisoner had committed adultery. How loudly do such terrible rendings asunder of the most sacred family ties call upon the friends of prisoners to devote themselves to the aid also of the families of convicts, to succour them in their poverty, to aim at the improvement of the whole family by the introduction of family worship and other Christian influences; especially to take pity upon the forsaken children; and by constant correspondence to strengthen the tie of marriage relationships. An association in the *Wupperthal* rightly considered this so important, that they appointed a special deacon to attend to it and look after released prisoners, and their reports furnish clear proofs of the necessity of the work.

If we speak of the wants of the *released prisoners*, we must not forget that those are in the greatest need, who are determined to tread again in their old path of sin, or in vain self-confidence reject all help; to them the most faithful love can offer nothing but warning and entreaty when they leave the prison. But how much care the Association has also to expend on those who, really or apparently reformed, ask its help? How difficult they find it to regain support, work, and above all, confidence! How unfit the most of them are for work, and how much do they especially lack moral courage to withstand the temptations which beset them so powerfully! The best intentioned among them are like convalescents, who are thrown back by every rough wind, upon a sick bed. The prison, which scarcely allows any voluntary movement, and makes it a duty to remove every temptation to evil as far as possible, is a bad arena for freedom. Hence the extraordinary number of relapses into sin, and the fact that while from the whole number about one-third of the prisoners leave wholly unreformed, another third with doubtful prospects for the future, and the smallest portion leave the prison reformed, generally during even the first year after their release, two-thirds of the unreformed fall back into sin, and most of these during the first few *months* of their liberty!

What is the duty of Christian philanthropy towards these hosts of released prisoners? Only in the way of *Voluntary Associations* can

anything substantial be accomplished. For every larger prison let a society be formed in the same place, the members of which will visit the prisoners during their detention in gaol, will act in harmony with the prison-chaplains, receive exact reports of the released prisoners from the authorities, and embrace under its care all who need its help. At every more important place let an "Auxiliary Association" be formed, to which the Society may direct released prisoners, and where this is impracticable, let them seek amongst the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, and especially among Christian-minded men, to gain friends and members for the Association, who would assist released prisoners in cases that might occur. Perhaps also, many synods will be found willing to undertake the care of released prisoners—an arrangement which has already been successfully tried, and which our Society seeks to extend.

The prison-chaplains will also gladly undertake the care of the released, if the means of doing so are supplied, and by visitation of the families of those under sentence, and personal efforts for those out of prison in their homes, may produce blessed effects. Especially ought Christian women to be interested in this work, to follow the example of *Elizabeth Fry, Sarah Martin, Amelia Sieveking, &c.*, for they generally perform this duty with greater faithfulness and self-sacrifice, and a better understanding of home circumstances than men do; and in caring for servants, Magdalenes, and children, they are quite indispensable. But with all this, is our duty towards released prisoners fulfilled? Certainly not. We regard the work as only half-done, as long as there are no *Intermediate Institutions* after the plan of the Irish system, or at all events, "*Industrial Institutions*," which are supported by the State or the public, and which offer to every released prisoner the possibility of gaining *bread, confidence*, and above all, the *right use of freedom*. But how little has as yet been done in most countries for this highly important object! *Asylums* only, which have a settled religious character, and therefore, without doubt, are for certain classes of released prisoners of the greatest importance, have been founded in great numbers by the prison associations, and have been crowned with much blessing. Thus we have the asylums of *Kaiserswerth, Lintorf, Elberfeld*, in the province of the *Rhine*; more recently also *Engers and Lippspringe*, in *Westphalia*. These establishments, which offer encouragement to every dismissed prisoner who earnestly desires to improve himself, and make the return into society possible, prove that the Christian love which is born of faith can do greater things, and work more enduringly than mere humanity. Yet we must say to our shame, that for the most part we too much undervalue the more instructive and preventive institutions, and that State and people would long since have found themselves forced into a more earnest mode of action, if believing Christendom had proved itself more to be the salt and leaven of our public life. The words of the Apostle applies in all these respects: "Strive, that ye may become more and more perfect."

Will you still inquire whether the work brings forth real fruit where it is carried on among prisoners, according to this brief, passing sketch? We could point to this fruit in the form of the most precious, glorious results, if we could lead you to the bloody scaffold

where penitent murderers have laid their heads upon the block, or into cells where converted criminals spend themselves in the service of love for their imprisoned brethren, as acting overseers ; or into the prison schools, which neither in the acquirements of the scholars, nor in their moral discipline or religious consecration, are behind other schools ; or into the churches, where an attentive prison congregation listens to the life-giving words of instruction with visible emotion ; or into the asylums, where, amid so many bitter deceptions, almost a third of the inmates are saved for time and for eternity. But you grant us the truth of such descriptions. We must place by their side a picture of such efforts as appear to have been wholly in vain, and repeat what an experienced prison-chaplain has said : "That when speaking of prisoners, we ought to speak less of that which is *aimed at*, than of what has been *done*, because results are nowhere more difficult to measure than among prisoners."

But still, to the glory of the Lord, and of His Almighty grace, be it said, that in the long experience of our Association, the love of Christ does not work in vain. As the commissioned angel of the Lord had the power to loose the chains of the imprisoned Peter, and to lead him through the locked doors of the prison, so has the Lord armed the love of His disciples who seek the lost, with power to burst asunder the prisoners' bands of sin, and to lead even the most abandoned evil doers out of the misery of spiritual death, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Oh that we only had a living faith, and had continually before our eyes the picture of the two thieves crucified on either side of Jesus, one of whom tells us how terrible it is as an unpardoned sinner to fall into the hands of the just God ; but the other, that there is a grace which makes even out of murderers and rebels, children of God and heirs of Paradise ! Oh that the sight of the Lord between them, who was for our sakes bound, and nailed to the cross, that we might be free, might write the words of the Apostle in imperishable characters upon our hearts : "*Remember those that are bound, as bound with them !*"

PRISONERS AND PRISONS.

BY REV. EDWARD PANCHAUD,

LAUSANNE.

I SHALL endeavour to show in the first place, what Christian Philanthropy has done for the benefit of prisoners; and in the second what it ought to do, especially at the present time, in Houses of detention.

I.

If paganism showed itself insensible to the condition of prisoners, and provided for them neither succour, nor consolation, nor the means of reforming; it cannot be said that it never gave utterance to any sentiment in their favour. "To reform the mind of the criminal (it is said in the *Golden Verses* attributed to PYTHAGORAS, verse 66), is to deliver him from all his sufferings and labours." PLATO, a century later, taught that the design of punishment was to make a man wiser. Thus, he says, "Punishment inflicted in the spirit of the law, is designed not to do an injury to the sufferer; but to make him better or less evil—" (*On Laws*, Book iv.) "The legislator, looking upon wrong-doing as a mental malady, should apply remedies to those who are capable of cure." QUINTILLIAN and PLUTARCH inculcate the same ideas. "God (says the second dissertation *On the Delays of Divine Justice*) does not distribute punishments alike to all. To those in whom wickedness bears the impress of being rather the result of ignorance of good than of a voluntary propensity to evil, he gives time to repent."

Judaism takes no account of the fate of prisoners, because punishment consisted in corporal inflictions, and not in imprisonment. With the New Testament a new era opens. It speaks the word of comfort and of life to the Gentiles, amongst whom incarceration existed under the most cruel forms; it taught them *love*. To Jesus, according to the prophet (Isaiah lxi. 1), it belonged "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." He inspired a lively and tender compassion towards unhappy prisoners, and has told those who visit them that they do it to Him. (Matt. xxv.) "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." (Hebrews xiii. 3.) Should it be said that he does not here speak of prisoners in general, but of those who are imprisoned for their Christian profession, they are still the words of Christ, "that it is not they who are whole who need a physician, but those who are sick"

(Matt. ix. 12), and that "He came to save that which was lost" (Matt. xviii. 2). And we are commanded *to follow in His steps*, and to be imitators of our Father in Heaven, who does good to the evil and unjust (Matt. v. 45).

That the first disciples of Jesus felt it to be their duty to visit and solace their imprisoned brethen, we know from the epistles of Paul. The infidel LUCIAN (*De morte Peregrini*) avows that he could not give an idea of the activity of Christians in favour of their common interests. Thus, Peregrinus (a Christian philosopher) received large sums of money from them while he was in prison. Their Great Master, he adds, enjoined upon them to treat one another as brethen. The Council of Nice founded the noble institution of *Procuratores pauperum*, whose mission consisted in visiting prisoners and rendering them good offices of all kinds.

CONSTANTINE directed the judges to visit the prisons every Sunday and to see all the prisoners, and find out if they enjoyed all the rights that the law accorded to them. He recommended the clergy to co-operate in order to their restoration, and to give an account to the magistrates of whatever they deemed reprehensible. (Grellet, p. 9).

But during the whole of the middle ages we discover few traces of Christian influence exerted on behalf of prisoners. Here and there indeed, some evidence of it may be seen. Thus, in 1252, ALPHONSE X., King of *Leon* and *Castille*, commanded (*Collection of laws entitled Los PARTIDES*) that the prisons should be made secure, but not places for practising cruelty on prisoners. It is enough (he said) that they are prisoners, their condition and the dread of the sentence that awaits them is sufficient distress. Besides which, the law punished jailers with death, who maliciously tortured their prisoners. (*L'Europe littéraire*, Sept., 1833.) In 1488, INNOCENT XIII. instituted the *Compagnie de la Miséricorde*, to visit those who were condemned to be executed. In 1519, CLEMENT XIII. founded the *Archiconfrérie de la Charité*, who devoted themselves to the care of Roman prisons, and in 1585, JEAN CALLIER, the jesuit, set up a new brotherhood to obtain the liberation of debtors at Easter and Christmas. This is nearly all that is to be found through ten centuries of that epoch which some authors refer to as the millennium of the Christian Church.

Under the influence of the blessed Reformation, the disciples of Jesus began again to turn their attention to prisoners, and their activity was manifested both in Protestant and Catholic countries. The people who are now receiving us with so much hospitality, after having acted so generously towards the martyrs of the faith in the 16th century, were the first who introduced work into prisons for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the prisoners, and thus made them *Werk-huisen*. It was after visiting Holland that WILLIAM PENN, in 1662, conceived the project of finding regular employment for prisoners. He enacted (*Penal Code X.*) that all prisons should be *Workhouses* for evil doers, drunkards, and vagabonds.

Father MABILLON drew the plan of a true penitentiary for delinquent monks; imposing isolation, work, and silence. In CLEMENT XI.'s time, the hospital of St. Michael was founded at *Rome* as a house of refuge for prisoners. G. SMITH, of *Philadelphia*, bears a beautiful testimony to this institution (*Defence of Solitary Confinement*. By

GEORGE SMITH, 1833):—"The great evils which idleness engenders are prevented by continual work, classification and silence are introduced. Each prisoner sleeps by himself. Moral sentences inscribed on tablets are exposed to view, and religious instruction is imparted. On the front of the edifice is inscribed in letters of gold, *Parum est coercere improbos, nisi probos efficiat disciplina*.

MARIA THERESA built the second penitentiary at *Ghent*. The illustrious HOWARD informed the English of the important prison reform at *Ghent*, and the third penitentiary was established at *Gloucester* in 1785. About the same period the Quakers introduced the new system into the *United States*, and *Philadelphia* saw the fourth penitentiary. From that time these houses multiplied in *North America*, but with an essential difference. In the one they aimed to improve prisoners by making them work together, and thus required of them the exercise of the social virtues; in the other they sought to induce the formation of good resolutions by isolation.

In 1814 LOUIS XVIII. enacted a law of which the following is the preamble: "Desiring to establish in prisons a discipline calculated to correct the vicious habits of convicts, and to prepare them by practice, by work, and by religious and moral instruction to become peaceable citizens and useful members of society, we decree as follows."

The return of Napoleon from Elba postponed indefinitely the execution of this decree. But in 1817 a society was organized in Paris, to preserve juvenile prisoners from the corruptions into which they were plunged in the common prison. They founded the penitentiary of the *Seine, Rue des Grés*, which was afterwards removed to the *Rue de la Roquette*. The city connected itself with this work of benevolence, and thus, says M. GRELIET, that unaccountable inertia which has so long distinguished France is coming to an end.

Whilst the experiment of the *Rue des Grés* was being carried on, *Lausanne* in 1824, *Geneva* in 1825, *Berne* in 1830, erected successively their penitentiaries. "Afterwards," adds the author from whom we have borrowed the preceding information, "the governments understood that it was their duty to unite administrative perseverance with the efforts of local associations, which labour for the improvement of prisoners." (See *Manual of Prisons*, by GRELLET-WAMMY, Paris, 1848, pages 5—21.) No notice is here taken of what Christian philanthropy has effected in *Germany*, because we have not been able to make inquiries. We have left this part of the subject to the German reporter.

No one doubts that the state of prisons needed essential and radical reforms. They were irrational, inhuman, and immoral. Very often the unhappy prisoner was thrown into a cold damp cell, on an infected mattress. He was soon eaten up by vermin; mixing with other prisoners, he became worse and worse, and no one thought of looking after either the sores of his body, or of his soul. The paper of M. BÉRANGER, "On the proper means of generalizing in France the penitentiary system," is painfully instructive on these points.

Statistics show that Christian philanthropy has already remedied this deplorable state of things, and succeeded in spreading amongst professing Christians principles of justice and charity towards prisoners. The adoption of the penitentiary system, the classification of

prisoners according to age, sex, and the nature of their crimes; the prohibition of the sale of spirituous drinks; the institution of patronage in favour of convicts, imprisoned or at large, the attention given to religious instruction; these are the means which are not useless, and, thanks to God, they are more and more appreciated and adopted.

Let us not mistake, however. What progress must be made, before in *Italy* and *Spain*, even as far as *Siberia* and *South America*, in the vast countries subject to *Turkey*, and everywhere where paganism reigns, the condition of prisoners is really improved?

There still remains a great mission to be accomplished, worthy of the activity and sacrifices of every Christian. W. PENN, J. HOWARD, ELIZABETH FRY, have paved the way; it is for us to follow them resolutely, and to combat prejudices, routine, and clerical domination, which in so many places prevent all improvement in prisons, or paralyze the efforts made to effect it.

But where the penitentiary system is established, on what does it insist for the real good of the prisoners? That is what we have now to consider.

II.

MR. GRELLET tells us with great truth, that we ought not to look at anything short of Christian regeneration, as the end of our efforts for the improvement of prisoners. The new birth is the reign of God in the heart by the Holy Spirit, over the destruction of the old man and his corrupt and rebellious will. Nothing less than such a renewal can render a man just released from prison, sober, laborious, and a fulfiller of his duties as a good citizen, and the father of a family. Prisoners are generally men of ardent passions, and of an impressive and easy character. They have openly broken with religion, family, and honour, so that it is only hypocrisy by which they are still attached to them. Some are insolent, others are cunning. It is true that there are also in prisons some few victims of a first false step, who are neither vicious nor degraded. There may be also some who are innocent victims of judicial error, and also some believers suffering for conscience' sake.*

Abstracting these two interesting classes, the following is the character of the prisoner as drawn by a chaplain, M. GABEREL: "Hypocrisy attains in this man a degree of cunning, a science of imitation, which leaves far behind the famous examples quoted by poets and great preachers. The dominant thought is to appear well before the chaplain and charitable visitors. He will imitate religious forms and scriptural language, with a precision painful to those who see through it." What a powerful moral lever must be used to snatch such an unhappy one from his sin! All chaplains acknowledge that imprisonment affords a favourable occasion for acting on the conscience. Many have affirmed it, and M. FERRIERE, a former

* The author visited *Holland* in 1840, and at *Nimeguen* he accompanied the President of the tribunal to see a Minister of the Gospel, who was condemned to a long imprisonment for holding dissenting religious meetings. The President who had pronounced the sentence, often went to edify himself with his prisoner.

chaplain, said the same even as to men the most violent and the most hostile to all religion.

You must hear M. ROBIN, chaplain of the central house of *Eysse* (*Lot et Garonne, France*), expose the miseries of the life of a convict, and you will understand that under the weight of such ills, the heart of the most hardened can bend and sigh after the Heavenly Comforter. (*Discourses of a Chaplain. Toulouse, Society of Religious Books, 1867.*) "If it is too true," adds the same pastor, "that for the greater number their trial is useless, it is salutary for some; truth finds many ways of reaching the conscience of the guilty. For a long time it is, as it were, torpid and stifled; but when he is snatched from his disorderly life, the prisoner falls back sorrowfully on himself, and his sad past life suggests serious thoughts. He accounts to himself for the cause of his sufferings, acknowledges that he is the sole author of his trouble, and turns to God." (*Idem.*)

Now is the favourable time, the day of salvation. We must profit by it, by making everything concur towards obtaining such a happy result. First of all, a healthy and vivifying moral atmosphere ought to surround the prisoner as much as possible; the same Christian spirit, the same evangelical charity, ought to animate all the functionaries and officers of a prison. If they consider themselves as differing from the men placed under their charge, only because they have been enlightened and saved by grace, and that now they are called to work for the temporal and spiritual good of the prisoners, they will show them sympathy and kind care, at the same time maintaining with firmness the strict discipline of the house, and will thereby gain their confidence and their love. What may not be hoped from such an influence exercised daily, under the Divine blessing! Even the prisoner, accustomed to see in those around him only men like himself, will confess that he lives in a world hitherto unknown to him. If, besides, he observes harmony amongst his superiors, and kindness and peace of mind on the countenances of those whom he had represented to himself as wild beasts, will he not seek for the cause in Christian love?

If, on the contrary, angry sounds among the officers reach his ears; if charitable and religious ministrations are exclusively deputed to the chaplain, and the prisoner sees in the other functionaries, men whose moral life is not superior to his own, he will quiet himself; his self-righteousness will soon awake, and he will only promise to avoid certain excesses which lead to prison, or to show himself more skilful in his crimes. In a female prison, where some pious ladies went to instruct, we saw a gaoler seize one of the prisoners by the hair, throw her on the ground, and drag her to a cell into which he threw her violently; and why? because she had answered him impertinently. An officer in a penitentiary, known to us, has just been condemned to be imprisoned for theft.

What change then, can be expected, notwithstanding the numerous spiritual helps, when the moral level of the officers is hardly superior to that of the prisoners!

A penitentiary ought indeed to be a family. The administration represents parents and servants; the prisoners are the children. Now parents and servants ought to work together for the education of the

children of the house; otherwise there will be inconsistencies, misconduct, subterfuges, which will spoil all. This system has already been tried in houses of correction and in orphan asylums.

But what are the principles which Christian philanthropy ought to introduce into a penitentiary, and which ought to animate and direct as much as possible functionaries and jailers? They are those which are the basis of the French branch of the Evangelical Alliance. It is unnecessary to repeat them to this assembly, unless to demonstrate their Christian truth and efficacy; we are all agreed on this point. One word only on what there is peculiarly applicable to the usual condition of prisoners in our dear Evangelical doctrine.

1. *The Fall*.—The prisoner, a self-righteous man, as everybody knows, sees in his conduct faults and errors, and will confess them; but he does not see his *sin*, which is the “lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life” (1 John ii. 16). He does not feel himself guilty before God’s law, and does not acknowledge that he has merited eternal death. Now the Biblical history of the fall, the grand facts of Scripture which show at the same time the holiness of God and His almighty power, and the sum of the ten commandments explained by Jesus Christ and His apostles, appear to us the only means of convincing the guilty man of sin, righteousness, and judgment, and of leading him to cry out, “Lord save me, I perish.” (See Heb. iv. 12—14.)

2. *Redemption*.—Sometimes, however, the heart is so hard, so frozen, that it will not break except at the Saviour’s Cross. It was necessary to speak of the sufferings and death of Jesus before the Greenlanders were moved and led to seek salvation, after ten years of preaching by missionaries. Christ crucified! That says all; it is mercy, pardon, the forgiveness of our sins!

Redemption annuls neither the precepts of the Divine law nor the rights of the Holiest; on the contrary, it glorifies them. Let us then imagine a man prosecuted by his fellow-citizens, condemned and imprisoned on account of his crime. He has found no mercy from them. Day after day he suffers without mitigation the punishment their law inflicts. Suddenly the words *grace* and *pardon* sound in his ears. It is God, against whom he has sinned with a high hand, who has announced to him a free salvation. And in order to procure it for him the Holy One gave His only Son, His well-beloved, and delivered Him to the shameful death of the Cross! Jesus saves “all those who come unto God by Him,” (Heb. vii. 25). “What!” (thus will the poor prisoner think) “I have not been pardoned by men, sinners like myself, but the holy and righteous God pardons me! What love! What kindness!” The story of the passion is in itself well able to produce a salutary impression on every mind, but especially on that of a prisoner. The narrative of the converted thief, and the prayer of Jesus for His murderers, seem intended to excite love to the Redeemer, faith in His salvation, forgiveness and love in the most selfish and proudest hearts. How can one resist the Good Shepherd, who descends to the lowest depths to seek the lost sheep, and to carry it back on His shoulders rejoicing? What Jesus begins, he completes.

3. *The Work of the Holy Spirit, Regeneration and Sanctification*.—

Christ never leaves any who have implored His aid without saving them. What He did for the demoniacs, giving them a healthy mind, He does on behalf of all that believe in Him. Now, who has greater need than the prisoner of that "wisdom which cometh from above," of that Holy Spirit which regenerates and sanctifies, and which God gives for love of His Son? Left to his own strength, the prisoner fears with reason to re-enter society, where he will find the same temptations which led him astray; but with God at his right hand, he has nothing to fear. Take courage, my friend, will the minister of Christ say to him; after God has graciously pardoned thy sins, He will baptize thee daily with the Holy Spirit (Luke xi. 13), who will show His strength in thy weakness. Let us pray together—pray without ceasing, and He will make thee a new creature in holiness and true righteousness. If thy prayers are weak, fear not; Christ's intercession for thee is all powerful.

4. *The Coming again of Jesus Christ.*—If we announce the return of Jesus with mercy for some, and with condemnation for others, this will be found a new means of acting on the hearts of prisoners. Having experienced the failure of their efforts to deceive human justice, they will say, How can we escape the look and the judgment of the Sovereign Judge of the living and the dead, who tries the reins and the heart?" Besides, they will be told that the Divine sentence will not be like that of human tribunals, limited as to its duration and its effects. "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." (Heb. x. 21.)

What can the Utilitarianism of *Bentham*, the Deism of *Channing*, and the Duty of *Jules Simon* show to compare with these doctrines for regenerating prisoners? Without doubt one ought to profit by all that these systems contain that is just and true, but we should go farther; we should remember that in order to cure and save souls deeply tainted with the leprosy of sin, they must have the balm of Gilead, and the Bread of Life.

III.

As to the method of instructing prisoners in the truths of salvation, in the pulpit, or in the cell, time does not permit us to enlarge. It is evident that all dry and cold teaching, even the most orthodox, would be powerless; there must be a simple, strong, and earnest proclamation of the Gospel as "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" it must be exhibited under all the forms and with all the help afforded in the Bible; it must be made with accents of compassion and love; it must be accompanied by the spirit of prayer.

The Word of God should itself be placed in the hands of prisoners. The chaplain should read it to them as an ambassador of the God of peace, with the gravity, intelligence, and earnestness of a believer. We cannot doubt the effects of such reading. Having read the third chapter of Colossians in the court of a prison, we asked one of the prisoners what he thought of what he had just heard. "Ah, sir," said he, "if we had put it into practice, none of us would be here!"

Discretion should be exercised in the choice of portions of Scrip-

ture to bring before prisoners. Let there be a Bible which they can have by asking for it; but in the cells let there be only portions of the Old and New Testament, and only give new portions from time to time, and when the prisoner can give an account of them. We attach great importance to this point—a Gospel or a letter of St. Paul or St. John will be more useful, we think, than the loan of a whole New Testament to an unconverted prisoner; other books of sound doctrine and approved merit can be also given, but not by Roman Catholic *religieux*. M. GABEREL insists on this.

Reading is indispensable in cells, to dispel weariness, which, even on Sunday, leads to solitary vice. (See the recommendations of M. Grellet, “Manual of Prisons,” vol. 2, p. 241).

But, however efficacious the several means employed by the chaplain; however great his tact, prudence, and persuasiveness, he must not expect any success without applying to God on behalf of the souls committed to his care. In the ordinary work of evangelization we cannot succeed without prayer; how much less when we have to approach persons in whom all religion seems extinct, and the conscience hardened!

A chaplain (M. ROND, *Chaplain of the Penitentiary at Lausanne*,) writes, that humanly speaking, he despairs of every prisoner addicted to intemperance, and of every woman that has lived in prostitution. Now, how numerous are the prisoners guilty of these crimes! Their pastor should therefore go daily to the Great Shepherd of souls to present the religious and moral state of each prisoner, and struggle resolutely to obtain His blessing on his work. This is an indispensable condition for every cure of souls in a prison. Alas! it has been, and is still, too much neglected. Hence so many disappointments, so many complaints of the insensibility, hypocrisy, and hardness of heart of those kept captive under lock and key!

CONCLUSION.

Unable to prolong this discourse, we shall not enter into other details as to what Christian philanthropy can urge in favour of the unhappy ones, whose sad fate has occupied our thoughts so vividly; nor will we further plead for taking care of prisoners when they are liberated; every one understands the absolute necessity of this. But we will close with the excellent words of the chaplain of the Central House of Eysse, M. ROBIN. (“Experiences of a Chaplain,” pp. 36 and 37):—

“Following the Saviour’s example, let us love much, we who are called to carry the word of relief and Christian hope into these abodes of humiliation and suffering! Let the unfortunate ones who expiate there the sin of one day, or the accumulated sins of a long life, feel that as far as we are concerned, the blot is effaced by the tears of repentance shed at the feet of Jesus. We shall thus render homage to the power of that love *stronger than death*, even than the death of conscience and honesty. These men, who at first received our ministrations with defiance and icy indifference, will not resist the evidence of true sympathy. The accents of the heart go to the heart. As soon as they understand they are loved, they gain confidence, until

their heart opens to the regenerating and sanctifying influence of the Gospel. It needs great prudence, firmness, and circumspection, in order to direct these unhappy ones who have not known how to direct themselves, and who have lost their own self-esteem. They must also be well convinced that our interest in them is not from weakness; and that our love, though *suspecting no evil*, is wide awake." But it is above all by loving in them the immortal being that one sees in these natures, soured by misfortune, and degraded by vice, sentiments arise which one would have thought for ever extinct. I have done.

RELIGION IN THE ARMY IN TIMES OF PEACE AND WAR.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS CANNON,

CHAPLAIN TO THE FORCES—BRITISH ARMY.

ARE the armies of the different nations of Christendom capable of being brought under Christian influence, and is it possible to impart to soldiers the character of Christian men?

To this question we reply in general terms. We believe that the faithful discharge of military duty is quite compatible with the existence of spiritual life; and if so, it becomes the duty of the Christian Church to endeavour to bring its influences to bear upon all who belong to the military profession.

The character of armies in general in past times would seem to forbid such an idea as that soldiers in any number can be Christianized. War has been associated formerly with much that made the profession of a soldier ruinous to the spiritual and moral welfare of those who engaged in it. The common idea seemed to be that the soldier was little else than an irrational instrument, and that being used as such his sense of moral obligation was very much extinguished, and that he had become so hardened in heart as to be made with the greatest difficulty the subject of individual convictions. This exaggerated idea of the condition and character of the soldier rendered many Christian people regardless in great measure of his spiritual well-being. But war has of late lost many of its most atrocious features, and with this change there has come a hopeful desire among Christian people for the religious improvement of the soldier. Let us look into the religious state of some of the armies of Europe, and we shall see that there is not a little to encourage religious efforts.

Take first the case of the **BRITISH ARMY.**

Before the Crimean war the instances of religious officers and men in it were very few. There was much ungodliness prevalent among all ranks, and nothing beyond the appointment of a few chaplains, whose duties were very much limited, to the performance of religious services on the Lord's-day was done for the army. The special exigencies of the soldier had never been considered. The Crimean

war, however, brought his case very strongly before the country, and did more for him in this respect than all the wars in which the country had ever been engaged. A cry came from the trenches of Sebastopol. There the soldier was beaten by frost, shattered by shot and shell, and prostrated by disease. He required better food and clothing, and additional medical treatment. A more liberal response was given to this call, and with the interest excited through the country in favour of his bodily wants came also a deep interest for those of his spiritual nature. Public sympathy strongly urged an increased number of chaplains. The Government gave effect to this proposal, and many additional chaplains were sent out to the Crimea and to the hospitals of Scutari and elsewhere. This was followed by different churches and religious societies taking upon themselves the duty of sending out ministers and Evangelists to the scenes of war.

The labours of many of these men were blessed. The letters of suffering and wounded soldiers to their relations and friends at home, testifying to the value of the religious truth which they had heard and received, touched the hearts of Christian-minded people throughout the length and breadth of the land, and ever since then that kind religious sympathy which first showed itself in laudable endeavours to mitigate the sufferings of the British soldier who had received wounds and caught pestilential sickness in the trenches of Sebastopol, has continued.

If the great material improvement in artillery and musketry, such as rifled cannon and breech-loaders, may be said to date from the Crimean war, with equal truth the progress of the army in the knowledge of Christ may be said to commence from that same epoch.

A very large number of chaplains—Episcopalian and Presbyterian—labour now among the soldiers at home and abroad. Including those in India there must be at least 150. Besides these, the Wesleyans with a most commendable zeal have set apart not a few of their ministers for work in the army. These chaplains and ministers devote their whole time to the soldiers, and where they work with zeal and perseverance they almost invariably meet with some proofs that the Word of God has not been preached to the soldier in vain.

But besides a larger addition to the number of chaplains, other agencies have sprung up.

First. There is that of the *Scripture Readers' Society*. This society is composed chiefly of officers retired from the army, who take an affectionate interest in the religious welfare of the men belonging to the profession in which they have spent the principal part of their life—the chaplains general. Several chaplains of the army and clergymen of various sections of the Christian Church are also on the committee. The annual revenue of the society is about £10,000. This amount enables the society to send out about 100 Scripture readers. These men are chosen for their Christian zeal, their knowledge of the Scriptures, their religious experience and common sense. They follow the army wherever the British troops are quartered. The reports sent by these men to the society testify in many cases to the great success of their mission.

Another agency that has risen up in garrison towns is that of *Soldiers' Institutes*.

The most notable of these is the Soldiers' Institute at *Aldershot*. It was the work of Mrs. DANIELL, the widow of an officer in the army. It comprises coffee room, lecture room, reading room, quarters for Mrs. DANIELL, and for a missionary and a Bible woman. Many Christian soldiers in the army ascribe their conversion to their having attended the Bible readings and prayer meetings at the Institute.

Every week a minister of the Gospel, or an Evangelist remarkable for his earnestness and other gifts, comes to the Institute and holds meetings in the Lecture Hall on Saturdays and Sundays.

Another means of spreading religious influences among the soldiers has been *tract circulation*. It may be said with truth that no country possesses so many good tracts as Great Britain. The different religious societies in Great Britain are most liberal in their grants of tracts to the army. By chaplains, pious officers, and soldiers and Scripture readers, a very large number of tracts find their way into the hands of soldiers belonging to all corps in the service.

The propagation of *temperance principles* has also told with effect upon many soldiers in the British army. The great vice of the soldier is drunkenness. Total abstinence can alone reclaim him. The total abstainer recovers his reason, the tone of his feelings is improved, and he becomes thereby a hopeful subject for religious instruction and counsel. Many do not keep the pledge, but we believe that it has saved many from death, and proved in the case of not a few the first step of a real conversion unto God.

Looking at the British army generally, there is a most decided improvement in its religious condition within the last thirteen or fourteen years.

For many reasons it is a very unfavourable field for the truth. A few of these may be briefly stated:—1st. The soldiers are recruited by voluntary enlistment; men who have steady employment and are in possession of good situations, enter the army in scanty numbers; consequently the Christian teacher finds a greater want of the better elements of society to work upon than in civil life. 2nd. The British soldier is more than any other subjected to foreign and distant service. Domestic and social ties are cut by his removal from his native land. The countries where he serves are often heathen, and from the want of good examples and the means of grace, he is liable to sink into a state of apathy and ungodliness.

There are, however, few regiments in which there are not some men who may be said to have taken up the Cross; and profanity and general ungodliness have diminished among the masses of the men. The religion that is found in the army is generally of a very genuine kind. It is a Bible religion. It is got chiefly from that only source of all Divine knowledge. It is a religion untainted with sectarianism, for Scriptural teaching carries a man away from that. It is a religion of a very steadfast and consistent character. The position of the soldier is different from that of the civilian. The latter will find many Christian friends to take him by the hand, if he starts in the Christian course, but the soldier finds far more

who are hostile than friendly to him when he enters upon a new path of life. Therefore his piety must be of a more vigorous kind than is to be found in civil life. It is a religion also which shows itself in activity. I have known many Christian soldiers who dated the change they experienced to their having been induced by their religious comrades to come to some religious meeting, where they were made for the first time to attend to the things belonging to their peace. While there is much in the condition of the soldier of the British Army to give cause of sorrow to a pious mind, yet there is ground of hope, for certainly a beginning has been made in the evangelization of the men, and it is very likely that there will be less in the future aspect of military life in that army to sadden the heart of the Christian philanthropist than in its past state.

We cannot conclude our remarks on the British Army without adverting to the fact of there being in it an increasing number of officers who are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, but boldly confess their Lord. Every year there are invitations sent to officers of this character to attend a meeting in London for fellowship and prayer. The number of late years present has been greatly on the increase. Many of these officers are young, and remain in the army, and are powerful for good.

The Christianizing of the British Army ought to be a subject near to the heart of everyone who takes an interest in missionary work. In India there are 800,000 British soldiers scattered up and down that vast country. Were these men true Christians, how wonderfully would their influence tell upon the many millions of heathens there! what potent auxiliaries would they be in seconding the efforts of the missionaries there to turn them from the service of idols to the service of the living and true God, and to the belief of Jesus Christ whom He hath sent! We cannot exaggerate the importance of the work of God in the British Army.

THE PRUSSIAN ARMY.

The largest army of any Protestant country is that of Prussia. Recent events have developed the character of this army in regard to skill, bravery, and discipline in a very remarkable manner, placing it in the very front rank of military organizations.

These same events have been the means of bringing to light also its religious character, and we have no hesitation in saying that the religious habits of the Prussian soldiers have had no inconsiderable effect in rendering them so superior (as they are on all hands acknowledged to be) in professional acquirements.

But some one may ask, What do you know about the Prussian army? I reply that what I have said of it, and what I am going to say of it, is acquired by personal observation and experience. During the last year I felt a strong desire to go to the seat of war, with a view of inquiring into the religious condition of the Prussian soldiers, and of offering my sympathy and aid as far as it would go to the chaplains and others who were engaged in imparting religious knowledge to them, and in ministering consolation to the sick and wounded in hospitals. I was able, through the kindness of the government and

through the friendship of the military authorities, and the assistance of the chaplains and pastors connected with the army, to carry out my purpose, and I may state that I visited at least two-thirds of all the hospitals throughout the seat of war and in Prussia for the sick and wounded. If an army can be called a model army, I would decidedly say that the Prussian army was that by comparison.

The religious element is here found among the officers and men in a vigorous state. It was shown in their observance of the ordinances of religion during their march through a most difficult country—a march that required to be accomplished with the greatest expedition, and which left little time for them, except to eat their meals and to take rest. Every day at the close of the march the soldiers and officers held meetings for prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. Soldiers in many other armies would have said, in like circumstances, “We have no time for religious observances. When we have got to the end of our march, then we shall have leisure for religious duty.” The dangers they were exposed to, and the series of battles which they fought, seemed to deepen their religious convictions, and to throw them more upon the God of their lives and the Author of their salvation. It was shown in their desire to partake of the Holy Communion, an ordinance which is very little valued in armies in general. A chaplain of the army of Silesia told me that during the march into Bohemia from Breslau, he administered the sacrament twenty times, and generally in the open air. The soldiers with their spades threw up earth into the form of a table, that he covered with a cloth, and there soldiers and officers of all grades joined together in partaking of the blessed rite. Out of 15,000 men, of which the division to which he belonged was composed, and several thousands of these Roman Catholics, there were 8,000 who communicated.

It was shown in their desire to read the Word of God, for the application for copies of it from the chaplains was very great. It was shown in their temperate habits. I was myself four weeks in Prussia, and at the seat of war, before I saw a drunken soldier. It was shown in their orderly conduct—in the enemy’s country. Never was the property of an enemy more respected than was that of the people whom they conquered. An ordinary traveller would have found it difficult to have seen any marked traces of an invading army. It was shown in the readiness with which the sick and wounded in hospitals received religious instructions. I was witness to this pleasing fact wherever I went, whether I addressed the soldiers in hospital individually or collectively, I was always listened to attentively and thankfully. If I offered them copies of the Scriptures or tracts, they were most readily received and carefully read. It was shown in the dedication which these sick and wounded soldiers made of themselves to the service of God and Jesus Christ. After addressing them on the subject of their salvation, and reviewing the many mercies they had received at the hand of God, I often concluded by calling on them to give their hearts to God, and to renounce all their former sins and follies. Generally they responded to my calls in a distinct and decided manner. I never saw military hospitals so well provided with books, but a marked preference was given to those of a religious character.

It may be not only a matter of interest, but attended with advantage, to inquire into the causes of the superior religious condition of the Prussian army. A few of these may be stated. One is the organization of the army. The Prussian soldier belongs to no one class in society, he comes from and represents every class in society. He brings with him everything that is good, as well as everything that is bad, in society. All that is amiable and orderly and pure and good and noble, that is to be met with in the homes and families of the great and learned, as well as in those of the humble and industrious and pious, is in a certain degree transferred to the barrack-room. No doubt the contrary elements also go there, but these become in a great measure neutralized by those of the opposite character.

There is a healthy current of young men, from all situations in life, flowing into the army, so that the spirit and character of the soldiers must be very much the same as that of the people throughout the country at large. Home ties are carefully preserved. The Prussian soldier is drafted into a corps that is stationed in the province where he has been born and trained up, and although he lives among soldiers yet he is surrounded by all the associations of his childhood and youth, and these continue to exercise a most wholesome influence on his character. Although he has entered on a new employment, yet still he feels that he has not parted with his citizenship or Christian privileges and responsibilities. During the time the soldier is in the army the remembrance of home is continually before him, for in three years at most he is entitled to return to his family, and this hope makes him cling to the habits and feelings that he acquired there. I cannot help thinking that the Prussian Government has adopted a system of military organization which, while it places at its disposal a larger amount of military force than belongs to any other nation, subjects the soldiers less than any other Government does to the loss of those virtues and Christian principles that grow up in private life, and which are often deeply injured or extinguished by the bad habits and lax notions of religious duty to which military life often gives rise.

Another cause of the superior religious character of the Prussian army is the high educational advantages enjoyed by the Prussian people. Education is the privilege of every Prussian from six to fourteen years of age. In that time, under well-trained masters, how intelligent may the humblest classes become! And during that time religious instruction is keeping pace with secular training. Another cause is the provision that is made for the religious wants of the soldiers. Chaplains are attached permanently to the army, who give their whole time to the work of God among the soldiers. These men are generally the most promising of those who devote themselves to the ministry. Such of them as I have heard preach are men of superior gifts, and by their eloquence and earnestness commend themselves to the attention of their hearers. I believe that during the late war the religious condition of the Prussian army rose to a still higher degree than in time of peace. I myself was witness to this pleasing state of things, and I have no difficulty in pointing out what must be to every one who deplors the ravages of such a scourge as war is, and the brutalizing effects of it on those who carry it on, a most consolatory circumstance.

The following were the increased religious agencies that were brought to bear upon the army in the field, and particularly on the soldiers in the hospitals:—

1. The pastors from the committees of pastors in the different provinces of Prussia. These men supplemented the work undertaken by the regular chaplains; they were men of earnest purpose, and their labours were much blessed.

2. The missionaries from Dr. Wichern's Institution, trained to work amongst the most neglected and least religious part of the community, and to seize every opportunity of saying a word to men about their souls. This class of labourers found the army an excellent field for their talents, and their influence was felt among the soldiers.

3. The deacons from the Training Institution for Deacons. These young men proved most useful assistants to the chaplains and pastors attached to the army. They generally conducted prayer-meetings and read the Scriptures with the men every evening. They provided them with good books; they answered inquiries, and wrote letters for them to their relatives at home.

4. The Knights of St. John belonging to the Brandenburg Branch of the Order. The part that they acted was chiefly assisting the sick and wounded. Their aid, given from motives of Christian sympathy, had a very powerful effect in making the sufferers appreciate the value of Christian principle, in melting their hearts, and in rendering them more favourably disposed to listen to religious counsels. Many of the brothers, being men of deep piety, also by their conversation proved a blessing in a spiritual manner to those sufferers whom they took under their charge.

The female agencies also contributed much to the improvement of the religious character of the soldiers. These were very much confined to the hospitals, whether in the field, or in towns and garrisons.

1. The deaconesses from Kaiserwerth and from the Institution of St. Elizabeth, Berlin. These women braved all danger in waiting night and day on cholera and fever stricken sufferers. They watched over them in the full spirit of Christian love, ministering to their souls as well as to their bodies, and powerful must have been the influence which their words and actions have left upon the hearts of those whom they waited on. Of those deaconesses there were between sixty and seventy.

2. Volunteer ladies from different parts of Prussia. From these the sick and wounded received much kindness in many ways. They brought them extra food that the hospital regulations did not furnish, and clothing, lent them; wrote letters for them, spoke with them about the welfare of their souls, and supplied them largely with books and magazines and religious tracts. The religious atmosphere in the hospitals where these ladies laboured was decidedly of a superior character to what it was in those where they were not to be met with.

We intended to have said a few things about the state of religion in the *American Army*, and to have noticed the part taken in the work of Evangelization among the American soldiers during the last war by the Christian Commission—an organization that, by the blessing of God, accomplished its object in a manner claiming the fervent gratitude and respect of all interested in the work of God among soldiers; but your time will not permit us longer to address you.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RAGGED SCHOOLS.

Dr. THOMAS GUTHRIE said, "Dear Friends,—You will not be astonished, I suppose, that I am going to speak a few words about Ragged Schools. My name is somewhat identified with this matter. How this has happened I long to tell you. In my first parish there was no need of such a school. Among a thousand children there was only one who could not read. But after seven years I came to *Edinburgh*, and there I saw myself plunged at once into the most debased parish of the whole metropolis. Most flourishing were the public houses and gin-palaces, resounding night after night with music and revelry; but alas! the people were low and mean, degraded by the basest vices, and the unhappy children were scarcely clothed in rags, haggard-looking, their dark eyes sparkling with a wild fire in their lean and pale faces. I often came into houses that were no homes for the poor outcast bairns, where I saw many hungry settlers and no bread. I suffered bitterly, and could not go there again.

"But God, whose ways are wonderful, brought good out of this evil. I soon acknowledged that, according to God's will, ragged schools ought to be opened. If the lower classes could be raised, this was to be by the children. I saw everywhere on the streets poor children, mere babies often, sent by their own parents to beg and to steal. People saw them when going to church, I saw them when going to preach, and no one helped them. This could not any longer be endured. As a minister of the Holy Gospel, I found myself guilty to the fact, that there was growing up around us a much-promising crop of future criminals. So I considered what ought to be done. I sought and found the way. There were already ragged schools in *England*; what existed there, I tried to practise better in *Scotland*. In *London* 13,000 scholars in the ragged schools learn to read—in *Edinburgh* I taught them to read, and to eat. We take care, not only of the soul, but of the body too—of the body first. The children are provided with good lessons, and with good porridge, soup and bread. You can't help doing this, when you see those thin fingers, and pale cheeks, making the boys and girls look ten years older than they are. Now, after a few months' feeding and training, look again! Behold the good effects of our porridge. The child is quite changed. No: giving instruction is not enough. Teaching *a b c* to a child that is hungry, is giving him a stone for bread.

"Now I say, we try to teach the children eating, and that is easy enough; but at the same time I try to unlearn them drinking, that is not so easy. Drink is terribly at home in many of these poor dwellings, and I hate and detest liquors with my whole heart. I have seen all its

miserable effects, and I confess to be a teetotaller, a total abstainer, as much as any can be. When drinking in a family is a practice, philanthropy is of no avail—I have known poor people having a son most dangerously ill; benevolent men came, giving coverlets to the sick young man, but the parents took the blanket, in the cold winter night, from the bed of their child in order to buy liquor. From a hundred prisoners, there may be ninety-nine who come into prison by drink. Now, give Bibles and porridge, and the bottle will be put away. But we give them still more than the Bible and soup—bread for the soul and the body. We try to make them men and women. They are trained to industrial occupations, and formed to several professions in order to become good handicrafts; often they are sent to the colonies. The girls are brought up for good servants, and when doing well, are recommended for wives to the young men of the working classes. The former ragged-school pupils are on the whole much sought for among the young men of *Edinburgh*.

“I could tell you much about the good results of our training. We are not always happy, of course, nor do all pupils succeed, as seemed to be the case at a Roman Catholic ragged school, whose master once told me that all his scholars were doing well (on nearer investigation I found all his scholars were—three), but the great majority of ours are behaving well. This is owing mostly to the spirit of tender love that prevails. Directors and teachers act for the benefit of the children as if they were their parents, and in this light they wish to be considered. Corporal punishment is but seldom practised. It may be wanted, however, sometimes, and this reminds me of a fact, which I will give you as a proof that some good result, with God’s blessing, springs from our schools.

“In one of these there was a very wicked boy, a hard-hearted young fellow. All means had been tried in vain to deter him from lying and stealing. At last the young culprit had done a thing, which ought to be punished in an exemplary way. A severe chastisement seemed necessary. So the master ordered him to lay down his jacket, to undergo the whipping. But when he saw the bare back of the boy so thin that he could count all the ribs, moreover scarred by stripes and wounds, tears came into his eyes, and he could not beat him. Still he felt that justice ought to be done, and that there must be some punishment. So he raised his voice, and said: ‘This young boy deserves a whipping, but he cannot be flogged. Is there any one among you who is ready to receive the blows in his stead?’ There was a moment of silence. Then up jumped a little poor fellow. ‘I, master,’ he cried, ‘I am healthy and strong; let me have the whipping!’ Off went the jacket, and he underwent a sound thrashing. What do you say to that, my dear friends? Cannot Christ’s love be found in a poor ragged boy? cannot a great and noble heart beat under a ragged cloth?

“My friends, in *Edinburgh* there are now a thousand ladies interesting themselves in giving instruction to the poor children, and devoting themselves to charitable institutions. That is as it ought to be. We are not sent on earth to enjoy, but to employ our time; not to rest, but to work. Let us work while it is day, in heaven the labourers will be crowned!”

Mr. G. VAN EIK, *Amsterdam*, said : Dear friends,—Urgently asked by some friends, I wish to communicate a few facts concerning our Ragged School in Amsterdam. We are proud of our school indeed, and invite all foreigners to come and see for themselves. We, too, have had our struggle since we began our work eighteen years ago with fifty poor children. The number has since very considerably augmented. Now we have in one of the finest and largest schools in this metropolis about 300 children, and this number is daily increasing. Whilst unlearning the children beggary, as much as we can, we are beggars ourselves to get children from their parents. Alas! many of these poor children cannot be said to have parents, many had never a real home. Many never heard a friendly word. Still they are young, and it is not so difficult to get a wholesome influence on their hearts. Many of these are given to religious impressions. Yesterday one of the foreigners visited our school. He gave the head-master twenty francs to buy something for the children. The master asked, “Lads, what shall we buy?” One of the children cried, “Bread and ham;” but then another arose and said, “No, master! better give that money to the missionaries in behalf of the poor heathens.” This proposal met with a general applause. Dear friends, we had our cares and struggles, but we say by our Christian experience, what Calvin said, *Post tenebras lux* (After darkness light).

PREACHING IN THEATRES.

REV. FRANCIS TUCKER was exceedingly glad to see Dr. Guthrie in the chair this morning, and felt inclined to say, “I count myself happy, King Agrippa, that I have to answer for myself before thee this day, inasmuch as thou art expert in everything pertaining to the evangelization of the masses; wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.”

He gave a long list of the various forms of Christian enterprise common in England. A great change had come over the English mind since the century began. Then we heard of the *desperate* classes, now of the *destitute* classes. Then the cry was, “Keep them down;” now, “Lift them up.” Which was the more in harmony with enlightened reason? A little girl once tried to clean her papä’s watch with soap and water, and stopped it altogether. And the more delicate machinery of the human heart, however rough the case in which it beats, needs the finest, the most exquisite oils of human sympathy and Christian love.

He would present only one thread from the net with which Christians in London sought to catch souls—*Preaching in theatres*. He had had the great privilege of taking a part in this work. When he first went to preach in the Pavilion Theatre, at the East end of London, he was told by one of the City missionaries that he might call his congregation “Rogues,” “Thieves,” and names like those, and he would be sure to be right. He opened the stage-door and went in, and found himself face to face with 2,500 persons. He did not call them any harder name than “Men and

brethren." They proved the most attentive congregation he had ever addressed.

There was little of worldly glory attaching to work like this; but alas! for the Christian who cannot be content without worldly glory. There were once 30,000 noble forest-trees, lifting their majestic crowns into the sunshine; but they consented to be stripped of all their majesty, hacked and hewed at the will of the architect, sunk down into the mud and buried there; and to-day they uphold the great Stadt-house of Amsterdam, the palace of the King of Holland. So should we be content to lay aside our pride, our vanity, our self-conceit, to go down to the lowliest stations, and even to be hidden from the eyes of men, if we can but help to uphold a dwelling for the King of kings, a place for the feet of Jesus.

It seemed to him that this was the kind of work most needed at the present day. There was a plaintive cry resounding over Europe, and addressed to the Christ of the Gospels: "Art Thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" In the name of Christ we must give the answer which Christ Himself gave in the days of His flesh: we must do our best (depending on the aid of the Holy Spirit) to open blind eyes, to unstop deaf ears, to make the lame walk, and the dead live; we must preach the Gospel to the poorest, to the vilest; we must reach down to the bottom of the horrible pit, to the depth of the miry clay, and lift the fallen up. Unless we do this, nothing else will silence the sceptical spirit of the age. We may answer Renan, demolish Colenzo, and laugh Strauss utterly to scorn, but all in vain. At any rate it will be so in England; the practical mind of Englishmen wants practical results; and one laborious Sunday-school teacher, or one real undoubted convert in a theatre, would be accepted as better evidence of the Divine origin of the Gospel, than many a brilliant lecture in a University or many learned volumes of most logical argumentation.

For several winters past there have been open in London every Sunday evening, for the preaching of the Gospel, from six to ten of the London theatres. The attendance has been exceedingly good, the behaviour of the people very orderly, and the success of the enterprise most encouraging. Many, many souls have been born to God.

He would give them only one specimen from his own experience. After preaching to 3,000 people in the Surrey Theatre, he stepped into the ante-room, and found there two poor men, who grasped him by the hand, while their faces glowed with love. They told him that God had blessed His Word to them in another theatre more than a year before; and he was assured by one of the City missionaries that they had become most consistent Christians, and laboured hard for the benefit of others. Before another year was over one of the two died—and who would not wish to die as he did? He had a vision of Christ before his eyes, and stretched out his arms towards the foot of the bed, exclaiming, "There He is! My dear Jesus! My blessed Saviour! I'm coming! I'm coming!" and then fell back and died.

OPEN-AIR PREACHING.

MR. GAWIN KIRKHAM, *Secretary of the Open-Air Mission, London.* The need of this mode of evangelization was apparent, he said, when it was remembered that, according to the oft-repeated statement of the Bishop of London, there were a million of persons (one in every three) in London alone, for whom no church or chapel accommodation was provided. Not only so, but many of the existing churches and chapels were not well attended. Therefore, if the people were to be reached, the Gospel must be taken to them out of doors. To do this the Open-Air Mission was founded fourteen years ago. Its object was to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not only in the streets, but at races, fairs, and public executions, and wherever the masses of the people assembled out of doors. It was managed by a committee of laymen, and had 150 members of various Protestant denominations, who preached without fee or reward as they had opportunity. Their qualifications were ascertained and their improvement sought by gathering them together in Conferences, which were held once a month for the free discussion of matters relating to open-air preaching and for the study of the Scriptures. In addition to the members of the Mission many others were engaged in the work of open-air preaching, including among them not only laymen and ministers of the Gospel, but several bishops. The Bishop of London and other prelates of the Church of England had set a noble example to their clergy by preaching in Covent Garden Market and other places. This simple method of preaching the Gospel was progressing year by year, so that, including all who were thus engaged, it had been computed that there could not be less than from 400 to 500 in London and the suburbs at the present time.

No fixed rule could be laid down for conducting a service. Usually, however, the preacher and his friends, having selected a place least likely to interfere with the traffic, commenced by singing a hymn, sheets of which were handed round among the people. The singing had the effect of drawing the people together. A brief prayer might then be offered, or a portion of Scripture read, or the preacher might begin to speak without either, but almost invariably closing with prayer. A chair or stool served for a pulpit. Tracts were generally given away at the close. If the preacher made the out-door meeting a preface to one held in-doors, many of the people would follow him there. The work carried on by the Mission was not designed to be in opposition to, but in harmony with the work of the minister. The preachers went out that men might come in.

Open-air preaching commended itself because it was a necessity of the age, because it was Scriptural, because it had the sanction of Christ and His Apostles, because the results were encouraging, and because it was not expensive. During the past year the Mission had held twelve con-

ferences of preachers, visited 151 special gatherings, races, fairs, &c., and distributed 530,000 tracts, the whole of which had cost less than £500. The speaker hoped the time would soon come when on the Continent, as well as in England, the Gospel would thus be preached to the people, and closed his address in the words of Wesley, as containing the sentiments which prompted the preacher to go forth:—

“His only righteousness I show,
His saving truth proclaim;
'Tis all my business here below
To cry, ‘Behold the Lamb!’
Happy, if with my latest breath
I may but gasp His name;
Preach then to all, and cry in death,
‘Behold, behold the Lamb!’”

THE GOSPEL AND THE UPPER CLASSES.

BY J. H. GLADSTONE, F.R.S.,

OF LONDON.

BRITISH society is made up of strata that will not mix; and the Christian philanthropist, whatever his views may be as to the desirability of this state of affairs, must take men as he finds them. For the children of the lowest class Ragged Schools are provided; the respectable poor take great advantage of those Sunday-schools that are considered an almost necessary adjunct to every church and chapel; for young people of the mercantile classes there exist Young Men's Christian Associations, and other religious societies; but for youth higher in the social scale, there is no similar provision.

It will scarcely be contended, however, that there is less need of systematic religious instruction in this stratum, than in that which furnishes the great mass of our Sunday scholars. Indeed the three following considerations tend the other way; a pious artisan or small tradesman or his wife, sees more of the children, and has more direct influence over them than a pious father or mother in the upper ranks of society. The scriptural instruction in our primary schools is better, both in quantity and quality, than in most of those schools and colleges to which the wealthy send their sons and daughters. Ritualism and Rationalism make their conquest among the youth of the upper classes, while those who have passed through our Sunday-schools, are unaffected by these mighty forms of error; though in a lower grade still, we find these errors again, but in a grosser form, as genuine popery or rank infidelity.

It is not of course meant, that the children of the rich and great are shut out from all religious privileges. They are at least as welcome to our places of worship as poorer children are; many

ministers of the Established and Nonconformist Churches hold Bible-classes for the young people of the congregation; and the time of preparing for confirmation is frequently made an opportunity for valuable teaching and counsel. Still there does seem lacking some agency specially directed towards them, something which shall do among them the same work as the Sunday-school system does among the lower classes.

Attempts to meet this want have been made with success at *Islington, Finsbury, Penge*, and other places, but that with which I am personally familiar was originated two or three years ago by some ladies in the West of *London*, who felt strongly the force of the considerations given above. There are now in operation several Bible-readings on Sunday afternoons for children of the higher classes exclusively, some for boys, others for girls, some for little ones, others for those more advanced in age. These are all carried on in private houses. One in my dining-room has been lately attended by about forty young men on an average, varying from twelve to perhaps twenty-five years old. We kneel together in prayer, and we sing a hymn, then read some passages from the life of our Saviour, or some of His gracious words, and for an hour converse about them, trying to arrive at and illustrate their meaning, and to find their application to ourselves. This is all conducted in as free and informal a manner as possible. Three or four frequently stay to tea with me on Sunday, and during the week I am sure to meet with others; and then there are birthday greetings, or letters from those at college or otherwise removed from our company. The blessing of God has rested upon us throughout, but especially during the past spring, and I find myself already surrounded by a band of youths who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and wish to live as His disciples. Where may not their influence reach?

There is also an incidental benefit flowing from such a work which is of no small importance. It introduces the conductor of the meeting into the houses of his neighbours in such a way that it is easy for him to speak of the Saviour, or rather his conversation is almost expected to take such a turn, and it is his own fault if he does not become a drawing-room missionary.

The only objection I have heard brought against such gatherings is this:—"they tend to lessen the responsibility of fathers and mothers; a knowledge of the way of salvation is of such inestimable importance that every parent may be expected to see to the religious instruction of his children himself." Well, in a model Christian community perhaps it would be so; but human society is not such a community. The argument applies equally to Sunday-schools, and in all our religious teaching of youth we ought certainly to guard against the possible lessening of parental responsibility. But on the other hand it should be remembered that, now as in olden time, God has set some in the Church gifted to be teachers; again, a man who would instruct his own little family, will naturally make a more thorough preparation if he has to meet a larger party, which may of course include his own children; and beyond all this, it very frequently happens that young men, and young ladies too, can and will open their minds

more freely to a Christian friend whom they only occasionally see, than to those elders whom they commonly live with. The objection given above is rather for the consideration of parents than of teachers; and in point of fact it is the MONICAS of the neighbourhood that are usually the most anxious that their young AUGUSTINES should find their way into my dining-room.

The agency for extending this work throughout *Great Britain* and elsewhere already exists, but it is not yet called into action. The qualifications requisite are simply those of a Sunday-school teacher *plus* good social position and education; and the work does not necessarily involve a larger outlay of time or labour than a Sunday-school class does. Now it is no unusual thing for pious young people of a good position in society to connect themselves with Sunday-schools as teachers; they thus gain experience in teaching the Scriptures; but when they marry, they generally give up the work. It is then however that, with a house of their own, perhaps the additional advantage of a parent's feelings and experience, they are peculiarly qualified to invite the children of their neighbours, together perhaps with those of their own fireside, and to endeavour to lead them to a noble Christian life, and a blissful immortality.

SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

REV. S. H. PETTINGELL, of *New York*, said,—“Christian Brethren, with some others, here present, I represent American Christianity desirous of showing its heartfelt sympathy in the Alliance, and in this general assembly. The great ocean lies between our countries, but the sea does not separate us; it binds us together, at least the trading and seafaring peoples, such as American and Dutch, connected not only by the bonds of commerce, but by stronger and more spiritual ties. Many of your countrymen, too, are coming to us, and in a few years they are becoming so united that their original nationality is broken up, and they get a new home in the new world. But, dear friends, there are a great many thousands who have no true homes, no proper nationality, indeed, who by their way of living get rather a cosmopolite character. I mean the large class of seamen living on the great waters of the ocean, those ‘streets and highways of the world,’ and they must have their open-air missions too. Missionaries must seek them, in order that they may themselves become missionaries, bringing the treasures of the Gospel from land to land. That we try to do. *America* has its Seamen's Friend Society, not confining its labours to *America* alone. So I, belonging to that Society, have actually my stand in *Antwerp*, where the dark shades of superstition and unbelief, the natural consequence of Romanism, hang on the population.

Let me lay the interest of the whole Society, as I have been desirous, to the heart of this large assembly. When our hope is fulfilled, the next meeting of the Alliance is to be held in *New York*. We want to see your faces there, and to show you our Christian institutions, and, amongst these, that of the Seamen's Friends. All Christians, and the Dutch especially, must have a heart for this class.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

COUNT A. BERNSTORFF said: Only one word. I have frequently here heard the laity spoken of. The last speaker called himself a layman. Let the word stand, provided the thing itself be understood. I then also am a layman, but I hope not a *man of the world*, nor altogether *unspiritual*. Oh that we could all understand that in the Church of Christ, all, laymen or not, have their *priestly duties*, their holy work to perform in the Lord's vineyard! This refers particularly to the cause of Christian philanthropy. Do not the necessities of suffering humanity concern us? Gentlemen, I bring no politics here; but I wish that I could bring the military Prussian organization into the Church of Christ. *Every one is bound to do service*, and whenever it is needed; *the whole power* must be thrown into the service of Christian love in the strife against misery and sin—this must be our motto!

REV. E. DE PRESSENSÉ.—It is with lively satisfaction that I observe that Christian Philanthropy is the subject with which we are now to be engaged—a subject which has the great merit of being always appropriate. The best time to be occupied with it is always the present. For human misery is always a terrible actuality, and Christian charity never has the right to stand afar off. True charity feels pressed to render succour. She does not know to-morrow. And further, this Christian charity not only mitigates the physical and moral distresses of humanity; she is the stay and the strength of the Church. It is true, the entire Church will never perish. She is eternal, since she lives in the life of Jesus Christ, her immortal Head. But a part of the body, that of which we are the members, may decay. The churches of Asia Minor, once so vigorous and strong, have disappeared, and the light formerly so brilliant is extinguished. Let us take care that our churches do not die for want of that charity which is the sap of spiritual life. We live in a time when people are much occupied with the poor and their necessities. This was specially observable at the Paris Exhibition. In former exhibitions, the works of industry exclusively engaged attention; in this a lively sympathy was shown for the workmen. This is one of the present tendencies of society. Very well! If humanity knows its duty in this matter, shall the Church of Christ, the Church which lives for love, suffer itself to be surpassed—shall it do less than Society? See indigence, physical and moral misery, lying under our eyes, on the ground, close by our path; see humanity suffering, stripped, smitten with many evils, covered with wounds, what shall we do—the priests and Levites of the God of love? Shall we go on our way taking no notice, or noticing only, without stopping; shall we wait until the good Samaritan comes with his oil and wine? No truly. To us this duty and honour belong; to us the poor are the

heritage bequeathed by our Saviour; we must seek and save the lost with an indefatigable zeal which shrinks from no horror and from no sacrifice. Ours is the task to aid the wretched, not to cover over, but to examine and heal their wounds by the help of God. Let us stoop as low as possible to that which lies the lowest in this world of sorrow. "Thus to stoop," said Lord SHAFTESBURY, on one occasion, "is to lift up the soul to God." It is told of Dr. WICHERN that, going on a certain occasion to preach in the cathedral, when he saw the mendicants about the door, he said, "I cannot go in so long as I see these poor people without help. How can I preach Christ while I see them suffering in this manner?" Let us never forget that Jesus has bequeathed the poor to us. What we do to one of these for the love of God, we do to Him.

PROFESSOR FELIX BOVET, *Neuchatel*.—In one of the discourses of a former day we were exhorted to humility. I desire that we should profit by the advice, and not forget to humble ourselves before the Lord. I accept the military comparison of a later speaker. We are all engaged in a holy warfare against vice and infidelity, and this assembly is a kind of military review, in which we number our forces and encourage one another in the conflict. But we must not forget to take account of our weakness as well. Let us recall to mind this grand saying, "Love is the fulfilling of the law," but let us remember this also, that in labouring to solace the miseries of others we ought not to lose sight of our own. There is indeed a Christian and true sense in which we may repeat the proverb, but little Christian in itself, "Charity begins at home." We should begin by humbling ourselves on many accounts. I do not speak now of the divisions of the Church, of the plague of a new Gospel, although we may be all more or less chargeable with complicity in these evils; I speak only of living Christians, among whom, alas! there is so little life, and so little love! The great enemy of the Church is far less the strength of those without than the weakness of those within; and I would fix your attention on this cardinal point. What we want is not the evangelic word, nor Christian works; but more life, a closer walk with God! I wish to guard against exaggeration. I do not say that no difference may be seen between believers and unbelievers, but the pure and radiant light of a holy Christian life should be more observable. Let us ponder those profound words of our Lord, which should be the first rule of all Christian philanthropy, "For their sakes I sanctify myself." Sanctification is the sap of philanthropy. Let us sanctify ourselves before God, and we shall become the instruments of His grace. Beginning with ourselves we shall minister to the good of others. Christians, we are the light of the world. Let us take care that the light shines bright and pure.

V.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION ; BY
PASTOR ZAHN, OF BREMEN.

MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION ; BY
REV. TH. ARBOUSSET, MISSION-
ARY.

MISSIONS AND NATIONALITY ; BY
PROFESSOR GESZ, OF GOTTIN-
GEN.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN RELATION
TO NATIONALITY ; BY THE REV.
DR. MULLENS, SECRETARY OF
THE LONDON MISSIONARY SO-
CIETY.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS WITH RE-
GARD TO NATIONALITY ; BY
REV. J. FAIRBROTHER, SECRE-
TARY OF THE LONDON MISSION-
ARY SOCIETY.

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN TURKEY ;
BY REV. J. K. GREEN, BROUSSA.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE EAST ;
BY R. BAXTER, ESQ., LONDON.

MISSIONS AND THE VERNACULAR
LANGUAGES. BY REV. A. CA-
SALIS.

MISSIONS AND NATIVE LANGUAGES.
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THE EVANGELICAL MISSION AND
THE CRITICISM OF THE NEW
SCHOOL. BY REV. L. J. VAN
RHYN.

SPEECHES—

1. DR. GRAHAM, FROM DAMAS-
CUS.

2. REV. MR. CONRADI, PARA-
MARIBO, GUIANA.

3. REV. MR. HUET, NATAL.

4. REV. P. DURAND, SOUTH
AFRICA.

MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION.

BY PASTOR ZAHN,

OF BREMEN.

As was announced in the invitations to the meetings of the Alliance, a regular order has been observed in the course of its proceedings. It is not my intention, nor my business to point out the connexion between the subjects treated of: I will merely remark that what has previously been said related to the life and labour of Christianity at home; we have reached the miserable ones of *Christendom*—or, to use a Scriptural figure, the poor, and maimed, and halt—and now it only remains for us to *go over the boundary*; and remember those who have not yet been invited, and for whom there is “yet room.” You will allow me to remark that this work, which goes over the boundaries of ancient Christendom, or rather tries to extend those boundaries to the ends of the earth, is only the other part of the same work which was spoken of last week. To preserve what it does possess, and to gain what it does not possess, are the twin duties of the Church of Jesus upon earth. There are few Christians who do not make narrower boundaries than those which actually exist; there are many who do not like to look or pass over the hedge; they will part with us at the boundary, so as to leave this work to us alone. It is therefore a cause of joy that the Alliance, by devoting its two last days to the consideration of the conversion of the heathen, testifies to the fact that Christianity has not done its duty when it halts at the confines of its own territory; but it must still press onward unto the end of the earth, and the coming of its Lord terminates its work. But if we prepare to enter into this wide region, we must not forget that the same Christianity which works at home also does the work in the heathen world. Men have desired apostolic missionaries, but why do they not begin to desire apostolic Christianity and apostolic ministers at home? As Christianity is at home, so is its work amongst the heathen. If the former is weak, divided, sickly, is it just to reproach the child for being like its mother?

We ought also not to be surprised that the same difficulties which come before us at home manifest themselves also abroad, for these necessities arise either from a sickly state of the Christian community, or from the sins of the natural man, and both are found where Missions and nations touch upon each other. Finally, it would for that very reason be foolish to wish to try other means than those employed at home to make experiments, whether the kingdom

of heaven would not grow differently in a new soil than it does at home. It would be a contradiction, to desire at home freedom for Christianity, and abroad to make it bow beneath the protecting wings of secular power; at home, to use the word of God as the only means; and abroad, to place civilization above it. It is not as if, directly we passed the boundary, the scene was changed by magic; they are the same Christians, who there do their work, as our brothers and sisters; it is the same human heart which they meet, and there are the same instrumentalities which are given to the Church of Jesus and its ministers, both here and there.

I have designedly uttered these few simple sentences, because it appears to me that we shall need to remember them in connection with most of the questions which we shall treat of, in these two days. At least, with regard to the question which I venture to bring before you we shall wander into a labyrinth, if we do not think of these simple truths. It is of the relation of *Missions to Civilization* that I am to speak to you; it is acknowledged that Missions are the work of Christianity by which the Kingdom of God is to be spread amongst the nations. What civilization is, I can leave for a time undecided, as everyone attributes to this often-used word an idea that is nearly the right one. The word itself reminds us that we, with our subject of missions to the heathen, approach the same question which has become one of the most important questions of the day at home. As the word "civilization" is not of a very old date, so we have only in recent years obtained a "History of Civilization." We need only turn to the book-market to observe that civilization and culture are world-moving thoughts. And no less do we there learn that, moreover, already the question about the relation of Christianity and religion to civilization, culture, and humanity is earnestly discussed by many. In Germany we ourselves have witnessed a practical attempt to bring both into harmony with the aid of a theologian, of whose death in these days even many of his opponents will have heard with sincere and hearty sorrow. The attempt has been made to widen the house of God, that the present position of civilization and culture may no longer languish in the old contracted limits, or destroy it irremediably. A glance also at the programme of the last week gives us a proof that everywhere in Christendom this subject has come to the surface, and that in the question about *Missions and Civilization* in the heathen world, only an old home-acquaintance meets us. You will allow me therefore, before I speak about the relation of missions and civilization, to say a few words about the relation of *Christianity and Civilization*, which will then find their direct and natural application to the heathen world.

In order to bring forward what I have to say in as brief a form as possible, allow me to remind you of an event which has recently astonished Christian Europe: I refer to the visit of the Mohammedan Sultan to the West of Europe. If the newspapers report truly, he has not only often expressed the pleasure which he has felt in these Christian lands,* but also has explained more clearly for what purpose

* "Suis heureux, suis heureux," the Sultan is reported often to have said, when he wished to express his delight in all that he saw.—Ed.

he had come. He wished, so he is reported to have said, to see the great *foci* of civilization, and hoped that, after the experiences of this journey, civilization would progress more and more in his own land. Observe well, the ruler of Islam is not at all desirous that his land and people should be blotted out from the list of the civilized; and although we know well that Islam has trampled out a Christian culture and civilization, yet we have no right to deny that in ancient and modern times civilization has been found in Islam. But none the less does he seek the great *foci* of civilization, not amongst his co-religionists, nor in heathen China or Japan, but in Christian lands. Perhaps he finds in the Bible, which was presented to him in England, the key to the mystery that it is in Christian lands that the *foci* of civilization are to be found. But I must bring before you a commentary upon this event out of a Berlin newspaper, which has heard with joy of the visit of the Sultan, because it welcomes in it a great advance of civilization, a good sign that it will soon come to this—that the question will no longer be whether one is a Turk, a Frenchman, &c., or even whether a Mohammedan, Jew, Heathen, or Christian; but the proud and simple remark, “I am a man,” will destroy all the opposition of nations and religions. You see what the issue of this would be, and what I have just said will justify me in remarking, there is a civilization *without* and *before* Christianity; there is a perfection of civilization only in *connection* with Christianity; but there is also a civilization which is *against* Christianity. Allow me somewhat to amplify these remarks.

I know not how far the honoured managers of the Conference wished to limit the idea of civilization, when they fixed my subject;* whether they would distinguish between civilization and culture, and, if so, how; but I think I am on the right track in seeking to define the idea of this word from its etymology. “Civilization” means “to make men citizens” (*cives*) of a State, or to give them citizen-virtues, especially the virtue of humanity. The word introduces us into a living movement, which had commenced even *before* Christianity, and had attained in the Roman State a certain consummation, or at least a high state of perfection. At his creation man received powers by which he had to accomplish a task, not only in respect to God, but also in respect to the world. Before Christianity existed, man had this task, to elevate and to increase his own forces and those of the world; and sin, for the sake of which the Gospel came, has not removed the necessity of accomplishing this task. The development of the forces of mankind and of the world, bodily and spiritual, in the subjugation of the earth and increased knowledge of it; the education of man to a social life, with its virtues; the gaining of the powers necessary thereto—this is civilization. It is very necessary to remember, that this task was given to man as early as the creation, that it belongs to *all* mankind, that it is everywhere being carried out, though not everywhere in the same degree. It follows, therefore, that it is not the duty of Christianity to undertake this work. The *new* commission of the Gospel does not run thus: Subdue the earth, culti-

* The Committee had entirely the same view of the subject as the respected speaker.—ED.

vate and keep it; work, acquire, learn and rule. The Gospel is a heavenly call from heaven and to heaven; it calls men into the future world; they accept therewith a bill on the future. When the Apostle Paul went to Rome with the Gospel, he found a state of civilization which had hardly been reached when the German world had been Christianized for three hundred years. He did not *civilize*, but *evangelize*. A person once said to me, "The other world! that's nothing to me." Certainly, Christianity points us to another world. Christian godliness, it is true, has the promise of the life that now is, but far from exhausting itself here, or proving a failure if it does not succeed in this life, it does not develop its complete riches until the coming æon. It is very wrong to say that Christianity has not proved its truth if it does not vanquish Neologians and other opponents, if it does not deliver the wretched and vie with civilization; the proof of Christianity remains a matter of faith, and is not to be brought forward until the end of the history of the world. There is a civilization before and without Christianity; it is not the chief object of the latter to *civilize*, but to *save*.

No less, however, does a *union exist between Christianity and civilization*. We believe that sin is a disturbance of human life, and that everywhere it has hindered, ruined, and spoiled the development of the human race. Whatever the task of men may be, their goal is ever the honour of God, and the salvation of the human race. Without love to God and to one's neighbour, the work of the race will stand in its own way, or be again destroyed. Without godliness, therefore, civilization runs out to barbarism. Christianity is not come to form human nature, with its powers and tendencies, but still not to destroy them; but rather to loosen their fetters and bring them into the right track. The Gospel brings to nations love to one another and to God. It cannot be concealed that to culture and civilization, without and before Christianity, *love, i. e. therefore life*, was wanting: where Christianity comes, civilization will become human, and not remain Roman, Chinese, and Japanese. But Christianity will devote the powers that have been gained to the service of God. "Science," an English philosopher has said, "should be a treasury for the glory of God:" this applies to those things which civilization has acquired. But this treasury is plundered by such as seek their own honour. Where Christianity enters, the right goal is again placed before the development of human life; the duty of man in the world has no independent significance; it is to serve God. Christianity re-establishes the service of God, and therefore everywhere needs civilization, and can and will bring it to its perfection. Now already the Gospel needs civilization, and hereafter it will cause the kingdoms of this world and their glory to serve the King Christ. Christianity does not create civilization, but sanctifies and uses it.

But still we must not forget that the sanctification of the world does not proceed without Judgment. Close to the development of the kingdom of God runs another history: the history of the world which will not *suffer itself to be sanctified*, but the more power it gains from the world, the more openly and energetically it displays its enmity. We know from the testimony of Holy Scripture that the completion of the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and the new

heaven and new earth, will not come without a manifestation of the Man of Sin; this enmity will be armed with all the powers of the world, and for a time it will conquer. It is a fatal error which deflects the Christian view of the world from its right position, if we forget this double line of development. I may venture to say that I have observed with no little questioning, the certain assurance with which an English brother has testified of the healthy condition of his own land; it is inspiring to hear such patriotic words; but we dare not conceal from ourselves, that in the Word of God another way is predicted to us. I would not also say that Christianity must always find the word which, as it were, excels the world-moving ideas. The struggle between light and darkness will reach a climax in which the gifts and powers of the world will be directed against the light, and only the coming of the Lord gives the decision in favour of the light. There is, according to the words of Holy Scripture, a development of civilization to be feared which gains a temporary victory over Christianity.

It will not require much time to transfer these three remarks to the relations of Missions and Civilization, for Missions need not hold any other relations towards civilization than Christianity does. Therefore, if Christian Churches carry on Missions, their calling is not to carry on Civilization; if recently it has been required that we should colonize and civilize, not evangelize, we refuse to do so most decidedly; it may be a necessity to do so, only it is not our special calling in the heathen world; we are to take the *Gospel* to the heathen, *i.e.* the calling to the inheritance in heaven. But, because this inheritance belongs to the saints in light, the heathen are to be sanctified through faith. Love to God and to man will teach them *everywhere* to fulfil God's commandments. Labour, industry, and diligence are Christian virtues. Like leaven, the kingdom of God will make the meal into wholesome and eatable bread; the Gospel will make men human, and therefore will release from their fetters those powers which, when set in motion, civilize men. But the Gospel needs these powers; it needs family life, social life; to give an example *instar omnium*, people who can search the Scriptures;—thus it needs those who can read, who have houses in which they can read. Where sin has so much retarded human development that a Christian individual and social life is not possible, there it becomes necessary to create even the first beginnings, till power is gained for free increased development, and the missionary, with that brother from the Moravian brethren, may comfort himself by Abraham's example, of whom it stands recorded: "He planted there trees and built an altar to the Lord." Where, however, these hindrances do not exist, it still remains necessary to remind the heathen that civilization and humanity, as all human life, ought to serve God; that the more a man is civilized, so much the more he must serve God. And it is particularly the heathen world which, as members of God's household, are to bring their gifts, that therewith God's House may be filled with the glory of the Lord.

The *proper work* of Missions is not to promote civilization; it may be *compelled* to do so; but it will always joyfully welcome the moment in which it shall be able to hand over this work to the right

persons, and give itself to its own proper work—that of planting love to God and man, in which alone the life of man develops itself to their own salvation and the glory of God. This is all the more important, as it is well aware of the dangers of civilization. It needs to exercise great care in this matter; its chief stress must be laid upon the feeling, which must be well-pleasing to God. The heathen should not learn through missionary effort to say *Civis sum*, even in the sense attached to the words by modern humanists, “I am a man,”—but rather should they learn that they can only be good citizens of earthly kingdoms, when they are good citizens of the kingdom of heaven, and that then only can they be true *men*, when they are “men of God, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” The kingdom of Christ is the goal of humanity. To Him should the kingdoms of this world belong. To labour for this is the work of Missions.

MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION.

BY REV. TH. ARBOUSSET, MISSIONARY.

THE great and important subject to which I have to call your attention is the relation in which Christian Missions stand to the civilization of Pagan nations.

The two terms of the proposition, instead of being contradictory to each other, appear to me to be inseparably united. To reduce a savage or a simply barbarous people, by the preaching of the Gospel, to the law and religion of Christ, is the direct design of Christian Missions; to civilize them is to prop the young trees of faith which you have planted. The operation accomplished, the people will bless you; they will acknowledge you to be their saviour by a double title.

This triumph belongs only to our Missions. It is not achieved by any association which, actuated by benevolence, but not resting immediately on Divine help, has undertaken to civilize a people; the best efforts of philanthropy have left it unaccomplished.

Colonists have succeeded still worse. An unbridled ambition drove them on. From Peru to China, from the land of the Hottentots to New Zealand, their names are detested by the aborigines. And the *Te Deums* chanted for such conquests have not effaced, and will not efface, the hatred which attaches to Europe for having laboured for three or four centuries to deprive the natives of their lands and respective nationalities; though they presented themselves fortified with a Bible or a crucifix, saying they were Christians and benefactors, they were met with the cry that it was all hypocrisy, tyranny, and ill-disguised trumpery. This is the good which a system of colonization, uninfluenced by the Spirit of the Lord, has effected among Pagan nations. Its beginning and its end are stamped with the brand of sordid selfishness.

It is said that three-quarters of the globe are peopled by aborigines, still either Pagans or barbarians, and that Christian nations covet the globe.

It is estimated that on an average 80,000 Africans (others deem this number much too high) pass away annually from their native country to America under negro-drivers.

It is said that QUEEN ELIZABETH, patronizing this traffic in human flesh, sent to *Sierra Leone*, in 1563, four vessels of negro-drivers, three of which, affecting great piety, were respectively named JESUS

CHRIST, SOLOMON, and JOHN BAPTIST. The infamous JOHN HAWKINS commanded the expedition, and, as HAKLUYT tells us, was on this account knighted by the Queen.

It is proved to the conviction of all enlightened persons that an infernal crime has been committed, in broad daylight, by so-called Christians, princes and their subjects, who have pretended that they were in this way promoting the noble cause of civilization. COWPER said to them, "We have no slaves at home, then why abroad?" And the immortal MADAME ROLAND cried out, thus chastising them, "O civilization, what atrocities do they commit in thy name!"

As civilized people, we must appear to the poor Pagans, so it seems to me, when they dream about us, as nimble and cruel tigers, or hungry bears. Such evils have we inflicted by our indomitable thirst for dominion.

WILLIAM PENN, and a considerable number of missionaries, are an exception. But the venerable founder of *Philadelphia* afterwards saw his noble plans baffled, and many humble propagators of our faith have also seen their efforts paralyzed by the intemperance, the licentiousness, and the rapacity of a crowd of other Europeans, who pretended to be of the same religion.

This does not apply to times and places in which the Gospel is preached; the individual and people who embrace that are enlightened by it; its doctrines ennoble the mind, and renew the sentiments. A converted Pagan will no longer worship God in rags; he hastens to clothe himself decently, and to build himself a convenient house. He learns to read, he exchanges his profane songs for hymns. If born idle, he learns from the book of Genesis, that since the Fall man must eat his bread with the sweat of his brow, and he disciplines himself. The great activity of the Saviour, the example, less noble indeed, but otherwise striking, of the apostles and the missionaries who instruct him, stimulate his activity. He takes better care of his children in proportion as he becomes possessed with the idea that the Lord has only lent them to him, and that they have souls to be saved as well as their parents. Here you see Christianity properly represented, going hand in hand with modesty; and true civilization, which it indirectly produces, is in *Greenland* and in *Labrador*, in *Gnadenthal* and in *Kuruman*, *Kat River* and *Lessuto*; in *St. Thomas* also, and the *West Indies*, in *Pennsylvania* and the *South Seas*, in *Caffraria* and *Madagascar*, in the early periods of Missions. And what shall be said of other parts of the world, which, thank God! I am unable to enumerate, where the work of intellectual, moral, and civil regeneration was begun and carried on by simple-minded but devoted men, who, in all their labours, had in view nothing but the present and eternal welfare of the people who surrounded them? They laboured without embarrassment; they spoke to simple and candid minds, in which it was only necessary to awaken sentiments of the beautiful and the good, and they were listened to, followed, admired.

Nothing but Christianity will restore woman, everywhere debased, to her proper dignity. Before true conversion polygamy disappears, worldly pleasures lose their attractions, the pleasures of religion are preferred, and faith in Christ at once elevates and purifies the man.

I have often heard unconverted Africans say to their converted countrymen, "You are happier than we are, inoculate us with your faith." The Chief of the *Bassutos* called to his council the "prayer-men" (it is his own word) in preference to the viziers, because he found them more intelligent and honest. At the station of *Thabana-Morena*, ordinary travellers will rather stay for the night with the "prayer men" than in the cabins of the unconverted; and when asked the reason why, they replied that they were better cared for; everything was more comfortable, and provisions more plentiful.

What people can be mentioned more sensual and vicious than the *Hottentots* of *Gnadenhal* were when, in the last century, the venerable SCHMIDT went among them? They lived by the chase and by pillage, they never held a tool of any kind in their hands; and they worshipped a caterpillar. Well, there, by the inspired Scriptures, and the assiduous toils of the Moravian brethren, a complete transformation has taken place. There are no prisons in the place, their houses are convenient, their gardens well cultivated; they are neatly clothed, their families are well supplied; they have wheelwrights, carpenters, blacksmiths, a furniture shop, cutlery, a tanyard, a water-mill, forests planted with poplars and firs, many orchards, an inn for travellers, a dispensary for the sick, asylums for infants, a normal school, and one or two native pianists. In this *Val de grace* they seem to breathe the calm of the soul, and the activity of the arms. The piety of the natives is sweet, happy, well regulated; one could wish it were more expansive and propagating. This character belongs to all the other Christian Missions, notably to the Wesleyan; but in those, on the other hand, which are less characterized by simplicity, luxurious habits, especially among the women, follow close upon the footsteps of civilization. Every Mission has its own distinguishing features, but I do not enter upon such details.

They have all brought to the feet of the Saviour thousands, and some tens of thousands of idolaters or barbarians, in whom faith in God was the first and most powerful means of their civilization. From a double point of view an entrance has been made upon the Pagan world, conquered in part by religion and by industry. Nobody can deny that a rich leaven is inserted in the meal; the Gentiles, our brethren, themselves rejoice in it, and glorify God on our account. Their natural shrewdness leads them to perceive that we have loved them, and that we continue to love them, without self-interest. This beautiful trait touches them exceedingly. If indifference or infidelity says to them that Christianity cannot save a people, that it has had its day, they reply with astonishment to this strange assertion, "Come amongst us and see." They lift up the Bible in their hands, translated into more than a hundred different languages, and proclaim aloud that it was this holy book which drew them out of profound ignorance, snatched them from their vices, from cruel idolatry and natural idleness, and, in one word, civilized and converted them. At the lowest calculation, the number of avowed converts cannot be less than a million and a quarter, divided among more than a thousand churches. To direct them in the right way they have more than six hundred European and American missionaries, a nearly equal number of native agents, and some hundreds of workshops. Shall

we dare, after this, to say that the faith of Christ does not succeed, or that our Missions are powerless?

Entering into some circumstantial details, I may remark that at *Hankey Station*, near *Algoa Bay*, there is a fine spring of water which the people have turned into a channel to irrigate the plains. Grain, which was greatly needed, is thus provided for the place. The *Lovedale Mission*, in *Caffraria*, has four or five very productive manufactories. Its schools are renowned in the country, and much frequented; its evangelists are natives.

In *Polynesia*, *Rarotonga* possesses a handsome stone church, built by the islanders, two school-houses, comparatively agreeable dwelling-houses, and fertile plantations. *Tahiti* does not want for good carpenters, and other handicraftsmen; they have printers and translators; the first missionaries introduced the sugar-cane; coffee, cotton, and vanilla are the indigenous products. At *Borabora*, which is reckoned the most picturesque of the Windward Islands, the *Ranaks* have learned to build ships and to make bricks. Their church, which was some years ago destroyed by a tempest, they have replaced by a better, and constructed a long and wide jetty to break the violence of the waves. It is delightful to see them, every Sunday morning, going in little troops to the house of prayer, well dressed, furnished with their books of devotion, repairing first to the school taught by one of them, the *Rév. MALAKAI*, to whom afterwards they listen as he proclaims from the pulpit, with a manly eloquence, the great things of God. The *Sandwich Archipelago* is altogether changed since the inauspicious hour when its inhabitants murdered *CAPTAIN COOK*. Now, all the indigenous population, to the number of twenty-four thousand, enjoy the benefits of religion and industry conferred upon them by the American Missionary Society. They have their churches, schools, and code of laws; they carry on a lucrative commerce; moreover, the native pastorate is so well established in these islands that they no longer want foreign aid.

In *North America* I have seen many a church and school conducted by men of colour, who not only teach many branches of knowledge, but in correct English. The natives who have acquired useful trades may be reckoned by thousands.

India, so thickly peopled, so rich, but full of superstitions and cruelties, the slave of the malignant spirit of caste, yields us territory every day; Christian schools, asylums, and manufactories have effected there a remarkable work. In *Burmah* they count already a hundred thousand converted *Karens*, who have, like ourselves, the day of rest, churches, and schools, and they send evangelists to preach to the savage inhabitants of the mountains. Nobody denies it, Protestant Missions are earnest and practical—yes, practical. Everywhere the pastor is more or less a layman, and endeavours to direct individuals and congregations as a father brings up his children, his reward being their esteem and attachment, and, under the Divine blessing, his encouraging success. Men who take hold of them by their affections, and by the improvement of their social condition, are held in high regard. This is perfectly understood by our different societies.

Those of their agents who have succeeded best have identified

themselves with the people whom they instruct without intermarrying with them. They have respected their language, and whatever was healthy and comparatively good in their laws and traditions. They have changed nothing in their usages and customs, but in proportion as they could substitute something better. With regard to commerce, it is well understood by all our Missions that they are simply to create it, more or less to open the way for it, and then to confine themselves within the sanctuary of education properly so called. To preach the everlasting Gospel, to inculcate the morality of Jesus Christ, to train native pastors and teachers, to strive so to constitute the churches they form, that sooner or later they must sustain themselves and propagate the faith; on the other hand, to ameliorate the temporal condition of the natives, and even to provide hospitals for them; what an immense task, but at the same time what a noble one! The common Father of mankind calls, in these days, thousands of His children to aid it. They may be joyful in Him, remembering that their labour "shall not be in vain in the Lord."

Why must I nevertheless trace a sombre page and describe a particular kind of difficulty? Christian Missions have been successful in converting and in civilizing. They have even, in more instances than one, been especially valued by Pagans; but this has been quickly dissipated when a European has appeared among them as a planter, a merchant, or a governor. Then have come suspicions, bloody combats, our brandy, and declension in the newly-founded Churches. Under the laced coat of an officer they have many a time seen peeping out the end of a suspicious-looking paper, and under the vest of a peasant has throbbed a covetous heart. The barbarian has been afraid, and filled with mistrust. Alas! his fears and mistrust have not always been misplaced. He has often been duped, and he never forgets it.

I one day went to visit a petty king in Caffraria, who said to me, hiding in his hut: "I shall not come out, for no doubt you bring me some paper to sign." I afterwards went to another chief of a tribe; he replied to me: "I shall not come out of my cabin; you certainly bring some lines for me to sign, but I have a horror of those things." In this manner I was prevented from having any intercourse with these two chiefs. But I made a long journey to see them and their people, and I carried with me no paper to be signed. I went simply to tell them the message of salvation, but they were beforehand prejudiced against me. Put yourselves in their place, would you have been less prejudiced than they were? It is, then, because you little think how our refined European diplomacy is fitted to compromise an uncivilized people, but not therefore the less candid; it is because you do not know how certain people will abuse themselves to an indigenous chief whom they induce to sign, after they have intoxicated him, six or a dozen lines, by which he cedes to them a fine piece of his territory—this is what is too often done.

The widow of WILLIAMS, one of the founders of Christian Missions in Caffraria, related to me that some English officers said to her husband "Leave us to send some Caffirs to hell by our balls, and you may afterwards see the rest to heaven."

I carefully passed through the *Gaika* country in company with five Bassonta princes whom I took to be educated in *Cape Town*. They

said to me naively when we visited the forts on the frontier built by the English Government, "Here is much apparent glory, but to us it seems much better had they built schools." I relate only facts.

I love Christian Missions; I have faith in them; with regard to civilization, I believe that as their double aim they are able and know how to attain it. Apart from this, I believe very little in the matter. In my judgment the alloy of a civilization simply human, resting on human wisdom, is of no value. Tell me of the works of the Lord, done in the Lord and for the Lord, they will abide; but all that man does of himself to civilize people is but the shadow of a benefit.

I know three missionaries who, with only a Bible and a spade in their hands, ventured in the beginning of 1833 among the Bassutos in South Africa, then a *terra incognita*. What did they find? Cannibals—but now many of them are religious. And what kind of country was it? Beautiful, very healthy, but, alas! depopulated. Whence came this absence of inhabitants? From intestine wars. What did they ask of them? To listen to the Gospel of peace. Were the people who remained docile? God disposed them to be so. And is this desert re-peopled now? Your brethren prayed for peace, and peace was re-established. Then those who had fled returned to their desolate homes; the country recovered its inhabitants; corn, unknown to the natives till then, was given to them by the missionaries, also the potato, and fruit-trees; afterwards spades, hoes, and ploughs were introduced; in this manner the country was renovated, the 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants which it supported before have since attained to about 150,000; the desert is become a kind of Egypt; soon commerce prospered, schools and Christian Churches prospered perhaps still better; a press was set up, then two. What now do you think of such a creation? What I think is that the Lord Himself, by His powerful Word, has wrought this transformation. "The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly."

One word only on the subject of commerce, and I have done. I am firmly persuaded that if foreign invasion, instead of having exterminated the Indians of North America, had civilized them and converted them to our faith, they would have become excellent workmen, and good agriculturists. The infamous slave-trade would have thus been avoided, and an honourable character preserved among the nations; and all labouring with European industry, an immense market would have been opened for our products among the Indians themselves. Apply this rule to the Africans, if there is yet the opportunity; it will be the best way to prevent new misfortunes and to preserve what little reputation we have left among barbarous nations. Why should the strong always oppress the weak? Is it Christian? Such a monstrous thing has no name. I wish the Evangelical Alliance would adopt a resolution which should stigmatize the spoliation and enslaving of Pagan people under whatever form it is done, and in whatever name these crimes are committed. Good men in all parts of the world would unanimously applaud it. "Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?" (Mal. ii. 10.)

MISSIONS AND NATIONALITY

BY PROFESSOR GESZ,

OF GOTTINGEN.

THE question which is to occupy us is this:—*Whether the conversion of nations or of individuals should be regarded as the first aim of Missions?*

1. The spiritual atmosphere which exhales from a nation exercises such a power over individuals that the complete maturity of individual Christianity is impossible so long as the national spirit remains heathenish. It is even difficult for missionaries themselves to keep their inner life from being injured by the atmosphere of heathenism. What is to become of the children and descendants of new converts, if the national spirit in which they grow up remains heathen?

2. Christ's words, "Make disciples of all nations," are without doubt to be taken *literally*. We are not allowed to say "men" instead of "nations." The *national spirit* is to be *Christianized*, that thereby *individuals* may be able to become true disciples. The same truth is shown in the parable of the leaven. So long as only a number of individuals, and not the institutions, are Christianized, we cannot speak of the complete leavening of the meal.

3. There was a time when the attempt was made to convert nations by the police and the sword, or by earthly promises. Sometimes it has come to pass that the descendants of such nations, Christianized through carnal means, have become true Christians. Thus has Divine grace changed the evil that men did into good. But it by no means follows from this that we are to do evil that good may come. The Son of Man is a husbandman, not a general. Not as lions, but as sheep, He sends His disciples among the wolves. There are also not lacking terrible examples of the evil consequences of Missions carried on by the police. Let us remember Ceylon, for instance. There is no one from among the members of the Evangelical Alliance who would advocate the carrying on of a Mission by fleshly means.

4. But are we to try, by all possible lowering of moral requirements, to increase the number of those who enter the Church? There is no doubt that Churches would increase more rapidly, if the heathen who enter them were allowed to retain their caste, their slave-holding, and their polygamy. I know well that each of these questions—of caste, of slave-holding, and of the polygamy of new converts—is much too difficult to be decided upon in a passing way: each one of them would require special treatment. But this I say; to receive caste Christians, slave-holding Christians, and polygamists into the Church with the view of affecting the speedy conversion of the whole people, would be thoroughly wrong. We may increase the *masses* of nominal Christians by this means, but not convert the *spirit of the nation*. On the contrary, in this way we should transfer the heathen atmosphere into the new Christian Church.

5. The only way of really Christianizing the spirit of the nation is for

the Mission first of all to labour to the utmost for the thorough conversion of individuals. Every truly converted heathen is a light for his village—perhaps for his whole race. The higher his natural gifts and social standing, the greater hopes we may entertain of what he will do. Yet let us not forget that 1 Cor., chapter i., verses 26 to 29, holds true to-day. The History of Missions tells of men of very low rank who, when once they have been truly converted, have become pioneers for the city, perhaps even for their whole nation.

6. If it is true, on the one side, that individual conversion can only have its full force when the national spirit has become Christian: and on the other hand, that the way for the conversion of the national spirit is by the conversion of individuals: it is clear that *national conversion* and *individual conversion* are not two opposite systems; that they are rather brothers, which cannot do without one another; what the one does, is good for the other also. Only let us not understand by national conversion, the conversion of a nation in which every single member is a renewed Christian. To such a conversion a nation has never yet come, and to such it will never come, because the Word of Christ in Matthew, chapter vii., verse 13, &c., and chapter xxii., verse 14, is true for all time. The conversion of a nation means always only this, that a nation takes the Christian creed for its creed, and the animating principle of its public regulations, and, on the ground of this, that the leading spirits of the nation have received a powerful impression from the divine might of the Gospel. This being premised, the true state of the case is this: the conversion of individuals must be the first thing; but every success which the Mission to individuals has accomplished must be straightway employed for the conquest of the whole nation, for the conversion of the national spirit. When a general has conquered a battery, he turns it round and fires it against the enemy.

7. A Mission which neglects to master the native language, so that it preaches by an interpreter, or in 'jargon,' and brings out a false or contemptible, or at least unnational, translation of the Bible, cannot gain by conquest the national spirit. Such a mission is the idle servant who hides his talent in a napkin. Here is one of the points where it is necessary to use every conversion of an individual for the benefit of the whole nation. Every heathen whom the missionary has gained as his brother in Christ, he must look at, and see what he can gain from him for the purpose of mastering and Christianizing the heathen language. For the Christianizing of the language, the making of a translation of the Bible at once popular and faithful, the creation of a truly national Christian literature, are essential elements in the Christianization of the spirit of a nation.

8. The more the German missionary makes his converts like Germans in appearance, manners, habits, even in food and dress, and the English missionary to the English, the more unsuitable he makes them for work amongst their own people. Why has Luther been such an incalculably great blessing to the German nation? Because, first, he was such an out-and-out man of God; but, secondly, because he was such an out-and-out German, so that the heart of every German smiles when he hears Luther's words. The great fundamental principle, not in any way to raise the converts out of their nationality, appears for a long time not to have been sufficiently recognized in Mission practice. Without doubt those missionaries will effect most for the conversion of nations, who have the most loving understanding of the individual type of the people among whom they labour. Every Mission should at all times remember the words of the Apocalypse, xxi. 26—"They shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it" (into the New Jerusalem). *The glory and honour of every nation is its individuality, renewed by the spirit of Christ.* Of special importance is the cultivation of the national type in the carrying on of seminaries for native preachers and teachers.

9. Whether it is right to baptize children, or to baptize adults only, every Mission must, of course, decide for itself out of the Holy Scriptures. He who has persuaded himself of the Scripturalness of infant-baptism, rejoices doubly in it as a chief means of making every conversion of parents useful for the whole village. Infant-baptism is one of the most important of the acts by which the woman (Matt. xiii. 33) puts the leaven into the three measures of meal. But may we not venture also to maintain that the experience of different missionaries gives us testimony, in a special manner, to the divine authority for infant-baptism? Must not all missionaries confess that it is most difficult for men's weak eyes to discover the right age for the baptism of grown-up persons? One time the mistake is made of baptizing too early, another time too late? We are freed from the need of making these decisions, which are beyond our power,* by the words of Christ—"Suffer the *little ones* to come unto me."

10. In the nations of ancient Christendom the conviction has of late been widely diffused, that religion should never be an affair of the State, but always of voluntary associations, for it can only prosper as the sacred heritage of the individual conscience. How far this opinion, as opposed to the principle of a State Church, is an advance or a retrogression, it is not our province here to inquire. But we must guard against measuring the needs of hitherto heathen, perhaps uncultured people, by the needs of nations which have been long Christian, and are possessed of culture in which the principle of individuality has become so exceedingly strong in the minds of men. All agree that as soon as heathen parents are converted, they are to establish Christian order and discipline at home. All agree that if the elders in a village are converted, they ought to exhort their fellow-villagers to frequent the worship of God, to establish churches and schools, to hallow the Sabbath-day. If the majority in a village are converted, is it not then perfectly natural that the request should be changed into a law? Why then is the half process to be forbidden, when once the majority of the whole people acknowledges Christianity? Missionaries who may have to pass through such a time in a nation ought with the greatest care to avoid all violence against the heathen minority, and thus all conversion by force; but if they were to hinder the elevation of Christianity from a private matter to a matter of the village, the race, the state, this would be most unnatural.

11. Where Christianity is an affair of the State, there are certainly soon thousands of men who follow it only outwardly. But also in Churches which rest entirely on the voluntary principle, many mere nominal Christians are to be found. Let Missions only accustom the newly-formed Churches from the beginning to an evangelical but earnest Church discipline.

12. Among the seven parables in Matt. xiii., are two in which the Lord foretells that His Church will contain the good and bad mixed: that of the *tares in the field*, and the *different kinds of fish* which were caught in the net. But in the first it is the devil from whom this corruption of the Church proceeds; in the second, the excellence of the net itself is the reason why even the bad fish cannot escape from it. By the first parable the Mission is to be *warned* to bring no one into the Church by carnal means, from zeal for national conversion, lest it become a helper of the devil who sowed the tares. By the second, it is to be *comforted* if it should find nominal Christians, even amongst those who have been Christianized only by spiritual means.

* This suggested difficulty arises from misapprehension. Those who do not deem it right to baptize infants do not therefore require that the subjects of the ordinance shall be adults. The pre-requisite in their judgment is the profession of faith in Christ. It is not a question of age at all, but of faith in Christ, to which, happily, multitudes in all countries, by the grace of God, attain before they become men and women.—Ed.

13. No one is to say the coming of Christ is so near that we have only to await the conversion of individuals, but not the conversion of nations; for no one knows the day of Christ's second coming. But we do know that "the end will not come before the Gospel has been preached through the whole earth, for a witness to all nations" (Matt. xxiv. 14). "All nations," saith the Lord. He does not say, certain people out of every nation. Let also no one say that Israel must first be converted as a nation, and that through Israel's service only is the conversion of whole nations to be looked for; for according to Rom. xi. 25, Israel is to be the *last* of all nations which will be converted, and in the abundant riches which will accrue to the other nations from Israel's acceptance (verse 12 and 15) is by no means to be included the *Christianizing* of these nations, but the filling of the *already Christianized* with a new stream of Divine life. The assertion that the conversion of other nations is to come only through the conversion of the whole Israelitish nation stands, moreover, in plain contradiction to the past history of the Christian Church.

14. Every Mission must establish *fixed stations* in the central points of the country. Every Mission must have popular schools, normal schools, and seminaries for preachers. Every Mission must send evangelists into all parts of its district. Each Mission must bring out a genuine national translation of the Bible, genuine national school-books, and other writings. Is this all done for the conversion of individuals, or the conversion of nations? It is clear that it serves both ends equally, is equally indispensable to both. On the other hand, there are also other missionary instrumentalities which do not directly affect the conversion of individuals, but which tend to the gradual Christianizing of the spirit of the nation. We may comprehend these under the idea of Christian culture. I mention out of this class only the most important, the higher schools established by missionaries for secular instruction, particularly instruction in language, history, geography, natural science, and the arts. Such institutions aim to raise the intelligent youth of a nation, to whom, hereafter, the guidance of national opinion will fall, gradually out of the perversions of heathen culture, and thus out of a mass of false religious prejudices, and win them to prize highly Christian culture. To those who only aim at the conversion of individuals this way may appear a blameworthy bye-path, although examples are not wanting of its having resulted in the direct conversion of youths, who otherwise would hardly have been reached by the Gospel. Only, in time this wrong way will prove itself to be a very right way; if the leading spirits of the nation gain confidence in Missions, the way will be prepared for the Gospel in the hearts of many persons of all ranks. May those Missionary Societies which conduct such schools have the joy and strength to continue them with all patience and energy, even though direct conversions may not have been effected by them during a length of time, and though the greater number of pupils may only profit by the secular and not the religious part of the instruction. An able teacher knows, moreover, how to make secular instruction serve the Gospel. And even the bond of personal confidence, which exists between scholars and teachers, is a great gain, in many respects, for the aims of the Mission.

15. Especially is it of great importance that every Missionary Society should pay attention to *its particular* gifts and providential guidance. By such attention to the individual leading of the Lord more will be accomplished than by general theories of the proper mode of missionary work. Every Christian people, and even every section of the Christian Church, has, without doubt, its own gift in connection with Missions. It is only necessary to recognize and follow it. No Mission can say: I will convert this or that nation; for whether it will attain to the conversion of a nation rests in the hand of the Lord, and every society must be thankful to the Lord, even if it has been only able truly to convert

a small number of individual souls. Again, no Mission can say: I will only convert individuals, for if the Lord hereafter wills to make these individuals the graft through which the tree of the whole nation is to be renewed, He does not ask the Missionary Society whether such a result will be pleasing to it.

Let thus every nation and every section of the Church only employ, faithfully and energetically, its peculiar missionary gift: the Lord will care for the consequences. This is what every individual may do, for each one has his missionary gift, every theologian and minister, every statesman, every ship-owner, every merchant, every man and every woman. A Missionary Society is as "a man who casts seed into the earth," sleeps by night, rises by day, but the seed grows and becomes great—how the Missionary Society knows not. "For *of itself* the land bears its fruit."

In conclusion I condense all into these three sentences :

1. The radical conversion of *individual souls* is the only means for the *conversion of nations*.
2. These individuals are not to be *de-nationalized*, but brought up by the Mission in such a way that they will become able workmen in the conversion of the national spirit.
3. As for the rest, let every Mission follow that method which the Lord points out by its *special* gifts and guiding.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN RELATION TO NATIONALITY.

BY THE REV. DR. MULLENS,

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MUCH has been said in our recent discussions to illustrate the influence of Christianity on the developments of national life in modern times. Our modern literature, our modern philosophy, our latest art, and all the forms in which society is shaping its opinions prove incontestably the power which the morality of the Gospel is exercising over the wisest minds of the present day. Whence but from the Gospel has sprung the modern doctrine of Liberty of Conscience and of worship; the regard for man as man; the general desire for the moral education of the young? Whence but from the Gospel comes the humanity which has softened the horrors of war; which has removed the foulness of our jails; which has emancipated all our slaves? Thanks be to God, this holy, elevating influence is increasing in its weight and in the extent of its application. It is not spasmodic in its action, but steady. If not very prominent, it is nevertheless real and abiding. It is exercised in all the greatest kingdoms of the world; it is felt far beyond them.

If, once planted in a nation, the Gospel thus begins to rule all the elements of its life, then that the Missions of Christianity should keep that great fact in view, and be so moulded as to contribute directly to the great result, is an object of the highest importance. The "great commission" openly recognizes it. "Go, make disciples of all NATIONS." If Christianity deals with individuals, if it seeks the sanctification of families, it distinctly counts also on national victories, and the subjugation of all the elements of national and public life. "All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto Thee: the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto Thee." "The Kings of Tarshish, and of the Isles, shall bring presents: the Kings of Seba and Sheba shall offer gifts." "They shall bring gold and incense." "All nations that Thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee, and shall glorify Thy name."

It is in accordance with the same great fact that the agencies of modern Missions are themselves derived from different nations. Christianity was first founded by members of one people, and an

exclusive people too. But the Missions of present times are sustained by the gifts of many countries, and by prayers offered in many tongues. Missionary Societies are formed among the believers of many churches, and missionaries themselves come from many lands.

In the great work of Missions, no church, no nation, can claim exclusive pre-eminence, whether in the character of its missionaries, the wisdom of their plans, or the blessing which has followed their labours. Our Moravian brethren began in modern times, and have run a most useful course, for which all churches honour them. The scholars of Francke and their successors, Ziegenbalg and Schultz, Walther and Dahl, Huttemann and Breithaupt and John, Schwartz and Gericke, next founded and carried on the Danish Mission in Southern India. The great trio of Serampore were English Baptists. Holland sent Vanderkemp to South Africa, Gutzlaff to Rhio, and Kindlinger to Madras. English Churchmen have Christianized New Zealand; American Congregationalists long since took the Gospel to Hawaii; English Wesleyans took Tonga and Fiji; and English Congregationalists founded the Mission in Madagascar. All societies have befriended the despised races of Africa, and in so doing have borne and still bear the reproaches of their own countrymen. The Free Church of Scotland has devoted itself greatly to the Jews. The Congregationalists of New England have, under God's blessing, been restoring life to the Eastern churches. This variety of origin among the labourers is strikingly exhibited in INDIA. The six hundred foreign missionaries labouring in that empire belong to twenty-five different societies, and have been trained under many forms of Church government. During the last fifteen years perhaps the most solid advance by native churches has been attained in the English Church Missions and among their neighbours of the London Society in Tinnevely and Travancore. The most enterprising Mission was that of the American Episcopal Methodists. The largest number of men was sent by the Church Missionary Society. The most rapid extension was by American Baptists among the Karens, and the Berlin brethren among the Koles. The martyrs of the period were American Presbyterians; and the palm of self-denial must be given to the three Moravian brethren who buried themselves among the Himalayan snows.

Starting with this varied agency, we observe that the communities to whom we go are involved in errors and sins, not merely as individuals, but as communities. These communities, like our own in Europe, have nationalities, a national opinion, and national systems of religion. But all the elements of their national life, and all its developments, are saturated with heathenism. In India everything takes a Hindoo aspect. Family life is ruled by caste. It regulates companionship, food, and marriage: it interferes with the ordinary claims

of humanity in the treatment of the sick. The Hindoo religion regulates the cutting of the hair, the cleaning of the teeth, the position in which you should sleep. It places its idols in shops; it supplies the oaths of common talk; on Ganges' water are made the oaths in courts of justice. It saturates the words of the language, and gives a Hindoo aspect to the most common expression. "God," "sin," "salvation," "atonement," "the other world," mean very different things to a Hindoo from what they do to a Christian. Ideas of art and taste also are similarly perverted. The model of manly beauty is the god Kartik; of wisdom, Gonesa, with his elephant head. As Mohammedan ideas of worship gave rise to mosques with their corridors and courtyards; as ritual service, with processions and elevation of the Host, gave rise to our vast cathedrals, so did the peculiar views of Hindoo idolatry give shape to Hindoo temples, and give a different shape in different parts of the country. All this has to be Christianized; art, taste, language, and buildings; all forms of public, private, and social life; and not till all have been baptized by the Gospel will the national life of India give its crown of glory to the Redeemer.

On what system, then, shall our Missions proceed? Shall we again try the system of old days? Shall we follow Charlemagne in his plan of converting the Saxons, or Vladimir among the Russians, and Clovis with the Franks? Shall we burn those who resist, like the Governors of Goa, or refuse them office and the registry of land, as the Dutch Government once did in Ceylon? The results of these experiments have been too decided, and their failure too plain, to permit of hesitation. Baptized heathenism is not Christianity. Old things must pass away, and all things become new. There must be new knowledge, new ideas of God, of sin, of salvation, of judgment. And how shall they hear this without a preacher? To teach, to instruct, to warn, to explain, to invite, thus become the very first duty of the Christian missionary. Then only can he truly conquer, when he conquers the SOUL; when he conquers its intellect, its affections, its conscience, its will. As there is no royal road to learning, so is there no royal road to the conversion of nations. We teach, we preach. Each living man hears for himself; and the Gospel becomes "the power of God unto salvation unto *every one that believeth*."

In labouring, therefore, among the people of many nations (as we are now doing), our Missions should be specially careful to deal with the essentials of national life. They should be directed to their SOULS, as they stand related to God, to each other as men, as members of families, as citizens in states, as men dealing with each other in the ordinary transactions of life. On all the great questions of human duty, as well as on the grand theme of the soul's salvation, the teaching of Christianity, while vital and essential, is at the same time simple and clear. It not only says, "Love God with all thy heart," but it also

says, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets."

Thus dealing with the prime elements of personal, social, and public life, Christian missionaries should give their best attention to the teaching of essential truths. The character and work of God ; the nature and power of sin : redemption through the atoning Saviour : His life and character ; His words and His works of mercy ; His death of sorrow ; His triumphant resurrection ; the work of the Holy Ghost ; the purity, self-denial, and constant growth of Christian life—these are the great themes upon which, to young and old, in season and out of season, to Christian and heathen, missionaries "should preach the Word."

You will soon come across their great national errors. A heavy hand is laid upon idolatry. Gross vices, which public opinion has not hitherto condemned, infanticide, cannibalism, habitual lying, slavery, the subjection of women, caste in all its forms, are soon reprov'd, their nature expounded, and their effects displayed. A new element of mercy, of humanity, of self-denial, is introduced to attract notice. And often it is the gentleness of the Gospel, in healing the sick and sympathizing with suffering, which first touches hearts breaking beneath their load of sorrow.

In small communities, sunk low in ignorance, vice, and misery, vital changes are soon apparent. The South Sea Islands, the Hottentot and Kaffir tribes, enslaved races, American Indians, were early conquered. Simple nations like the Karens of Burmah, or the Koles in India, have also been drawn by it in large numbers. The great nations and populous empires move more slowly. They present a wider front ; they have greater cohesion in the elements of their public life. But they, too, are giving way, and the conquest of these great kingdoms is only a question of time.

More than this, it is a striking fact, and a fact which throws a strong light on the question before us, that in these greater empires, a healthy change in the religious knowledge and convictions of the people in general may take place to a great degree before direct conversions to Christianity become numerous, or the native churches grow very large. The condition of the Indian empire, and the influence which Christian truth is now exerting upon it, illustrate this fact in a striking manner, and read to us a most important lesson.

In India two hundred millions of people are placed under the indirect jurisdiction or the direct rule of the Queen of England. The empire is divided into many great provinces, in which are spoken ten principal languages. All along the great rivers are scattered great cities, surrounded by hundreds of large towns and thousands of populous villages. Many of them are centres of a trade growing greater every year, and many are also head-quarters of Mohammed-

anism and of Hindoo idolatry. The endowments and vested interest of idolatry are of enormous value; the Brahmin families may be counted by millions. The Hindoo religious books were commenced 1200 years B.C., and the system itself goes back 1000 years farther still. Such a system is a formidable antagonist, and the barriers it raises against change are very strong. Yet even Hindooism, so powerful, so rich, so ancient, is giving way at every point. In the external life of the empire a just government, providing for every one of its subjects complete security of person and property, and giving them perfect religious liberty, is adapting its public laws and forms of administration more fully to the circumstances of the time, and is introducing the natives more numerous to those posts of duty and of usefulness for which they become fitted. The order and peace of the country, encouraging production and trade, have raised the wages of labour, and given the peasant a command of comforts which he never knew before. Englishmen have done many wrong things in India, for which they have been justly chastised. But a new spirit has entered into the public government of the empire, and during the last seven years a degree of improvement and a solid advance have taken place in the course of legislation and in the material wealth of the empire, of which none, except men who have seen it, have any idea. Three Universities, whose annual examinations in the English and native languages draw hundreds of native students, stand at the summit of a sound system of education which is spreading more widely every year.

In the direct religious teaching of the people, six hundred missionaries from Europe and America have planted Mission stations in the most populous and influential cities. Joined by 200 ordained native ministers and 2000 native preachers, they carry on a system of Christian agency which costs the important sum of £300,000 sterling a year. Many calumnies have been uttered respecting missionaries and their work by men who have professed to visit the cities where they labour, and saw nothing of its results. But these are more than answered by the striking fact that, of the money annually expended on these Missions, no less than £50,000 are contributed by the English residents in India, who live among these Missions and see them with their own eyes.

And what is the result? We can point to 50,000 adult communicants, to congregations of 250,000 people, and to our 200 native clergy, as fruits of grace and proofs of blessing from above.

But, to my judgment, the *greatest fruit* of all missionary labour in India in the past and in the present is to be found in the mighty change already produced in the knowledge and convictions of the people at large. Everywhere the Hindoos are learning that an idol is nothing, and that bathing in the Ganges cannot cleanse away sin.

Everywhere they are getting to know that to us there is one God, even the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all nations. A native scholar, speaking of his own religion, has said of it, "Hindooism is sick unto death : I am persuaded it must fall." And a crowd once asked a Berlin missionary, "Sir, why does not the Government abolish Juggernaut, and save us from the penalties of outcasts if we profess Christianity?" While the new school of educated men, calling themselves Theists, in thousands are seeking for a better way without encountering the same great penalties. A glorious future is indicated by these "signs of the heaven," which seem to me to prove the principle with which I started—that in a great empire in which public opinion is compact and firm, a vast change in preparation for the future may be produced while churches and converts are comparatively few. Like Israel of old in presence of Moab, in the darkness of night we have been digging ditches by Divine command ; but when His day of grace shall dawn and the morning sacrifice be offered, He shall fill them in abundance with His Spirit's streams, and the whole empire be revived.

Shall the children of the world, in these matters, be wise in their generation, and the children of light not go and do likewise? It is the universal conviction of residents in India that it is a wise course not to denationalize its inhabitants, but to keep them a distinct people; merely introducing into their dress and style of living those improvements which are demanded by health or by propriety. To make them Europeans is almost certain to do them irreparable injury. Adaptation is the law of life. Europeans, wherever they go, adapt their houses, their dress, their habits, and their food to the climate under which they live. However strong may be the belief of Englishmen in the excellence of our constitutional government, yet in all our colonies and dependencies the form adopted is one suitable to the knowledge, the power, the training, the degree of self-government attained by the people of that particular place. In no case do the English rulers force upon a dependency a system of government unsuitable to it, however excellent that system may in itself be.

So ought missionaries and Missionary Societies to act in building up native churches in foreign lands. Nowhere ought we to import and force upon them those systems of Church government which, amongst ourselves, have largely been shaped out by political struggles, by numerous controversies, by local experience, and by the far-reaching thoughts of a few great minds. In most cases we are ourselves outgrowing them. In striking instances these systems in Europe are found in certain of their elements to trammel and to cramp the life, the energy, the lofty aspirations of spiritual minds. And among the great problems now before us for the edification and extension of our modern Churches, are not all thoughtful men

anxious to see how, in every case, they may be made more elastic, more perfectly adapted in their organization, as well as in their plans of benevolence, to the demands of the present day; and specially how they may be so widened as to draw into the Church in largest degree the piety, the experience, the zeal of the lay members of which our Churches are chiefly composed?

Why should we put upon the neck of our young disciples a yoke which we and our fathers have not been able to bear? We must teach them some system, and missionaries of different Churches will naturally, as well as from conscientious principles, teach their own. But let us teach the systems in their essential elements; let us teach those elements which have stood the test of time, and are found suitable to the spiritual power, the self-management, the general resources, the Christian civilization of the Churches which we are asked to guide. We may well separate the theory and the principles of our different Churches from the Churches themselves as shaped out by history and by the conditions and the course of our own national life. Then will their real worth and excellence be more truly manifested, to the honour of God and the edification of His children. Let us not only open our alabaster box, let us also be willing to break it, if only the perfume of the Divine ointment may fill the house of God, and cheer and refresh the weary souls within its walls.

It is not always so. At times even missionaries are so wedded to old ideas, or are so involved by rules, as to act in a very different way to this. A few illustrations may be mentioned, that are both instructive and amusing. An American missionary in India, teaching geography to his scholars, subjects of the English Government, began his course by teaching them the geography of the United States, as the most important country of the world. Our Basle brethren, when founding their theological institution at Mangalore, in order to initiate them more completely in theology, for the first twelve months taught their students German. And some of our brethren, when translating for their converts the Prayer-book of their Church, gave them not only the strictly religious services, but also the political services, with the thanksgivings for deliverance from Guy Fawkes and his Popish friends, and for the restoration of his most Christian Majesty King Charles II.

These are trifles: others have gone much farther still. As a body missionaries have not been alive to the importance of this great subject, and have fallen into great mistakes. But I believe the best thinkers among them, and the chief officers of most Missionary Societies, desire that the nationality of our native Churches shall be preserved; that the forms of government adopted by those Churches shall, from sound principles, be developed and shaped out in that

way which the circumstances of those Churches require, and which time and history shall decide. If in lands already Christianized, after all our mistakes and all our controversies, the Church of the future is to be a **FREE CHURCH** in a **FREE STATE**; if for all its vitality, its self-government, its growth, its usefulness, we look not to any external forces, but to the grace of the Holy Spirit in the Church itself, why should not we at once, with largest generosity, act on these great principles in the Churches founded in foreign lands? Let us help them and counsel them till they can run alone. Our Colonial Churches, of several forms of Church government, are casting off the tie that bound them to the Churches of Europe: let us train our Mission Churches for the same end. Let us strengthen them in knowledge, government, and fellowship. Let us, as early as practicable, place them under a ministry sprung from themselves, well trained, and supported by themselves, and let us prepare in due time wisely to leave them **INDEPENDENT** and **ALONE**.

And the Saviour Himself shall hasten and accomplish this noble end in His own time. "Is the Spirit of the Lord straitened?" "God is able to make all grace abound toward them." He claims their service; He claims all the varieties of their character, their strength, their resources, all the varieties of their national life. What a vast amount of beauty do those varieties involve! We recognize that beauty in our international exhibitions of industry. We see it in our great shows of fruits and flowers. What a charm it adds to these gatherings to see the varied products of many lands! They differ in form, in size, in colour. But the oranges of Malta lose nothing by the grapes of sunny France; the roses of England appear in place by the gorgeous rhododendrons of India; and the blue forget-me-nots and gentians of the Alps hold their ground in the presence of the lilies and dahlias, and bright asters and orchids of many lands.

"Fruit and flower and graceful palm,
Each give each a double charm,
Like pearls upon an Ethiop's arm."

So is it with the Church of Christ. To that Church each nation must bring its own contribution of beauty, strength, and glory. The vivacity of the Frenchman, the restless enterprise of the American, the courage and perseverance of the Englishman, the reverence of the Russian, the impassive submissiveness of the Turk and the Hindoo, the filial obedience of China, the impassioned imagination of the negro races, shall each and all be offered as a sanctified gift in contribution to the perfect whole. The excellence of intellect, the tenderest depths of feeling, the martyr's conscience, the "living sacrifice" of consecration, shall all be laid upon Christ's altar.

Already that tribute is gathering, and increases in its value every year. In the green damasked chapels of Peking, with their vermilion pillars ; in the jungles of the Karens ; among the hills of Armenia ; amid the deep swamps of the Gulf of Guinea, and the palm groves of Jamaica ; among the ferns of Raiatea, and around the great crater of Hawaii ; in the villages of Christian Cherokees and Dakotahs, and on the prosperous farms of the milk-eaters of Russia, preachers and people may differ in their buildings, their dress, their melodies, their languages. But one name is on their lips, one song rises to the skies. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God ; He hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of all the earth. Unto Him that hath loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood, to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS WITH REGARD TO NATIONALITY

BY REV. J. FAIRBROTHER,

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WHICH principle in the missionary work is the most recommendable—the Baptist principle, which aims at forming congregations of true believers only, and according to which baptism is exclusively administered to those who are considered as truly converts to God, or the principle of so-called national churches, aiming at the establishment of an ecclesiastical institution comprising every feature of national life?”

In other words, should it be the object in missionary work to bring souls to Christ individually, or should we try to Christianize nations? Do these two principles exclude each other?

Viewed simply in relation to the laws of thought, and the outlines of the Christian faith, the first of these modes of operation appears the most likely to be successful.

We believe in a historical Christianity. We accept as the foundation of our faith the substantial accuracy of a record of certain historical facts; that a mysterious Being, the Son of God and the Saviour of men, appeared upon our earth, fulfilling certain predictions; that divine announcements heralded and attended His birth; that as a teacher He surpassed all who had gone before Him; that undoubted displays of divine power followed His utterances; that He lived a sinless life; that after the malice of His enemies had accomplished His death, He arose from the grave and ascended to the skies in the presence of many witnesses; and that His followers who appealed to their own miracles as proofs of their inspiration, declared that this humiliation, suffering and death, constituted an atonement, and went forth commanding men everywhere to abandon their false systems, repent of sin, and accepting Jesus Christ as their Saviour, live a holy life.

Christianity then is a matter of conviction; conviction it may be produced by the illumination and power of the Holy Spirit, but not less on that account the firm belief of certain historical facts. As the adherents of this new system multiply one and all they make this

confession of their faith, and stand before their heathen fellow countrymen avowing their convictions.

It is natural that men holding similar views upon subjects of such vast importance should associate together and form a distinct fellowship. Their sympathies, apart from any other law, would prove a powerful bond of union. But it happens that such men, in all ages and in all countries where this faith has taken root, have been persecuted. The world will not hear that its beliefs are fables without resentment, and that all men stand in a position of condemnation before Almighty God without anger ; and hence the Church has ever been, by the necessities of its own position and character, driven to a separation from an unregenerate world for the purpose of mutual support and defence against its enemies.

And there are other and higher principles which operate inevitably in the same direction, and conduce to the same results. When that transformation of character takes place which the Scriptures denominate a second birth, a spiritual life commences which needs to be nourished to maturity, and an education begins which terminates only with this mortal life ; and the union and fellowship of the righteous, and this separation from the world, furnish the best means of meeting these requirements.

These laws to which this passing allusion has thus been made, operate most powerfully in secular life, and when the higher interests of religion and eternity are involved, they are certain to act with an intenser force. Had we not one whisper in a divine revelation upon this subject, it appears more than probable that a community of true believers would have stood out thus distinct and separate from the world.

The position in which the disciples of our Lord stood in relation to the old Roman Heathen world, bears the closest resemblance to the position in which our missionaries stand in relation to the colossal systems of idolatry in the distant east. The worship of their many gods was celebrated in national festivals to which all the pomp of State ceremonial was added ; they had lavished their architectural skill and expended their wealth upon their temples ; their religious ideas were inwoven in their laws ; were blended in every act of their social and family life, and gave not only a colouring, but form and life, to that classical literature of which they were so justly proud. If it can be ascertained beyond any reasonable doubt that these inspired men acted upon one uniform system, in the absence of precept, their conduct demands our attention with all the force and authority of a divine command.

In the first instance they addressed the Jews who were believers in the true God, and indulged certain hopes respecting a great deliverer, resting mainly upon the predictions of their olden seers and prophets, and declared, claiming to be the ambassadors of an

ascended Saviour, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of the prophets, and that he had suffered and died as the Saviour of men. Subsequently, in places of public resort and whenever they could gain the attention of the multitude or even of a few individuals, they preached to the Gentiles, and appealed to the Resurrection of Christ from the dead as a proof of the divinity of their mission. Such declarations were received as they have been received in every subsequent age, and as they are now received in the heathen world. A few stand out as the adherents of the true faith; regard it as a command from the skies; come what will they hold it, profess it—display a marked purity and elevation of character, compared with their former selves and with the heathen around them, and under long-continued and fierce persecution look forward to the rewards of a coming life. The appeal is made to every listener. It is shown with irresistible force of argument that this new doctrine explains the mysteries and contradictions of our inner life, and while it brings its blessings to the individual, contemplates in the most complete and comprehensive manner the destruction of evil in our world and the establishment of an universal reign of righteousness.

But these men and these new doctrines are everywhere opposed, and after the first proclamation of the truth the attention of the apostles appears to be directed to the conservation and perpetuation of that which has been gained. They manifest untiring diligence in the formation of Christian churches, the appointments of recognized officers in such churches; they give instructions as to the observance of Christian ordinances; the maintenance of public worship, and the preservation by a rigorous discipline of the purity of this fellowship. In harmony with such practice, believers are spoken of as "Cities set on a hill which cannot be hid;" as "lighthouses to guide the mariner in the storms of life to the haven of rest;" as "the salt of the earth," preventing universal corruption. It is intimated in language the most clear and emphatic that as the Master was persecuted, the disciple will be persecuted; and that as they are not of the world, they must expect the opposition of the world. With incessant toil they entreat, beseech, and persuade men to be reconciled to God, but with equal earnestness and care they lay down the laws which are to govern this new brotherhood.

But while evidence is thus clear and unmistakeable in support of one theory, there is the utter absence of anything in the Scriptures which would support an opposite course of conduct. True this light would enlighten the world, but it would accomplish this by shining with this intensity from centres thus established; true it would overturn tyranny, and eventually secure to man that precious birthright freedom, but it would bring this about by the diffusion

of truth and the formation of a corrected public sentiment as to the relation of the governor to the governed; true, its blessings would be universal, and its triumph over idolatry complete, but it would be achieved by the teaching, ministrations and character of the Church bringing one by one under its influence, and gathering the wanderers into its own fold; true, in the growing strength of the Church, when its supremacy over heathenism was firmly established, organizations might arise, and modes of Evangelistic effort adopted differing widely in detail but not in principle from those which prevailed, and which, perhaps, were alone possible in its infancy, but these matters fall not within the scope of an inquiry as to the best mode of conducting Christian Missions, but rather belong to the region of controversy respecting an ecclesiastical polity in the subsequent development of the Church.

So far then as we are guided by reason and revelation, the argument appears to be in favour of churches of true believers relying upon the presence and power of the Most High for the steady increase in the number of converts and the purifying influence which they may exert upon the stagnant mass of corrupt communities around them; but it may be well to test these principles by an inquiry into the results which have followed these different modes of action.

Any investigation into the history of mediæval Missions, from insufficient information and conflicting statement, would lead to no practical result, and consequently, so far as our present inquiry is concerned, it may be well to limit the investigation to the admitted and indisputable results of modern Protestant Missions.

The main feature of the Moravian system is a scheme of Christian colonization; the acquisition of lands as centres of Christian influence, the employment of the natives, and the education of all who can be brought permanently under Christian instruction, but the idea of a central Church and the purity of its fellowship has ever been maintained with scrupulous care. The success of their Missions is an instructive fact in ecclesiastical history.

Other Protestant missionaries have adopted another principle. The missionary is the messenger of the churches from the older lands of Christendom, and the ambassador of Christ. He may found a Christian settlement, but his occupancy of that settlement or even the occupancy of his successors, is only temporary. It is never regarded as a permanent possession. A broad distinction is maintained between the planting and the propagation of the faith. It is his to plant; the Church which is thus founded, must propagate. Earnest and devout men, and missionaries, generally, may be thus characterized, from educational bias and from conviction, will have their own views as to forms of Church government and may endeavour to plant churches in doctrine and government resembling those to

which they belong, but experience proves with but little success. Further, they will agree in the end they propose to attain, but each will have his own mode in endeavouring to attain that end. Some will direct their energies to the education of the young, and by founding and maintaining educational establishments, endeavour to disarm prejudice and influence the course of thought in a coming generation. Others, with apostolical energy and zeal, by the public proclamation of the Gospel, will make known the claims of a divine revelation; and others, by the preparation of a Christian literature, like the apologists of the early Church, will attempt to influence the more thoughtful and intelligent; but unless all their efforts are directed to the establishment and consolidation of a pure Church with its godly ordinances and godly discipline, and in which teachers may be trained for the wider and more comprehensive extension of the faith than can ever be contemplated by the circumscribed efforts of the foreign missionary, the whole scheme, with whatever zeal and ability it may be prosecuted, will lack the elements of self-preservation and self-extension. In the wide range of modern Protestant Missions, which all have been more or less successful, there are three Missions which stand out with singular prominence—the Missions in Polynesia, Burmah and Madagascar.

In no part of the world have the triumphs of Christianity been more marked than in the Islands of Polynesia. It would be difficult, probably impossible, to find any chapter in the history of the Church describing an overthrow of idolatry so rapid and so complete as that which has taken place in the South Sea Islands. Sixty years ago there was not a solitary native Christian in Polynesia; now, it would be difficult to find a professed idolater in those islands of Eastern or Central Polynesia where Christian missionaries have been established. The hideous rites of their forefathers have ceased to be practised. Their heathen legends and war songs are forgotten. Their cruel and desolating tribal wars, which were rapidly destroying the population, appear to be at an end. They are gathered together in peaceful village communities. They live under recognized codes of law. They are constructing roads, cultivating their fertile lands, and engaging in commerce. On the return of the Sabbath, a very large proportion of the population attend the worship of God, and in some instances, more than half the adult population are recognized members of Christian churches. They educate their children, endeavouring to train them for usefulness in after life. They sustain their native ministers, and send their noblest sons as missionaries to the heathen lands which lie farther west. There may not be the wealth, the culture, the refinement of Europe. These things are the slow growth of ages. But these lands must no longer be regarded as a part of heathendom. In God's faithfulness and mercy they have been won

from the domains of heathendom and have been added to the domains of Christendom. All these missionaries, whether under the superintendence of the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners, or the Wesleyan Society, with various modifications, have adopted the system of founding churches of true believers, to whom they have administered the rite of baptism, confidently expecting that the whole population would ultimately be elevated and christianized from these centres of holy influence.

It is little more than half a century since a small body of American missionaries settled upon the coast of Burmah. They had but scanty resources, and during the early years of the Mission suffered the severest hardships. At the present time, a Government report states that in the provinces of Pegu, Arracan and Tenasserim, there are not less than 10,000 heads of families, representing a population of 50,000 souls, who have abandoned idolatry and have been gathered into Christian communities, and that in the mountains inhabited by a race called Karens, the success has been even more remarkable. In large districts there is not a village without its log Church and its manse by its side; the ministers of these village congregations conducting the Sabbath services and educating the children of the locality; and in every instance these pastors are generously sustained by the voluntary contributions of the people. The principle adopted by the devoted brethren who founded the Mission has never been departed from, and at the present time the Work of God is prospering with little more than a nominal superintendence on the part of the foreign missionary.

But the most remarkable case is the history of the Church in the island of *Madagascar*. A small body of English missionaries settled at *Antananarivo*, the capital of the island, in 1820. They reduced the language to a written form, prepared a series of educational works, and translated the Scriptures. They were banished from the island in 1835, leaving behind them two small congregations, containing about 150 professed believers, and about the same number of candidates for Church membership. After the retirement of the English missionaries a persecution broke out, the narrative of which affords a parallel to the persecution of the early Christians under the Roman emperors, and which lasted, with varying degrees of intensity, for twenty-six years. Yet, during the whole of this long period, without the presence and support of the foreign teachers, and with little knowledge of any sympathy from Christians in other lands, these poor believers, though many died as martyrs, and their number was frequently reduced by severe persecution, maintained the observance of Church ordinances and increased in numbers, so that when the European missionaries returned there were more than 700 recognized Christians in the capital, and small bodies of worshippers in many of

the villages of the surrounding district. During the period which has elapsed since the re-establishment of the Foreign Mission, the progress of Christianity has been most satisfactory. In the capital, out of a population of about 33,000, 9,000, with more or less of regularity, come together on the return of the Sabbath to worship God. About 4,300 of this number have made a public profession of their faith by Christian Baptism. They have erected in the province of Imerina alone, 79 churches, and there are at the present time about 100 recognized ministers.

In this mission the principle advocated has been strictly maintained, some would assert with unjustifiable severity, yet all that is claimed for it is sustained by fact. The Church has retained its purity, and hence its power. Christianity has already won its first political triumphs in the repeal of persecuting laws, and the substitution of open courts of justice for a cruel heathen ordeal. Education is rapidly advancing, and though the Government is yet professedly heathen, the councils of the nation are largely influenced and controlled by Christian principles.

But while a decided preference may be given to the first of these courses of action, it does not follow that the two principles exclude each other. The first is the only one practicable in the early years of a mission; the second may stand in combination with it in years of subsequent development.

It is scarcely too much to assert that the establishment of small churches of true believers is the only possible course in the early history of any Mission. As a rule it is only such that will abandon the national superstitions of their ancestors and confront the consequences which invariably follow. A man must be made alive to the power of the world to come, and be convinced that present suffering is outweighed by an eternal reward, before he will break the tenderest ties of relationship, accept the loss of property, throw away his position in society, and in all probability imperil life. Hence, whatever theoretically may be the views of the missionary, the first professors of Christianity in a heathen land are sincere and devoted believers, for none other will encounter the risks and suffer the consequences of such a profession.

But a time comes when the purity of the ethics of Christianity is admitted in contrast with the impurity of heathenism; when the agreement of the revelations of the written Word with what we gather of God, and our relationship to God and another world, from our own intuitions and the abiding laws of nature and Providence, is recognized. A time comes when it is generally allowed that it is better that men should be Christians than heathens; and the one faith grows and becomes brighter, and the other steadily loses its hold upon the popular mind and fades away; and when at length the olden gods are famished out of the land, and their votaries diminished in number

until they form no appreciable element in the population of a country, then forms of ecclesiastical polity will arise differing in different lands, the outgrowth of national character, affected by the history through which the individual Church has passed, the government of the people among whom it is founded, and in many cases bearing the impress of some gifted and holy men, who by their teaching moulded the institutions of the age in which they lived, and by their writings influenced their posterity. But all these things occur in an age when the work of the missionary is done, and when the native Church ought to be left to its own resources, and its own responsibilities.

But after the infancy of the Church, and before this state of development has been attained, there will be a constantly increasing number who stand midway between heathenism and devout Christianity. The children of those who are the recognized members of Christian Churches, but who have not as yet given evidence of an intelligent faith in Christ; and others, often the relatives and friends of the true believers, influenced by various considerations; who have broken away from their former beliefs, and are outwardly associated with the Christians, but manifest a lingering fondness for the superstitious customs of their forefathers—such classes (and in some Missions they are increasing very rapidly) require the tenderest and most watchful care on the part of the Christian Missionary. It would be a serious error to number them with the opposing and profane heathen. They resemble the unrepentant and unregenerate multitudes in every land of Christendom; and the wisest measures should be adopted, and the most earnest efforts put forth, to bring such into the Churches of Christ.

The present state of some of our most successful Protestant Missions requires the most anxious thought. There are territories where idolatry has been overthrown, and where the true faith is generally recognized. A part of Polynesia, the West Indies, and a small portion of Southern Africa, may be thus described; and in other countries, as Travancore, Tinnevely, Burmah, Madagascar, and one or two of the treaty ports of China, the number of professed believers is large, and the resources of these native Christian communities, estimated by their own and not by European standards, considerable. Very grave questions arise as to the amount of support and assistance these Christians should receive from other lands—what relationship the foreign missionary should hold to the native pastor—whether for purposes of consolidation and extension the missionary should endeavour to found systems of Church government similar to those he left behind him in the land of his fathers—or whether he should leave these infant churches to the teaching of the Word of God and the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

These questions, however, fall not within the scope of the present

inquiry. Yet it may not be inopportune to conclude with a few suggestions.

1. The purity of the first churches in heathen lands should be strictly maintained as a means of perpetuation and extension.

2. At the earliest practicable period the churches should be left to their own resources and self-government, as the best means of developing a healthy and vigorous Christian life in the community, and leaving the foreign missionary at liberty to extend his operations in other lands where Christianity is unknown.

3. The consolidation or crystallization into certain forms of ecclesiastical polity, or modes of extension, may be safely left to the churches, in lands where they now exist, or may be called into existence, with the conviction that the Great Head of the Church will watch over their interests, and overrule all things for the final triumph of truth.

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN TURKEY.

BY REV. J. K. GREENE,

BROUSSA.

THE primary object of the American missionaries who went to Turkey thirty-five years ago was to preach the Gospel to the Turks. To a Turk, however, a Christian was a "ghaour," an infidel, a dog; and, in point of fact, the corrupt Christianity of the Oriental churches was the chief obstacle to the progress of the Gospel among the Turks. Hence it was early seen that the most direct, and, at the same time, the most feasible way of converting the Turks was to seek the reformation of the Christians of Turkey, with the object of furnishing in them a living example of pure Christianity. Time has shown this conclusion to be correct, for throughout the empire the attention of the Turks has been drawn to the rising reformation; by means of intercourse with the native Protestants and the missionaries many Turks have obtained a tolerably correct idea of pure Christianity, and have learned to distinguish between Protestants and other Christians; many have purchased and read the Turkish Scriptures (of which in one year as many as 1,496 copies have been sold), and about thirty persons from among the Turks have given evidence of conversion, and been baptized. For a few years three American missionaries, located at Constantinople, have laboured exclusively for the Turks, and every missionary in the interior of Turkey improves whatever opportunity offers to preach to them the Gospel.

The efforts of the missionaries, though at first largely enlisted in behalf of the Greeks and Jews, have been mostly expended on the Armenian people. This people, which claims to be descended from Japheth, for many centuries formed an independent kingdom, whose centre of power was in the vicinity of Mount Ararat. They were converted to Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century. The Bible was translated into the Armenian language A.D. 411. At the present time the Armenians are supposed to number about three millions, of whom two and a half millions are inhabitants of the Turkish Empire. By reason of their intelligence, activity, and religious susceptibility they have been styled the Anglo-Saxons of Turkey.

As early as the year 1823 the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society sought the approbation of the Armenian Patriarch to the printing of a version of the New Testament in the modern Armenian tongue, but his request was positively refused. Even to the present day the Armenian hierarchy refuses to permit the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue either in the churches or in the schools. Yet it is matter of thanksgiving that the Bible has never, by any ecclesiastical body of the Armenian Church, been interdicted to the laity. The people, though extremely ignorant of God's Word, yet manifest much reverence for the Sacred Volume. Unlike the Papists, in argument or appeal, the Armenians always acknowledge the Bible as the highest authority.

In their efforts for the spiritual reformation of the Armenians, the missionaries, while not neglecting the establishment of schools and the use of the press, from the first gave their chief attention to the preaching of Christ. And, while not shunning to reprove sin and error, they rather sought to present the excellency of the truth than to decry existing abuses. Progress was at first slow, but one by one persons became interested in the truth, and received strength to stand up for Jesus. In the year 1839 the Armenian Patriarch sought, by means of persecution, to arrest the progress of religious inquiry. Through his influence some of the evangelical Armenians were thrown into prison, and others were banished. Yet from this time onward the work of the Lord advanced with accelerated pace. In 1846 a far more violent and determined effort was made to crush the rising reformation; but at this time also, though the evangelical men suffered much, their persecution proved a blessing both to them and to the cause, for from the date of this last persecution the good work of evangelization has advanced from place to place, until now in almost every important town in Asia Minor there are found Protestant and *Christian Armenians*.

The Protestant Armenians neither sought nor desired a distinct church organization. On the contrary, they hoped to be allowed to remain within the pale of the Armenian Church, that by quiet and kind endeavour they might secure the enlightenment of their countrymen. But, when cut off from the Armenian Church with cruelty and cursing, they were in duty bound, for mutual security and edification, to seek a separate organization. Consequently, in 1846, four evangelical churches were formed in different parts of the empire. These new organizations were not recognized by the Turkish Government, yet the authorities were not unfriendly to them, since their sympathies were generally on the side of the persecuted.

The Armenian Mission in Turkey, formerly one, is now, in order to facilitate the transaction of business, and on account of the great extent of territory occupied, divided into three Missions, each of which

is self-governing, and has an annual meeting to consider and decide matters pertaining strictly to missionary effort and the expenditure of missionary funds. In these three Missions, not including Syria, there were, in 1866, 78 male and female missionaries, located at 22 of the principal cities of Asia Minor and of Bulgaria in European Turkey. Dependent upon these 22 centres there are 138 out-stations, or places occupied by native evangelists ; and, in all, there are 152 places where the Gospel is statedly preached. The whole number of native labourers in the three Missions is 275.

In the three Missions there are 56 organized churches, with a total membership of 2,484, of whom 850 are females. Of the 56 churches 32 are already supplied with native pastors, and most of the remainder have unordained native preachers. The average Sabbath congregations form an aggregate of 10,439. The total number of Sabbath-school scholars is 6,657.

The Protestant Churches of Turkey are formed after no ecclesiastical pattern found in Europe or America, but combine, in their organization, elements both Congregational and Presbyterian. In matters of business pertaining to itself, and in the admission of new members, the local church is independent, but in matters pertaining to the common faith and practices it co-operates with sister evangelical churches. Church government is vested in the native pastor and a committee of the brethren elected annually, who are called "care-takers;" but in matters of special importance the whole body of the brotherhood is consulted.

There are three Associations or "Unions," as they are called, of the native churches, one in each Mission. These "Unions" have written constitutions, officers elected annually, and annual meetings. They form churches, license and ordain preachers, instal pastors, watch for the purity of the churches in doctrine and practice, and, in general have authority in all matters pertaining specially to the churches. The missionaries are corresponding members of the "Unions," but have no vote. Two of the Associations of native churches have already commenced the work of "Home Missions;" one of them, namely, the Association of Churches in the Central Turkey Mission, sustains two native evangelists, and the Association of Churches in the Eastern Turkey Mission defrays the expenses of seven young men who are preparing to labour among the large body of their countrymen speaking, not the Armenian, but the Koordish language. These associations of churches, as they increase in strength, will assume more and more control of the evangelistic operations in Turkey, and it is hoped that ere long they will be united in a Synod or General Assembly, a consummation which has not yet been realized on account of the weakness of the churches, and the great distances which separate them.

The whole number of enrolled Armenian Protestants in Turkey is

over 15,000. The total contributions of the native Protestants, during the year 1866, for religious, educational, and benevolent objects, amounted to 275,556 piastres, or 12,139 dollars in gold.

Of the 56 native churches 13 are already self-supporting; and, if present anticipations are realized, from the beginning of the year 1868, six more, making 19 in all, will pay the entire salary of their pastors. Eighteen churches pay half of the salary of their pastors or preachers; and from the beginning of the year 1868 no church will pay less than one-fourth of the pastor's salary. More than half the entire expense of conducting missionary operations, in the year 1866, in the Missions to Central and Eastern Turkey, exclusive of the salaries of missionaries, was paid by the native Protestants.

The number of common schools in the three Missions is 165; and the number of pupils in the same 5,511, of whom nearly 2,000 are girls. The three Missions have four theological seminaries, with an aggregate of 99 students; and four female seminaries, with an aggregate of 144 pupils. One of the theological and one of the female seminaries are for the Bulgarians, and are located in European Turkey; the others are for the Armenians, and are located in the cities of Marsovan, Kharpoot, and Marash.

These statistics indicate but in part the influence of the reformation among the Armenians. It is fair to say that those who hold enlightened opinions far outnumber those who are enrolled as Protestants. The effect of the movement on the Armenian Church is very apparent. Though the ignorant mass of the people still continues to observe the rites and traditions of the Church, yet a large body of the Armenians have learned enough of Bible truth to disbelieve in the intercession of saints, the adoration of pictures, and the propriety of the confessional. Few, indeed, at the present day, undertake to defend the more prominent errors of the Church; while many laymen, with not a few ecclesiastics, speak bold words for reform. The Armenian schools also have greatly multiplied and improved. Female education, formerly entirely neglected, is now securing attention in almost every community. In the separate administration of the affairs of the civil community and of the Church, witnessed among the Protestants, all the nationalities of Turkey have learned an important lesson on the great question of the separation of Church and State.

In 1859 a Mission was commenced among the Bulgarians in European Turkey—a people which numbers about four and a half millions. They belong to the Greek Church, but for several years have been striving to deliver themselves from the oppressive rule of the Greek hierarchy, and to secure the use of the vernacular tongue in their churches and schools. They have shown great eagerness to possess the Scriptures; and already many thousand copies of the New Testament in the modern tongue, and of religious tracts, have been sold and

distributed among them. At the present time there are five male and seven female missionaries labouring among the Bulgarians, four of whom devote themselves to giving instruction in the male and female seminaries already mentioned. These seminaries have 59 pupils in all, several of whom have become hopeful Christians.

From the beginning of missionary operations in Turkey the press has been an invaluable assistant. Translations of the entire Bible into the modern Armenian, the Armeno-Turkish, and the Greco-Turkish languages, and of the New Testament into the Bulgarian and Arabo-Turkish languages, have been completed. Many other valuable religious and educational books have been translated into the languages of the country ; such as, "Evidences of Christianity," "Concordance of the Bible," "Scripture Text-Book," "History of the Reformation," "History of the Church," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Saint's Rest," "Anxious Inquirer," Commentaries of the New Testament, Hymn and Tune-books, Treatises on Moral, Intellectual, and Natural Philosophy, and many common school books. A religious newspaper, in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages, has been published for twenty years. From the beginning more than two millions of copies of the Scriptures and of other books have been printed. The Bible has always been in greatest demand. In the year 1866, 31,313 copies of the Scriptures, in eleven different languages, were put in circulation.

Religious toleration is recognized by the Turkish Government ; but the Armenian and Greek hierarchies, so far as they have power over the members of their respective communities, practically know no such principles. It is also true that, while religious liberty is the *law* of the land, the *spirit* of the *Turks* is still one of bitter enmity towards those who renounce Mohammedanism. While, moreover, the Turks have in many ways given proofs of their respect for Protestant Christianity, it is still felt that for political reasons they do not regard with favour the spread of Protestantism even among their Christian subjects. The Bible is both a moral leaven in the hearts of men and a political leaven in the community. It enlightens and encourages the masses both to perceive and to demand the inalienable rights which God has given them. This truth it is the instinct both of priestly and of political despotism soon to discern. The present aim of the Turks appears to be, by praiseworthy internal reforms, to strengthen their rule; and to shake off foreign interference. With them religious liberty has clearly been the result rather of outward pressure than of inward impulse. Let us not wonder at this, but rather give glory to God, that, in claiming for themselves perfect religious liberty, the subjects of the Porte now stand square upon the law of the land. Let us remember, too, that as the *pledge* of toleration was the result of foreign pressure, so, for the *practical enjoyment* of toleration, foreign pressure is still needed.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE EAST.

BY R. BAXTER, ESQ.

THE Society for Promoting Female Education in the East was formed by a few ladies in London in the year 1834, for the purpose of conveying the glad tidings of salvation to the females of Eastern lands who are, from Oriental prejudice and custom, inaccessible to the teaching of male missionaries, and, therefore, require the agency of their own sex for their evangelization as well as for their education. To carry out this object, the Committee train and send out European teachers, who carry the Word which "giveth light" to the high-born ladies secluded within the walls of the harem and the zenana, and gather into Bible and sewing classes the women of the lower ranks; they also superintend the training of native teachers, and organize, conduct, or assist in Orphanages, Boarding, Day, Ragged, and Infant Schools. The Committee also render help in various ways to female schools already established in connection with other Protestant Missionary Societies.

The sphere of the Society's operations extends from the Mediterranean eastward to China, and includes that empire, the Malayan peninsula and Archipelago, Burmah, India, Ceylon, Mauritius, and the Levant. 124 qualified teachers have been sent out by the Society, and 295 young schoolmistresses, trained by them, are now in native employment. 356 schools are in correspondence with the Committee, containing, according to the latest accounts, above 15,000 scholars, including some of all ages, from the lisping babe to the aged grandmother. Many of these pupils are the children of native converts, but the majority represent many of the false and corrupted systems of religion. There are fetish and devil-worshippers; Buddhists, members of Coptic, Greek, and Armenian Churches; Druses, Mohammedans, Hindoos and Papists, and the daughters of Isaac and Ishmael.

Zenana work, that is, work amongst the closely secluded ladies of India, was entered upon by the Committee twenty-six years ago, when they sent out their first teacher for this special purpose. From the time of the formation of the society, however, the Committee had been on the watch for openings to introduce Christian education among this class of native ladies; several of their earlier teachers had attempted to gain entrance to those poor unhappy ones, and had suc-

ceeded in a few cases. In 1836 a lady sent out by them was allowed to give instruction in the harem of the then Pacha of Egypt, and in 1837 four native gentlemen in Calcutta employed a teacher, trained by the agency of this Committee, to teach in their zenanas. These, however, were but faint gleams of light in the thick darkness that overspread the East. There were many difficulties and obstacles in the way, but since the mutiny in India the Committee have been permitted to rejoice over the unlocking of many of these prison-doors; and with deep gratitude to Him who has made many a mountain to become a plain before them, they can tell of more than four hundred native ladies who are now receiving Christian instruction in various parts of India from their own agents and correspondents.

The Lord has been pleased to grant much blessing upon the feeble instrumentality of this Society's agency. Many who, humanly speaking, would never have heard of Him who came to seek and to save the lost but for the Society's schools, have been turned from idols to worship the living and true God, many have professed their faith in Christ, and been baptized into His name, and many have left a bright testimony of the Saviour having been with them when they were called to pass through the valley of the shadow of death. Reference has already been made to those who are at present engaged in teaching their country-women, and others are active district visitors. Thousands of others are now Christian wives and mothers, guiding their houses in the fear of God, and bringing up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

It is not a part of the regular plan of the Society to employ Bible-women, but as the schools become established, the early scholars settle in life, and by their means access is often obtained to their heathen relatives and connections, and the way is thus opened for the Bible-woman's work. A few of those who have learned to love the Bible in the Society's schools are already employed in that manner, and in Shanghai, Ningpo, Singapore, Ceylon, North West India, and Bombay, they are working in connection with those schools.

Hitherto the Lord hath been mindful of the Society, and the Committee can testify to His arm having been stretched forth to help them when they have wanted support. Believing, then, that the work is His own, they ask their Christian friends to remember it often in their prayers. They ask for earnest supplication to ascend on behalf of the teachers and the taught in their Eastern schools, on behalf of the Committee at home, that all needed wisdom may be granted them in the carrying on of the work, and that the hearts of those who have themselves experienced the Saviour's love may be stirred up to come forward with the silver and gold of which they are but stewards, that the work may be greatly extended to His glory and the salvation of immortal souls.

MISSIONS AND THE VERNACULAR LANGUAGES.

BY REV. A. CASALIS,

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IF a monument were reared to perpetuate the remembrance of the conquests of the Church of Christ in modern times, the words which enunciate my theme should be inscribed upon it in letters of gold. These same words were the dread of our fathers when they laid the foundations of the work in which we are now engaged. Of all the difficulties which then lay before them, the number and extreme diversity of the languages to be encountered was beyond all contradiction one of the most formidable. Could they hope to unite in the sanctuary of the same religious ideas, of the same moral sentiments, the people whom *Babel* had rendered incapable of understanding one another, even on material things? Apart from some languages of the East studied in our universities, what was known of the innumerable dialects spoken beyond Europe? The words strangely spelt, and the incoherent phrases with which some travellers had enlivened their pages, made these dialects a veritable scarecrow. Whole lives would be consumed in making them intelligible; and when at length they were deciphered, would they be made available for the propagation of the Gospel? This was a grave question, especially for Protestantism, whose only method of gaining converts is by persuasion, and sets no value on the blind acceptance of rites.

But what has taken place in spite of these misgivings and discouraging apprehensions? Scarcely sixty years have elapsed, and the sacred books, instead of being Semitic, Græco-Latin, and Teutonic, as they had been for ages, have become cosmopolitan. They have conquered the monosyllabic languages of *China*, of *Indo-China*, of *Thibet*, of the *Himalayas*; those which are derived directly from the Sanscrit, and which prevail over *India*; the *Medo-Persic* languages, which are spoken about the regions of ancient *Iran*; the Persian, the Pushtou, the Armenian, the Kurd; the *Ugro-Tartar* languages, comprising with the Turkish, the Finnish family, the Mantchou, the Mongol, the Caucasian, the Samoiede, the Corean; the *Polynesian* dialects, or *Malay*, extending from *Oceana* to *Australia* and *Madagascar*; and, lastly, those more numerous still among the aborigines of *America* and *Africa*.

It is the honour of Protestantism, and the proof of its essentially evangelical character, not to attempt to spread itself through the world, nor even to found a single church, without building upon the inspired Word. Our missionaries never consider that they have done anything until they have given the Bible to the people whom they labour to convert;

and if they do not think that all is done when they have given them that, they are convinced that, having placed them in direct relation with God by His Word, there is no religious and moral transformation that may not be depended upon, or is not possible. Faithful to these convictions, one of their first cares has everywhere been to translate the sacred Scriptures. Either wholly or in part, the Bible up to the present time has been translated into nearly two hundred languages. Of these translations at least one hundred and fifty have been made by missionaries. In order to this, they have fixed the rules of a great number of entirely new languages, which had never been reduced to writing. They have learnt many more which were unprovided with grammars and dictionaries, as well as others which possessed an alphabet and the rudiments of literature. The activity of missionaries in this kind of work increases in proportion as their relations extend beyond the people whom they are immediately instructing. To the languages which they have definitely fixed and enriched with the Word of God, many more must be added which they are at present engaged with, and of some of which they do not know the names.*

The reception everywhere given by the people to the translations of the Scriptures proves, in a general manner, that the language of them is correct, and the style popular. I am not afraid of being contradicted by any missionary present, when I say that on these two points the nations among whom they have laboured have all shown themselves very exacting and sagacious. It is not only the lettered people of *India* and *China* who desire that their language should be respected. People who have had to be taught the alphabet have shown themselves equally difficult. They see, moreover, in the preservation and development of their respective dialects a guarantee for the future of their nationality. They quickly understand that written words alone are permanent, and that their languages will remain very nearly what the missionaries make them.† The *Karens*, whose language was

* They enumerate five in *China*, twenty-seven in *Indo-China*, twenty-three in *India*, thirty-eight in the rest of *Asia*, and more than one hundred in *America*. According to Mr. KOELLE, to whom we are indebted for information of great value on the languages of *Africa*, there are at *Sierra Leone* the representatives of two hundred nations or tribes speaking one hundred and fifty distinct dialects. In observing the resemblances among them, they are seen to range into twenty-six principal groups; but there remain fifty-four not classified, which appear to differ as much from each other as those of *Europe* do, which are most dissimilar. No doubt in *Africa* and elsewhere few languages will be found so important as those which are already employed in the diffusion of the Gospel; and no doubt also that it will be one of the most difficult parts of the labour of reducing them, to eliminate those dialects which are too insignificant to be printed. It is not the less true that the linguistic missionary has before him vast fields to cultivate and render fruitful.

† I shall never forget the delight with which the King of the Bassoutos, on receiving the first copy of the New Testament, exclaimed—"Here is the language of my fathers; it is henceforth indestructible." While it was being printed, we found that the best way of correcting errors was to submit the proof-sheets to the natives. Great and small earnestly sought to have this honour, and they ran over the lines with the eyes of a lynx. It is known with what care POMARRE I., of *Tahiti*, transcribed with his own hand the translations prepared by the missionaries.

never before written, have adopted as their national emblem a banner on which is painted a Bible and a sword, with these words: "The Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God." We do not doubt that first of all this was an act of spiritual homage produced by the influence of the Word itself; but we must see in it also the joy of a simple people who have sufficient understanding of the words and style of the Bible to believe that with it they are immortal. In order to know to what extent, up to the present time, the missionaries have succeeded in their translations, it is only necessary to ascertain the number of editions which the British and Foreign Bible Society has already published. Will it be believed that in the little island of Tahiti alone twenty-seven thousand copies of the Bible have been distributed?—that in 1858 the inhabitants of New Zealand had received one hundred and eighteen thousand nine hundred and thirty copies either of the entire book or of different portions of it?

The pecuniary and religious value of these labours is guaranteed by the piety of the translators, and their belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures they have translated. They have everywhere united with a profound study of the original text an earnest desire to profit by the lights which criticism has furnished. If they enter, therefore, at a late period upon the possession of the sacred volume, modern pagans have at least the compensation of not being therefore the worse served. It is drawn for them from the same sources, and even in those countries which are most inaccessible to science. Witness the words in which the missionaries of *Samoa* in *Oceania* wrote to the Bible Society, when offering to them the manuscript of the Old Testament:—"Our translations have been made from the Hebrew text; we have also consulted the Septuagint and the Vulgate; and we have taken advantage of the labours of Rosenmüller, of Gesenius, of Lee, of Ainsworth, and others."

In proceeding thus the missionaries not only fulfil a duty, but they acquire also great facilities. While they have laboured they have been astonished to see with what admirable wisdom these two languages were chosen to be the original depositories of Divine Revelation. If they want to learn a new dialect; the Hebrew and the Greek are generally a great help to them in putting them upon the right track, whether it be the Semitic element or the Sanscrit, or the two combined. If to translate; the simple and energetic terms of the Hebrew in its narratives, praises and prophecies, its metonymes, and its hyperboles pass without difficulty into a new language. This has often been found already. The didactic language, Hebrew-Greek, of the writers of the New Testament offers the synthesis, and the means of logical processes most generally spread through the world. You would scarcely believe me if I were to say, that there are fewer *italics* in the Caffir and Bechuanas versions than in those of Europe. It is true there are abuses in the latter. Still I can affirm that the reasoning of St. PAUL, translated without paraphrase or the addition of a single word, is more intelligible to Bassouto than to a Frenchman.

It is not only by the perfect suitableness of its instructions to the wants of all that the Bible is the universal book, but also by its form and letter. Of all books it is the most translatable. Made for all races, it may also be said to be made for all languages. This is one of the

reasons that have induced me to speak of missionaries first of all as translators of the Word of God. It has aided them in great measure to discover the genius of the languages in which they have had to exercise their ministry.

As authors and writers they have generally been successful, many have even attained to superior excellence. Missionary literature, already considerable, will be reckoned among the most remarkable things which this age has witnessed. It comprehends works on philology, on the evidences, on dogmatics, as well as devotional works, and educational works, both religious and social, for the use of native populations. Those works ought also to be mentioned which have taught us the history, manners, and ideas of nations which Christian zeal has discovered or made more known. These publications assuredly belong to our subject;—these are the fruits and the proofs of great success in the study of the languages of the nations.

Without going out of the sphere properly belonging to a religious vocation, missionaries are useful in all ways. Where even the greatest indifference is felt to the conversions they are instrumental in effecting, the services cannot be overlooked which they have rendered to philology, to ethnography, and to all those researches whose tendency is to reunite the different fractions of humanity, and which will form the chief honour of our epoch.

The finest conquest of modern linguistic studies is beyond contradiction that of Sanscrit. In addition to the proper value of this language, the name of which signifies something complete and perfect—a claim which the most competent men have not found to be exaggerated—it is known what light has been thrown by it upon the origin, the essential basis, the relations, and the classification of our European languages. If, with regard to the initiative, it is to the personal liberality of SIR WILLIAM JONES, to the subsequent works of SCHLEGEL, BERNOUF, and EICHOFF, that the honour is principally due of having shown to the learned world the importance of Sanscrit; who more or even so much as the missionaries CAREY, MARSHMAN, and YATES* have elucidated its rules, conquered its difficulties, and determined its genius?

In another point of view the acquisition of Chinese was still more desirable than that of Sanscrit. Here it was no longer a question of a dead language giving a key to the origin of different dialects, both in the east and in the west, but of a language by means of which nearly 400,000,000 of our race communicate to each other their thoughts and sentiments, and which still further shuts up the secrets of a civilization, the birth and progress of which are lost in the night of time. If the Chinese is meanwhile cultivated with success in the scientific centres of Europe, it will not be denied that this is owing above all to what our missionaries have done to facilitate the study. Of what service has not the dictionary and the grammar of MORRISON been, the *Clavis Sinica* of MARSHMAN, the reproduction of the works of CONFUCIUS? More recently MEDHURST has published another dictionary, still more

* To these distinguished names should be added that of another missionary, in this department not less distinguished, the Rev. J. WENGER.—[ED.]

appreciated. LEGGE has published seven volumes of Chinese classics, with translations, critical notes and an exegesis. To EDKINS we owe a grammar of *Kwan-hwa* or Mandarin.

As to languages used by smaller nations, but the importance of which nobody calls in question, what works of the same kind would not have to be enumerated? The Bengali and Urdu dictionaries published by the *Baptist Missionary Society*, the Singhalese dictionary of *Clough*, the Carnatian of REEVES, the Malayalam of BAILEY, the Malagasy of FREEMAN, the Taitian, Samoan, the Fijian of the *London and Wesleyan Societies*, the Zoulou of DOHNE, the African Polyglott of KOELLE, the Japanese Vocabulary of MEDHURST, the Kismadi of KRAFT, the Amhani of ISENBERG, the Tamil grammars of RHENIUS, the Akra of ZIMMERMAN, the Ibo and Yamba of the Negro Bishop CROWTHER, the Cafir of BOYCE and APPLEYARD, the Zoulou of GROUT, and the studies in the Sechuana and kindred dialects which we have ourselves published.

To give some notion of the efforts of missionaries beyond their religious province in correcting the ideas and increasing the knowledge of the nations, we may mention the translation into Chinese of the Astronomy of HERSCHELL, the Algebra of MORGAN, and two treatises on Political and Universal Geography by MUIRHEAD. In many other languages, manuals of history, geography, physics, arithmetic, collections of fables, almanacs, and both monthly and weekly journals are published. Among the journals, those to which the places where they are published attach the greatest interest are the *Illustrated Journal* of GODTHAAB, in Esquimaux, printed and published by the natives; the *Messenger*, edited by the Moravian brethren at *Gnadenthal*, in South Africa, for the Hottentots; and the *Little Lamp*, of Lessouto, which is read with avidity in different stations of the French Missionary Society beyond *Orange River*.

But, as might be expected, religious literature has been most cultivated. Hymn-books abound. Next to the Bible, they are most helpful to the piety of new converts. Among the Bassoutos our hymns are so popular that there is a risk of their being profaned; so that it has been necessary, in order to prevent this evil, to compose moral songs. You do not expect me to say that poets are numerous among missionaries; there have, however, been enough to give the first impulse, and to show where the inspiration may be sought. After hymns come a great number of little tracts, designed to awaken the readers, or to make them attentive to special duties, catechisms, and manuals of sacred history. These publications are much sought after, and often produce astonishing effects. I have often seen a whole assembly of hundreds of pagans melted into tears while listening to the reading of a tract entitled *Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd*. It is mostly by original productions adapted to the wants and to the particular mental turn of the people, that missionaries enlighten and instruct them. Translations have been made into many languages, and with great usefulness, of that excellent little book, *Line upon Line*, and also of BARTH'S *Ecclesiastical History*, and BUNYAN'S *Pilgrim's Progress*. Commentaries have been composed on different books of Scripture. This has been done in Tahitian, Samoan, Tamil, and Chinese. Dogmatics, apologetics, and controversy have not been neglected.

If now we come to works by which missionaries have given an account of the manners, beliefs, and institutions of the people among whom they have lived, they are so abundant that the enumeration of them is not possible. Everybody knows what has been done in this line by WILLIAMS, ELLIS, MOFFAT, LIVINGSTONE, and many others. Among these works are some of great value, little known to the generality of readers—as, for example, *Buddhism and Oriental Monachism*, by HARDY; *History of the Religion of the Hindoos*, by WARD; *The Religious Condition of the Chinese*, by EDKINS; *The Poo-King, or the most Ancient Authentic Annals of China*, translated by MEDHURST; the Prize Essay of MULLENS, entitled *Vedantism, Buddhism, and Christianity compared*.

Perhaps the least encouraging part of the question which now engages us is the management of the national languages by the missionaries in their daily intercourse with the people, and in preaching. It is so difficult to represent in *Europe* a German, an Englishman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, discoursing without embarrassment and freely in Bengali, Malay, Sechuana, or Karen. It is easy to procure specimens of the works published by them; but who has the opportunity of hearing them speak and judging of the effect they produce? It is only by perseverance, and by availing themselves of the assistance of intelligent natives, that they succeed in writing good books, and this without acquiring the ability to speak so as to be listened to with pleasure. That doubts, meanwhile, should arise on this point (and I know they do) is owing to the want of reflection. The reports of all our societies state that numerous auditories assemble every Sunday, and oftentimes on week-days, at the different stations. Apparently the thousands of Hindoos, Sechuana, and Malagasies who attend the preaching with such assiduity, not only understand what is said, but find a certain charm in the words of their instructors. You may believe it, the seats would soon be deserted if they had to listen to incoherent, laboured, and semi-barbarous discourses. I am not going to say that the generality of missionaries disembarass themselves of a foreign accent; but that is an inconvenience which the natives readily overlook, provided they have a good delivery, are correct, and arrange their discourse so as to make it interesting and persuasive.

At first the use of interpreters was general, but this is now abandoned. Some exceptions, indeed, should be made in the case of missionaries employed by societies which are obliged often to change the scene of their labours. Young servants of the Lord, when they arrive at the field of labour, generally find there some elder brethren, from whom they learn the vernaculars they have to speak. They have before them examples fitted to stimulate them. It is impossible to acquire the use of foreign languages better than has been done by LACROIX, MOFFAT, NOTT, GUTZLAFF, and many more. We often see people a prey to their passions become calm, subdued by the words of the missionaries. I have myself been present on occasions of this kind, and certainly neither the speakers nor the listeners have at the moment remembered, that as far as language is concerned, they were people of different extraction.

You will not understand me to mean that what has already been done in the acquisition and use of vernaculars has carried the matter

to perfection. The revisions to which the missionaries subject their works would furnish a striking contradiction. What may be affirmed is, that the results already obtained surpass expectation. Wherever a new language has been encountered, a new triumph has been achieved, and an additional instrument acquired for the propagation of the Gospel. To God alone must we give the glory, and that not only because He has blessed the studies and enlightened the understandings of His servants, but also for certain antecedent reasons, to which I desire to call your attention in the second part of my discourse.

Notwithstanding all this, infidelity boasts that these people are found entire strangers to the religious sentiments. It especially cites the Caffirs and the Sechuanas. In 1833 the providence of God led me into a part of the country belonging to these tribes, where nobody had as yet any knowledge of our faith and usages. At our first arrival it appeared to us that Le VAILLANT and BARROW were not mistaken. Our hosts appeared to be radically atheists. We observed nothing that we had been accustomed to regard as religious sentiment. Nevertheless this sentiment existed, for had it been entirely wanting we could not have succeeded in creating it; but in places where we found no temples, no altars, no priests, churches nevertheless flourished, counting their worshippers and communicants by thousands. But, it may be well said, if language was anywhere unfit to express the operations of conscience and divine things, it was here. Well, it was this very language that put us upon the track of what we were seeking. Religious acts were rendered unnatural by superstition, unrecognizable by the total absence of solemnity; but the language still gave them their true name, and, properly understood, explained what they meant. The depository of just and positive conceptions of good and evil, of the relations of the visible and invisible, of the immortality of the soul, of its dependence, its need of purification and renovation—having even preserved the name which belongs to the Sovereign of heaven and earth, as well as the rites which still recalled the prayer addressed to their deified ancestors in every dwelling—it furnished what we needed in order to speak to them in the name of God, to awaken their consciences, and to present to them the consolations of the Gospel. Evidently God had watched over this language. Yes, and He had in like manner watched over all those which, like it, had for ages endured the heavy pressure of ignorance and barbarism. He had done it by the preservation of the traditional element under the forms of legends, proverbs, hereditary maxims, binding together times of profound darkness and the age of dawning enlightenment. He had done it also, and above all, by conscience, which is nothing else than God speaking to man by the conviction of duty. This conviction, without the help of the Gospel, cannot reclaim man from his wanderings; but it perpetuates itself in the midst of all his errors, and in spite of all his lost privileges, because God will not cease to protest against sin, and thus to prepare His creatures for the salvation He designs for them. The moral sense, always awake, manifests itself very imperfectly in the life, but breaks its way through the language, for everywhere men endeavour by fair speeches to comfort or excuse themselves. Would you believe it, that among the Bassoutos, who very generally are polygamists, the

word by which the custom is designated is hateful even in the ears of those who parade the number of their wives? Would you believe it, that these pagans, so often breaking the seventh commandment, accuse us of immodesty because in Divine worship, when we read the Decalogue, we do not soften the one in question by some clever euphemism? The notion of right and wrong has nowhere to be created; and nowhere either has man completely forgotten that he needs protection for his weakness, a remedy for his moral miseries, a sacrifice to absolve, and purify him. God watches over this; and this is the reason why a language never has been found, and never will be, which refuses to express what the Gospel teaches.

No doubt at the beginning, especially in languages spoken by people who possessed no kind of literature, the language of religion was poor in many respects. It wanted above all the savour of piety; even the words which most adequately expressed evangelical terms had not that sacred glory which seems to encircle them in our languages. I have seen more than one missionary lamenting and alarmed for the generation which he instructed. But still it was corrected and ameliorated more rapidly than might have been expected. The Spirit of God, in rendering the instruction of His servants fruitful, fructified and sanctified the words they adopted. After all, what is a word, if it is not a vehicle which is modified by what it contains, according to the object to which it is applied? Thus the words which now so deeply affect our hearts as they proceed from the lips or the writings of the Apostles,—faith, hope, charity—*πίστις, ἐλπίς, χάρις*,—never in a similar manner moved the frequenters of the garden of *Academus*. The dignity and value of words depends on those who employ them. Thus the word *speculation* awakens totally different ideas in the mind of a stock-broker and a metaphysician. So also the word *virtue* with the Romans meant only courage; but Christian civilization shows that courage is not the only form of moral power, and a virtuous man now is not one only who has no fear, but a disinterested, benevolent and moral man. And even still more in *Italy*, through the excessive preponderance of artistic taste, the word *virtuoso* has come distinctively to signify a man skilful in playing—upon the violin! For other reasons it is, I believe, of the nature of all languages, not excepting the sacred, to be unable to express in words any other than the facts of sense. To express spiritual facts, or those even which are simply intellectual, we are obliged to resort to metaphors. To these metaphors (almost everywhere the same) the human conscience, enlightened by God, gives their definite value. In the Old Testament, *ruach* literally signifies the wind, so also does *πνεῦμα* in Greek, and *animus* in Latin. *Σεὺς* originally meant only the air or clear sky, a meaning found also in the word *Θέος*, and in the Latin *Deus*, as may be seen still in the Latin expression *sub dio*. In HOMER's time it was already something more; it was JUPITER a human form easily captivated by terrestrial beauties, and living on bad terms with his wife. In the time of PLATO it was the supreme wisdom; at length with us it becomes the living and holy God. We may even see instances of the same word dignified and abased by turns. With ORPHEUS and HESIOD *love* is a cosmogenic principle, *grandiose* and a little vague. It comes by degrees to be,

with the later poets only, a little frolicsome and malicious divinity. In Christianity it is elevated till it becomes again the great creative principle, not only in the civilized world, but of a whole spiritual world unknown to the ancients. The missionaries in China held long discussions as to which of several words expressing the idea of God they should use. It had been better, I think, if they had waited, leaving to their instructions and the course of time to rectify or complete the sense.

The duty of giving a thoroughly sound intellectual and social education to the people of India, has given rise in governments, and in the missionary body of that country, to a very difficult question. Some influential men, every way worthy of the respect they enjoy, have proposed to make English the great instrument of education. Others strongly object to this; the Orientals, from regard to their native tongues; the missionaries on this account also, but especially from respect to national susceptibilities, and the fear that it might be a hindrance to their work. The question generalizes itself and arises wherever the preponderance of Great Britain is established. As to India, it is decided that instruction shall be imparted in English to the more advanced classes in the colleges supported by the Government. Lord AUCKLAND greatly softened what was likely to be unpopular in this measure by giving it a provisional character. It is to be obligatory only until the Native languages are sufficiently enriched, by contact with new ideas, to supply the wants of modern civilization. The difficulty especially rises where it impinges on missionary operations. It is not to be denied that many of the languages into which the Bible has been translated without much difficulty, would not be very rebellious when the attempt was made to make them speak metaphysics, geometry, physics, and astronomy. It is equally evident that to render the treasures of a religious literature like that of England accessible to people, when it is impossible to provide good books but very slowly, would be a great advantage. But to obtain this result a method must be resorted to which would impede the general progress of the work, and compromise the work itself, by showing emphatically its foreign character. Let them, by all possible means, encourage the more advanced pupils in the schools to study the English, or such other European languages as possess a rich literature, and in which the people have to reckon; nothing better. The Native languages themselves must be gainers by it. The thoughts of those who speak them will acquire breadth and accuracy, and without perverting them, will enable them to produce the expressions and modifications in which they are wanting. But let us not forget that when the aim is to awaken the conscience, to touch the heart, to produce convictions which will give a new character to the course of life, there is nothing like the mother tongue. However poor and ill-formed it may be, it speaks in accents which are to be measured by philology. We call those living languages which are now spoken, but in fact none are living but those that are learnt from the cradle. Let us not forget that the most effectual way to kill a people, morally and socially, is to kill their language. Happily this is not possible, or at least it will take centuries to effect it. But when once the element of nationality is attacked, which survives

longest in the human heart, prejudices are awakened which will not admit the excuse of good intentions, hatreds are created which no benefits can disarm. For us, missionaries, messengers of the Gospel, let us contribute all in our power to intellectual development, and to the progress of civilization, wherever God gives us the opportunity; but above all, taking care of souls to be saved, of hearts to be comforted! Let us love, honour, and cultivate with ardour languages which are become ours, because they are the languages of our children in the faith. They are adequate to make sinners of every race, and of all countries, understand and feel that "there is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." May this adorable Redeemer be loved, praised, blessed in all the languages spoken here below, until all the redeemed have learned that of the Jerusalem above!

MISSIONS AND NATIVE LANGUAGES.

BY DR. GUNDELT,

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IF the question is proposed to us, "Are the heathen languages to be retained and cultivated by evangelization? If not, how or by what languages are they to be superseded?"—the answer to it seems to be a very easy one for the disciple who believes in the incarnation of the Word. It is quite clear that Christ came down to us to speak to men in human language, and to bring the good news to the very poorest and lowest. He used for this purpose no exalted language, showed in no way that He was a foreigner in this world, accustomed to angel tongues and the language of heaven; but mixed as their equal with fishermen, country-people, women and children, and won their hearts with words so simple and natural that no other man could find the like. To do, as he did—to descend to the lowest, and with their loved mother-tongue to reach their hearts, to live and feel more and more closely with them—must, therefore, ever be the endeavour of each one of his messengers. We do not require that the messenger in China should wear a pig-tail, in Arabia a turban, in Constantinople a fez cap, &c.; but that he should clothe his thoughts and feelings in the language of the country which he wishes to benefit, appears to us indispensable. In itself, indeed, no language is either sacred or profane. The most heathenish and meagre language remains a Divine work of art by which all the chords of the heart may be struck by him who makes use of it in love; while, on the other hand, even the most cultivated tongue may be used for profane purposes. Thus, in the first place, we must not speak of retaining or giving up a language; if anywhere, surely here it is true that Christ came not to destroy, "but to fulfil."

But so soon as we ask ourselves *which* language He Himself spoke, we shall be led a step further. It is supposed, on good authority, that He generally made use of two languages—the Aramaic dialect, and the world-language then so widely spread in Palestine, the Greek. And, moreover, the language of the prophets, which He had heard from His youth in the synagogues, in which He himself also read—the ancient Hebrew—must have been familiar to Him. Even so it is justly required of His messengers that they also enter into the

historically-formed conditions of life of the people to whom they are sent, and seek to be "all things to all men."*

The Gospel, which is to be preached to every creature, has from the beginning appeared upon the battle-field as *many-tongued*. At the Feast of Pentecost it was preached in the various tongues of the assembled multitude, although perhaps two—the popular language of Palestine and Greek, with which most of them were acquainted—would have sufficed for nearly all of them. From this it appears to be indicated that the languages of the heathen altogether are to be learned and cultivated—that in every human tongue, so long as it is a spoken one, the name of Jesus should be confessed, and in His name prayer be offered to God, the heavenly Father.

But even in the apostolic age we see this rule limited. Paul and Barnabas appear to have preached to the Lycaonians not in Lycaonian, but in Greek; and thus we do not require of our missionaries that they should master every dialect which is generally spoken, if they can reach the hearts of their hearers with another language. The right mode of proceeding will rather be, that when by the Mission the first-fruits of a tribe are converted, they should speak and pray in the native language with their wives and children, their neighbours and friends, so that every language may be sanctified and filled by the Spirit, while, of course, the choice of the ecclesiastical language rests on wider considerations.

The most important of these considerations relates to the translation of the Holy Scriptures, with which the work of schools and the creation of a Christian literature, stand in the most intimate connection. The Gospel first exhibits itself by oral preaching, but this necessarily brings after it the bestowment of the Holy Scriptures. Protestant missionaries, at least, must be and remain "People of the Book." If Christ withstood the tempter with the words "It is *written*," then every Christian has a right and title to the possession of the book in which is written concerning him. From this it follows that every language in which disciples recognize Jesus as their Lord, and pray to Him, *can* also become a *Scripture language*.

Yet we do not say that every dialect also *must* become a Scripture language. In the first centuries the Bible was only translated into a few principal languages, in these certainly several times, and, as would of course be expected, with different success. Some translations (for example, the Syriac, Gothic, Armenian) have certainly helped to secure the existence of these languages against the unfavourable tendencies of the history of the time, or, at all events, to prolong their existence; while others, as the two Coptic versions, could not stand against the pressure of foreign elements, but soon sank into a dead letter. Others again, like the Vulgate, have extended their rule far beyond their proper sphere both in space and time, and stand in the way to hinder the progress of national culture.

* According to this Schwarz certainly hit the mark when, besides the Tamil, which he found prevailing in Southern India, he gained a knowledge, as he had strength, of the language of the rulers, the English, the Persian, nay more, the language dear to the Court at Tandschaur, the Mahrathi.

The period of the Reformation not only brought the Gospel and its simple preaching in the *vernacular* languages back into repute, but also founded upon it the national literature of most countries of Europe. Inexpressibly great are the blessings which the translations of the Bible made at the Reformation have brought to the different nations of Europe, in that they gave into their hands that richest and most formative Book, and spread the same even into the schools and cottages. It is almost exclusively the master-pieces of their kind, certainly wrought out "*non sine Numine*," to which we unhesitatingly attribute the most valuable elements of our European culture.

An important fundamental principle is thus laid down for every field cultivated by Evangelical Missions, that the prospect of a truly renewed popular life rests on a translation of the Bible which lays a foundation for coming generations. Such a one cannot be expected in the first generation of the Mission. The translations of the Reformation, for instance, were preceded by many now forgotten attempts. In the haste which Missions in the present century have exhibited, in respect to this duty, there may be much to blame; many missionaries have certainly laboured too soon and too lightly to discharge it. Oral preaching, which ought naturally to precede, has here and there been neglected for translation; many a missionary has sought to improve the heathen language who would have been better employed in first striving to deepen his own knowledge of it; often, also, instead of the living word which is commonly used by the mass of the people, there has been too much book-learning. He who does not take in the spirit of a language in its infinitude may work at translations in several languages at once, while for one good translation, such as Judson and Moffat have accomplished, a lifetime only just suffices. On many points we are still far from the end. The native evangelists, teachers, and poets must first have their tongues loosened; the burning, soul-piercing word must be first *found* in the strife of souls before it can be stereotyped in the *Scripture language* of the growing churches. Native masters of their own language, acquainted with the original languages of Scripture, and in a measure inspired by the Spirit of the Scriptures, must arise before there can be such a translation as our European versions.

But apart from the fact that there is no more necessary work for a missionary than the translation of the Scriptures, first for private use, there must be in all spiritual works "*fortes ante Agamemnon*," and, thank God! there are such.

All these well-meant efforts have already rendered valuable assistance towards attaining the great aim—to permeate the language of the people with the Word of God, and to sanctify the spirit of the people by the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

And what a blessing may accompany even a hurriedly made translation of the Bible, *Madagascar* has shown. How very different the state of things might have been there, if the Christians, during their long persecution, had had no books!—a thought which warns us distinctly against a hasty judgment on such undertakings.

II.

While we, in general, contend with all our heart for the retaining and sanctifying of heathen languages, we cannot conceal from ourselves the obstacles that in many Mission fields render difficult the accomplishment of this undertaking which is so desirable.

No wide-spread and cultivated native language allows itself to be set aside; but as there are dying nations, so there are dying languages (as the Manx, which seems to be following the Cornish into the grave; the Indian languages, into which Elliott translated the Scriptures, &c.). In South America we hear of languages which are only understood by hundreds, nay, only by dozens. The history of the world in its course works visibly in the direction of displacing many languages, just as it does in the elevation of others to unexpected dominion. (Of this we have an instructive example in the spread of the Guechua language through the despotic rule of the Incas, as well as in the aspirations of the Tubi or Guarani, which the Jesuits in Brazil and elsewhere raised to the position of "*lingoa geral*.")

If now a Briton preaches the Word in Guayana, among four races of aborigines which have maintained their existence among numerous emigrants of mixed race from the colonies, he can speak to all these, but not hold schools or compose books in four or five languages, although he gives into their hand by biblical pictures and doctrinal charts a necessary equivalent of Christian literature. In the schools he teaches English, as it would, of course, be expected in an English colony, in which the children of the four quarters of the globe have mingled themselves as in no other place.

Thus the Mission may find itself among a conglomeration of the most different native languages (as amongst negro-slaves, or emancipated negroes, &c.). There, not the language which happens to be that of the missionary, but the language which by the course of events has become dominant in the district, is raised to be the ecclesiastical language, as in the West Indies and Sierra Leone the English, in Brazil the Portuguese or the Trefri. If new languages form themselves, like negro-English, it must be carefully considered how far we are to yield to them—how far, also, to seek to join it on to a more powerful language. (The Moravians at least have printed the Scriptural histories and hymns in negro-English.)

Where the Mission comes upon a number of uncultivated native languages, perhaps altogether without literature, the inquiry may well arise which of them is to be chosen for the language of the Bible and the Church. Generally, however, a greater and more cultivated (in some respects allied) language will be found in the neighbourhood; in that case such a one is to be preferred, rather than the arbitrary and artificial choice of a meaner dialect. When the Goths once possessed their excellent translation of the Bible, the Vandals used the same without difficulty.

Thus the Baptist brethren in Burmah believe that they have chosen the right dialect, out of the many spoken by the Karens, for their translation of the Bible. But because they are constantly discovering new tribes of this scattered nation with new dialects,

and their assistants learn the language but slowly, the missionaries now begin to question whether it would not be advisable to introduce their Karens altogether into Burmese, with which all these native languages have more or less affinity, and in which their Churches could make use of Judson's excellent translation, and a fast increasing literature. Languages which already possess a literature appear then naturally predestined to give a Christian literature to a still wider circle.

In a similar manner the Missionaries among the Koles, who speak five languages, have chosen the Hindee for the ecclesiastical language, and leave the languages of individual tribes, which are more or less allied to the Hindee, or have at all events taken much from it, to quietly die out.* The language of the Gonds is already so impoverished and near to extinction, that it appears impossible to the missionaries to re-animate it. In like manner the four languages of the thinly-scattered aborigines of the Neilgherries are already condemned to death in consequence of the overpowering Tamil immigration. In capital cities, like Bombay, the English language may have the prospect of becoming a *lingua Franca* for intercourse, and an ecclesiastical language for the native Christians, provided only that it be not forced upon them, and moreover that the Mahrathi or Guzerathi be left in their rights to the neighbouring masses.

A peculiar state of things exists in Minahassa, in Celebes, so dear to every friend of the Netherland Missions. There, amongst less than 100,000 Alfurs, there are at least four or five languages, of which not one—on account of the prejudices of its neighbours—could be raised into a book-language, while all have a real longing for the *lingua Franca* of the Archipelago, the Malay, "as the only source of light" (Ulfers), and in short, would rather learn Dutch than be educated as Alfurians. Hence, there, together with Christianity, the Malay language has gained a rare triumph over the Babylonian confusion of the past. The new school and church language is not forced on the Alfur; he accepts it with "heart-impulse" as a rich booty.

Where, then, the course of events points out such a step in advance, we may venture to trust the Spirit of Pentecost, that He can still, in individuals as in churches, develop an extraordinary gift of language (in the form of desire to learn).

We have before us still many problems to attempt to solve, which would lead us beyond the limits of our time. How are we to deal, let us only ask, with the yet uncounted scattered dialects of China which spread themselves sometimes over vast districts of millions of human beings? Part of them may grow into independent ecclesiastical languages, part of them also will melt away or allow themselves to be subordinated to the Mandarin's language. Great as the thought appears also, that a single translation of the Bible, and the Christian literature which is based upon it, can suffice for an entire third part of the human race, yet this very magnitude itself makes

* Schatz remarks, it is true, that since his brother Heinrich has learnt the Utan, and spoken to the people in it, the Koles have been more confiding; it has won their hearts.

the friends of the Mission thoughtful. For no regard is thus paid to the poor and weak, especially the female sex, who cannot devote ten years to the study of the ancient language of the Scriptures. It depends upon the introduction of a system of writing based on sound whether they also are really to become "people of the Book." Still, as there is no unanimity of opinion amongst the missionaries themselves as to attempts made to realize this object, those who stand at a distance can venture to form no final judgment. To erect stringent divisions between language and dialect is a difficult task, which would employ the talents of the greatest philologist, and therefore cannot be solved with certainty by the first best missionary. It remains that the Mission should be warned not to rush hastily into such translations of the whole Bible as those, too many of which have been undertaken, especially in Northern India from Serampore (Magadha, Bradj, Ranodj, Koshala, &c.).

For the first preaching and instruction for baptism, any dialect may be made use of. But whether in a new Church a literature will be developed is a question the decision of which does not belong to the Mission alone, although even at the time of the founding of the churches some preparation may be made for the future decision of the question.

Single Gospels and parts of the Old Testament translated into the native language of the poor churches, may suffice at first for their edification.

May the messengers of Jesus Christ never be wanting in the gift of clothing the heavenly message in the vernacular of the poorest, and in a priest-like spirit to become all things to all men. But may the prophetic insight and royal influence be also bestowed, by which isolated remnants of peoples may be enabled to join themselves to a language which lives and has a great future. And may both kinds of gifts united work on until the Lord turns "to the peoples a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one consent." (Zeph. iii. 9.)

THE EVANGELICAL MISSION AND THE CRITICISM OF THE NEW SCHOOL.

BY THE REV. L. J. VAN RHYN,

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MY theme is the *Mission*, the Evangelical Mission, and the *Criticism of the New School*, that is : Job, the tried Job and the accusing Satan.

My hearers, are you at all acquainted with the cold-water cure? Buckets of water, cold as ice, are poured over the patient's warm skin, or he is plunged straight from his comfortable bed into an ice-cold bath. There he stands trembling and shivering! And the subject given me now to speak on, *The Evangelical Mission and the Criticism of the New School*, makes me involuntarily think of the cold-water cure. For thereby I am obliged to immerse your glowing souls, which the delightful meetings of the preceding nine days have been kindling to the highest degree of fervour, into an ice-cold bath. But it will only be for a moment. Take courage! The water doctor requires an immersion of very short duration only. Neither do I ask but for a few moments. And yet, my hearers, however much we may shudder at such a cold bath, I speak from my own personal experience—delightful remembrance of Boppard*—it can have a wonderfully strengthening and salutary effect. Hence, my dear friends of the Mission (and what Christian is not a friend of the Mission?), hence, take courage! The ice-cold bath into which—though most unwillingly—I must plunge you for one moment, will strengthen your souls glowing for the missionary work with fresh zeal and renewed vigour.

In speaking of this subject, I shall more in particular confine myself to what I have personally seen and heard, more especially in the Dutch East-Indian possessions, leaving it to the foreign brethren to speak more at full on the mentioned theme.

1. But let us take a somewhat closer view of our subject.

Not of the *Mission*—according to ideal notions—nor of *Criticism*, the gift of the Holy Ghost, to distinguish truth from error, as Professor Herzog has been teaching us, but of the Evangelical Mission,

* A very celebrated cold-water establishment on the beautiful shores of the Rhine.

which was commenced about the beginning of the 19th century, more in particular in East India, by JOSEPH KARN, in 1816, and of the *Criticism of the New School*, that is, of that school that judges of, or rather condemns, the Mission from a point of view originating in the so-named, or rather mis-named, *School of Modern Theology*. A principal leader in this school of modern criticism was a retired missionary of the Old Netherland Missionary Society, named S. E. HARTHORN, who, in his publications: "The Evangelical Mission in East India," and "Old Grievances and Fresh Evidences," has utterly condemned—first, the Mission in East Java, and secondly, the Mission in the Minahasa of Menado, in the South Sea Islands—yes, we may even venture to say has condemned the whole Mission work throughout the heathen world, wheresoever and by whomsoever it may be. His criticism has met with repeated refutations, the last and most extensive of which was by the missionary N. GRAAFLAND, but it is worth while to do so here again, though shortly and to the point, the more so as, according to my opinion, the work of Mr. GRAAFLAND, though very sound, and in many respects most valuable, has not sufficiently brought forward one grand point of view belonging to the Christian faith. As a former clergyman of Rotterdam, Dr. PIERSON, has lent his style and his name to these writings of HARTHORN, we may, as far as it seems to me, regard these two names as representing the *Criticism of the New School*, as far at least as it regards the Mission work in the Dutch East-Indian colonies. Within these limits I, as a native of Holland, wish to confine my subject. Thus, in great measure, I can speak of what I have seen with mine own eyes, and handled with mine own hands. I have therefore especially in view *the Dutch Mission in East-India and the said Criticism*, as represented by HARTHORN and PIERSON, thus avoiding all that is general and abstract, and rather confining myself alone to what is concrete and clearly apparent to all. Most seriously have I asked myself whether it would be right for me to mention names, and whether it would not be better to confine myself to things only. But it seemed to me impossible entirely to separate the things from the persons. And I have only to do with persons in so far as they represent the modern school of criticism. Here, before God, I can openly declare that there is nothing personal or bitter in my heart against these persons. On the contrary, I cannot forget that formerly I passed many a profitable and blessed hour in their society, and that I loved and esteemed them in the Lord; yes, even now I feel something of that love for them, although I must wage war against them to the knife as accusers of our Evangelical Mission work, and as leaders in the school of modern criticism.

Sound criticism teaches us that the point of view, the eye of the beholder or critic, *may, nay, must* be necessarily taken into considera-

tion; as we see with our mind's eye so we see—and we, therefore, have to criticize these critics. The Pharisees and Sadducees sharply criticized the person and works of our Saviour. Not before we know the fundamental thoughts, the original propensities and the chief endeavours of these men, can we be said to possess the key and at the same time the standard whereby to judge of the value of their criticism. The Greek philosophers of Athens sharply criticized the person of Paul and the doctrine of the Resurrection preached by him. For the Christian, that criticism is by no means dangerous or alarming, for *his* criticism leads him to understand, though with compassion, why the Athenian philosophers derided the great Apostle to the heathens as a babbler. The criticism of *Lucian*, of *Celsus*, and *Porphyry* on the Christianity of the early ages, is as easily understood and refuted. Yes, the divine declaration “For all is yours, if ye be Christ’s,” is also applicable to the sharpest and most inimical criticism, and will eventually work for good. But to the point! What is the case in hand?

2. In India, the missionary HARTHORN entered upon a field of labour where the deceased brethren *Emde* and *Jellesma* had already been at work. He found or fancied to find there much that was imperfect and faulty. At first, his plan was to do all things better and more thoroughly. His aim was to reform the poor Javanese by means of *development* and *accommodation*, for which purpose deep and extensive studies were partly required. In the course of his endeavours to bring about this plan of *development* he at last entertained the notion that *public instruction* would prove a sovereign cure, and he finished by proposing to form a Society for promoting National Instruction among all the nations of the East-Indies; and as to his doctrine of *accommodation*, he went so far as to allow the Javanese the practice of circumcision. When he saw one chimera evaporating after another, he altogether gave up the work he had been undermining and ruining, and deserted his post. In Holland, he wrote that it was mere *illusion* to suppose Christianity had been making any progress among the Javanese—nay, more: that the fruits of the Mission work, the existence of which could not be denied, and which nobody could avoid seeing—were by no means to be attributed to the missionaries who had been labouring among the Alfoers in the Minahasa, but to the civil officers of the Government; yes, that our Gospel emissaries had rather done harm than good, by forcing upon the Alfoer, a Dutch churchdom for his own heathen religion, which set upon him like a well-fitting garment. These are his own words. Much the same kind of sentence he pronounces on the labours of the English and North-American missionaries in the South-Sea Islands.

Oh, here I involuntarily think of those cavillers in Jesus' time, who after they no longer could deny His great works and power, main-

tained that He stood in connection with Beelzebub. By no means do we wish to detract from the great praise due to our Government; it has protected our missionaries in the Minahasa, and the consequence of this policy was that the white man was regarded with deference. Government has given its support to our school; sometimes a chief has gone a step further, and has shown himself a great friend to the missionaries. But this praise may not and cannot be extended further. Not one single Alfoer has become a Christian through the influence of Government. On the contrary, some Government measures, as for instance, Sunday labour and the tax on marriages * have exercised a very baneful influence, and here I may perhaps mention that case of a resident or European chief (Bosch), who endeavoured to introduce once more in the Minahasa, that at that time was well-nigh Christianized, its former heathenism, heathen feasts, and heathen abominations. He was, however, dismissed the service after this matter had been duly examined into.

The *Critics of the New School* judge falsely, see falsely, and ignore what is good, and even attribute that which cannot possibly be ignored to other causes than the work of the Christian Mission; they have only an eye for the foibles and weaknesses that still cling to the young Christians. The existence of these foibles we by no means deny; but do we not meet with the same weaknesses in our own churches, among our own Christians, converted more than a thousand years to Christ? My hearers! I have seen the eye of a Javanese sparkle when I asked him: Why did the Lord Jesus, so great and glorious a King, appear in our world in such poor and miserable circumstances? And immediately a poor Javanese woman, speaking in the name of all, replied with a glance of great significance, "In order that He might save such poor Javanese as we are, too." But I have found a considerable degree of interest in higher things existed, many a sign of hunger and thirst after righteousness; I have found a degree of morality, industry, severe discipline among the converted Alfoers of the Minahasa, such as I do not wish for better among the churches in Holland. All travellers, friends of the Mission or not, the naval officer *Van Heeckeren*, the *Reverend Brummund*, the Governor-General *Duymaer van Twist*, the naturalist *Dr. Bleeker*, and the botanist, Professor *De Vriese*, all coincide in this opinion. The latter has written, with well-nigh his dying hand, in his Introduction to his last Lecture, "If you have seen the heathen Alfoers in Ceram, as I have, and then visited the Christians of Menado, it is as if you had landed in an El Dorado." Once he came to me in person

* I humbly petitioned the Governor-General against this law, and not quite unsuccessfully. For further particulars see my work, "Reis door den Indischen Archipel," page 416, and the supplementary Memorial A.

to thank me for the printed narrative of my travels; it had served him as a guide on his excursions, and he assured me he had found it very accurate and trustworthy. "Yes," he continued, "from an enemy I am become a friend to the Mission, for I have now myself seen its labours and its fruits!"

Thus much as regards facts in reference to our Mission among the Javanese and Alfoers in East India. Before concluding this chapter of facts, let me briefly recall to your remembrance the highly meritorious and much-blest labours of the Moravian brethren among the heathen negroes of Surinam. Is not the emancipation of 34,000 slaves among a population of 16,000 Europeans or their descendants a most happy event, and occurring without those disturbing results which were predicted—not principally to be ascribed to the missionary work of a hundred years of those apostles of the Cross, whom the negroes honour and love as their fathers and shepherds, at least the 24,000 among them who are living under their moral influence?

3. The *Critics of the New School* see falsely, judge falsely, and are therefore not competent to judge of the holy missionary work, nor is their testimony worth receiving. But I go still further. The Critics of the New School can do nothing else but see and judge falsely. They are not in possession of the organ which is absolutely required to form a sound judgment. *Contra principia negantem non valet disputatio* (It is of no use arguing against him who denies the principles) finds here its application. *Like only understands like*, and in order to judge, in order to exercise sound criticism, must we not first of all *understand*? "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he who is not born again cannot see the Kingdom of God," the Lord Jesus Christ said, and therefore much less *judge* critically about it. St. Paul declares, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." And what is the Christian's confession? It is a confession of *Hope*, a concrete and glorious hope of which he is perfectly conscious. This is the point which, according to my opinions, the missionary GRAAFLAND, in his refutation of HARTHORN'S publication, has not sufficiently brought forward. The hope to be delivered from all that here oppresses and torments the soul; the hope of finding complete redemption from all that here binds and fetters us; the hope of complete satisfaction of all those longings that form a part of our beings: "Eine Religion für mühseligen und Beladenen ist das Christenthum und nur für dièse allein*" as DR. LANGE told us last Thursday afternoon. Deliverance from all dis-harmony, and all misery: all dis-harmony, all pain and heaviness arise,

*Christianity is a religion for the weary and heavy laden, and for such only.

according to the light of God's Word and law, only and alone from sin; but the New School does not know of any such thing as *sin*. They are deficient of that organ, whereby the Saviour from sin and misery can only be known and valued. He came to destroy death, the wages of sin, and to bring to light an immortal, incorruptible, and glorious life. Death and life, like sin and grace, are the poles of the axis, round which the whole kingdom of God turns. Grace, grace, grace for you, sinners! life for you against whom the sentence of death is recorded! That is the Gospel. That Gospel is now macerated and dissolved till a comfortless doctrine of morality is made of it. In substance the critics of the New School say: Do not attach yourselves to what is uncertain. We know little or nothing of what will become of us after death; take to heart the things of this world, enlighten your minds, be virtuous; put away your sloth and superstition; follow the example of Christ, and you will see how happy you will become.

Ah! go with this proclamation to poor, tormented, and fettered slaves, what will you do with it there? Literally and positively nothing at all, I tell you. The Javanese and the Alfoers are slaves, miserable slaves from their youth upward, although they may not be called so. As children they must already work beyond their strength; as youths they are liable to become the prey to all kinds of animal passions; as men they are worn out before their time. For a wretched pittance they are obliged to labour for their masters in coffee, sugar, and rice plantations. Their lives are nothing but a continual slavery and a toiling, a groaning beneath an oppressive yoke, it is true, with a few moments of intermission; but as then they give themselves up to unbridled and emaciating, sensual passions, in reality the right of the stronger is the only thing known to them. Go to them and proclaim to them a Saviour, who delivers from sin and misery, from poverty, from oppression, but who gives fulness of joy in the presence of God. Offer to them hope, hope in eternal bliss after death, but which already here upon earth partly commences. Depict all this to them, according to their capacities and wants; then you will see how many a one begins to listen, how many a heart is opened, and how many an eye beams with hope of future bliss, hitherto unknown to them. Hope in CHRIST and His salvation gives them life. Hence the first Christians were, for the greater part, poor and vile women and slaves. Therefore, too, St. Paul writes: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." Hence the Christian's confession—as long as the Lord delays His coming, it is a confession of hope, and even more so than many a Christian himself seems to be conscious of. The much renowned TITUSES, the philosophical AURELIUSES commanded the Christians to be cast to the lions; proud philosophy derided Christianity, but the

poor and oppressed accepted it—understood it—and proved by their lives and deaths that it is a power of God unto salvation.

The great genius GOETHE once said: “A fundamental trait in heathenism is living for the *PRESENT* ;” had he only himself more observed the fundamental trait of Christianity, living for the *future*. The future, yes, it is this in the Christian’s career sheds its glory over the present, like MONTESQUIEU exclaims: “Wonderful phenomena; though the Christian religion seems to possess no other object than the felicity of a future life, it is exactly this which constitutes the real bliss of the present life.”

Futurity is the explanation of the *present state* of the Christian. From *hoping against hope* he learns to know Abraham, the father of all them that believe. Down from the *age to come* blows fresh strength to the believers of the *present*. In the beginning of the nineteenth century JACOB HAAFNER wrote a treatise for which he was rewarded with the gold of this country, in which he maintained that the Evangelical Mission among the heathen was in vain, being quite fruitless, and would soon find a natural death.

In Solo, a learned doctor wanted to prove to me that the Javanese were very docile, civilized, and humane, and did not require any Christian teachers. An hour later he observed to me: You cannot imagine how cheap life is held among the Javanese. Every night a murder is committed in this village. A prince may have received a kris (or Javanese dagger) in order to try its quality, he says to one of his servants, ‘Just come here!’ and with perfect imperturbability he thrusts the dagger into his heart. A short time ago a prince wished to try a new gun, and shot from his window three persons at once, among them a pregnant woman with a child on her knee; the gun was declared to be excellent.”

HARTHORN does not believe in the Resurrection of Christ from the dead. He does not know of the lively hope that God in His great mercy imparts to him who is born again. He undermines the work of his pious predecessors. He runs away and writes books against the Mission. Oh, wonderful Criticism of the New School, God taketh your wisdom in your own craftiness, God turns your wisdom to folly!

An Alfoer is brought to Christ through the preaching of the deceased Brother HERMAN. Some time after a missionary of the New School arrives there, and becomes his spiritual guide. What is the Alfoer’s complaint? “I pass along the street and weep. My tears fall to the earth when I consider the joy I formerly experienced, and the fight I fought through faith in Christ, and of all my efforts to receive with profit the instructions of my teachers. Now I am taught there is neither eternal life nor resurrection from the dead; that Christ is not the Son of God, but only a man from among men, that

* Personally communicated to me by a trustworthy eye-witness.

the Bible, it is true, is a big book, but full of fables,⁷ only made so large that it might fetch a gulden. But now I do not care a single cent for it. Still I must weep without ceasing." Is this not touching and heart-rending?

And what have been the fruits of this doctrine, teeming with error, in our own country? Inquire of the increasing confusion, disunion, and *malaise* reigning everywhere! Inquire of the increasing service of Mammon and of the senses! Inquire of the decay in morals and piety, of the violated marriages, the overcrowded lunatic asylums! Inquire of enervated youth, and the decreasing regard for rulers and parents; of the continually increasing immorality of our youths among high and low, of those youths who will soon no longer be young men!

For this reason—though with intense sorrow of heart—I have broken off the connection in which I stood to the old Netherlands Missionary Society. I loved it dearly, I would have devoted my life in its cause; and I still continue to love it, but it places these modern rationalists on the same line with believing Christians, calling this toleration and love. Away with *that* love, accursed by God! Away with *that* toleration, on which the curse of God rests! Away with those heresies of the New School! Away with it from the holy ground of our Mission!

The short summary of the preceding is then this:—

1. The Critics of the New School judge exceedingly partially and falsely concerning the Evangelical Mission work.

2. The Criticism of the New School starts from an unchristian point of view, and, therefore, cannot but judge partially and falsely.

3. The Criticism of the New School on the Evangelical Mission work does, therefore, not deserve to be heard, and is in every regard to be rejected.

What was to be proved? Have I not said, my friends, that my cold-water bath would be but for a moment, and nevertheless strengthen your faith? After such a bath the body is not only invigorated, but feels a delightful glow. The severe trials which Job—that Job of whom we read in the Bible—had to pass through, made him rise so much the higher. All Criticism, also that of the New School, must work for good, and here it does work for good if we renew our zeal in the cause of the Mission, and feel our faithfulness, joy and hope increasing.

Oh, my beloved brethren and sisters, from this place it has been said (by our friend and brother, Dr. Beynen) that every Christian is a master-piece of God's creation, and that he himself must become an artist. Just so, my friends, and brother Gunning has said, "Every Christian must honour and give his support to true science, must become scientific in a New Testament sense, for it is Christianity that makes science free." I agree with him, but with no less right do I

say and maintain that every Christian must become within his circle a missionary of the Lord Jesus Christ. Like as the age of VOLTAIRE and ROUSSEAU was also the age of ZINZENDORF and WESLEY, so let this 19th century, the century of STRAUSS and RENAN, produce us another EGEDE and ZIEGENBALG and GUTZLAFF, another WILLIAMS and LIVINGSTONE, another JUDSON and LACROIX, and another VAN DEL KEMP. You applaud, but is there not one such among you? What a halo of glory seems to surround those names written on the walls of this beautiful hall—the names of men in whom Christ had been formed. Oh! how pleasant those images look as representatives of the Christian Alliance meetings in England, France, Germany, and Switzerland!

May the Name of all Names be found deeply engraven in the hearts of us all; then, perhaps, your name too will be seen written in golden letters in the Celestial Hall of the Evangelical Alliance above.

In that measure, in which the image of the Eternal Judge lives in our hearts, in that measure we are raised above all the criticism of believers, half-believers and unbelievers. Criticism signifies separation, and when the Christ of God Himself appears, He will make an eternal separation between true and false believers. Oh, that the Christ Remunerator, who has commanded us to preach the Gospel to every creature, be ever present to us in all our thoughts and deeds, till He appears in the clouds of Heaven, and may He then give you and also me, according to the abundance of His grace, a place for evermore on His right hand! Amen.

SPEECHES.

Dr. GRAHAM, formerly missionary to *Damascus*, said:—Dear Friends,—I have been five years missionary in the ancient city of *Damascus*, and never will I forget the blessed days I spent in *Syria*. I am sure that the missionary work in the East deserves the highest interest of Christian people. “JAPHET must dwell in the tents of SHEM.” From *Jerusalem* the bright and blessed light of Gospel truth shone forth upon the earth; it is a duty of *Western Europe* to bring the blessing of the Gospel back to *Jerusalem* and the *Holy Land*, among Mahometans and Jews. Much has been done already. In *Bayreuth*, *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, Christian schools exist. As to the results, I now only refer to this—the character of women is elevated wherever the Gospel is professed. But much is to be done still. In one of the mosques of *Damascus* stands a broken pillar having once belonged to a Christian Church. I take this to be an emblem of Christianity in the East. Alas! it is merely a ruin of what it once has

been. But still there is a remnant left in the midst of the Mahometan world, and this pillar, broken as it is now, will stand firmly on the Rock of Ages, and become again a foundation-stone for another and worthy Church. Mahometanism, the scourge of all Eastern countries, has power only of resistance, and it cannot always resist. Against the crusades of missionary zeal Turkish despotism will prove impotent. The banner of the cross is to be the sign, in which we will vanquish there as everywhere else.

REV. J. CONRADI, from *Paramaribo, Guiana*.—Gladly will I speak a few words respecting the state of Christianity in the Netherland West Indian possessions. The entire number of members belonging to the Protestant Evangelical Church there amounts to 45,000—of which 12,700 are reformed, 2,200 Lutheran, 2,500 United Lutheran, and 25,000 Moravian. There are 6 Reformed, 2 Lutheran, 2 Methodist, and 30 Moravian ministers. A great defect in the West Indian Church is the want of ministers. In *Saba* and *St. Martin* there are good church buildings—memorials of the religious spirit of the fathers—but now there is not one minister. The consequence of that is the great increase of the Roman Catholic population (in 1840 not 100, and now more than 700). In *Curacao*, *Bonaire*, and *Aruba*, it is generally better, but also there the number of ministers is defective. In *Surinam* itself (that is *Paramaribo* and *Nickerie*) there are very large congregations—together, 9,000 souls, but the *Nickerie* has been for a long time without a minister. The Wesleyan Churches in the Windward Islands are in a flourishing condition. The English Christians take care that here there is no want of ministers. But excellent above all by her inward life-energy is the Church of the Moravian brethren. It is that which fully deserves the peculiar sympathy of this meeting. It is a missionary Church which has almost entirely conquered heathenism by an earnest and simple Evangelical preaching, recommended by pure morality and an irreproachable conduct. No wonder that a labour of this kind, and in this spirit, should be crowned by God's visible favour. Never has that blessing and the fruit of many years' persevering preaching, sustained not without struggle and opposition, appeared more obviously than in the emancipation of the slaves. Then the pious missionaries saw their zeal and patience rewarded—then the result of a faithful ministry appeared. Oh, it was an ever-memorable hour, when the cannons at *Surinam* proclaimed with their metallic mouths that the chains of the slaves were burst and fallen! For that blessing we thank our native land and our fellow-citizens, to whose offerings and prayers, under God, it must be attributed. The millions devoted to that purpose are well spent. The hour which liberated the *Surinam* negro-slave has also freed the Netherlands from a curse and a shame; and that is not too dearly bought by a large sum of money. We thank you for the emancipation, Christian friends in the Netherlands; but that this great change should have been effected without a heavier shock; that the prophecies of the infidel were not realized; that during the fifteen long years in which the prospect of emancipation was opened the negro population waited with enduring patience, though not without that constantly deferred hope "which makes the heart sick;" that finally, when the never-to-be-forgotten 1st of July, 1863, had dawned, that day was a religious feast-day for the liberated slaves; that we now, without much fear, may anticipate a solution of the crisis which has befallen the colony—for all this we thank, next to God, the Moravian brethren and their more than a hundred years' labour. That hundred years' aloe once planted by Count Zinzendorff, has at last borne its beautiful flower. Happily, the Netherlands were not the last people to relinquish slavery. May the last chain of the slave be speedily broken! When we have another meeting of the Alliance—perhaps in America,

which now at last has liberated its slaves—may we then hear the report that Spain also has liberated hers, and that no Christian nation is any longer polluted by this stain. During my life-time, three Kings of the Netherlands have been crowned in the capital. On such occasions there hangs among the escutcheons one which formerly might well be covered with crape. It is the escutcheon of *Surinam*, with the inscription: “*Justitia, Pietas, Fides*,” that blazon was a lie. Thanks be to God, Netherland has no need now to be ashamed to look at these arms. When another king shall be crowned—God grant that such an event may be far distant—then may the arms of *Surinam* be adorned with green—for it will not need to be covered with mourning crape. Then under the old inscription let these words be written: “*Fides, Spes, Caritas. In hac Trinitate Fortitudo.*” In proportion as the luxuries of life increase in *Surinam* and elsewhere, in America and in Europe, may the friends of the Alliance have to thank the Almighty for more grace and richer blessings!

MISSIONARY WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY MR. P. HUET, OF NATAL.

Mr. Chairman, Christian Friends,—I appear before you as a deputy of the Branch of the Evangelical Alliance in the British Colony of *Natal*, and as such, though a native of *Holland*, and attached to the Dutch Reformed Church of *South Africa*, I beg leave to address you in English. It is not without great diffidence that I venture to speak before such an audience as I am permitted to see before me, and in the midst of so many distinguished Christians from all parts of the world. Yet, at the same time, I feel thankful for the opportunity, on an occasion like this, of expressing my humble and heartfelt gratitude to God, who, fourteen years ago, directed my steps to those southern shores, where a NEWTON was met by the Lord, and where I also was destined to find the treasure which I sought not, and to become what I wished to escape from—a servant of the Gospel, now permitted to stand on the glorious platform of the Evangelical Alliance in my native town of *Amsterdam*. I have come as a delegate from the land of *Ham*, from the extremity of that part of the world, on which longer and more severely perhaps than on any other country, the curse and misery of sin has been resting, and which may be called emphatically the land of darkness and woe, the land of barrenness and desolation in all, and not least in spiritual respects. It may, perhaps, not be superfluous to remind you that we have five distinct colonies in *South Africa*, three of which (the *Cape Colony*, *British Kaffraria*, and *Natal*) are under English government, and two Dutch Republics—the *Orange Free State* and the *Transvaal* territory.

During the first period of my residence in *South Africa*, I led mostly an itinerant life, and travelled over the length and breadth of the country, at least of those parts which are inhabited by Europeans or descendants of Europeans. I have gone over the barren regions of the *Cape Colony*, and over the immense solitudes of the *Free State*. I have visited the beautiful country of *Kaffraria*; and, among my sweetest recollections, I wish to remember my visit to most of the then existing stations of those worthy ministers of the Gospel, the French missionaries in *Basuto-land*. I have climbed the famous mountain of MOSHESH; and, in the pulpit of our excellent representative from *France*, the Rev. Mr. CASALIS, I have seen the dream of my childhood realized, and have been permitted to preach the Gospel on a day of

Pentecost to the assembled natives. In the slow bullock-waggon I have gone to the most remote parts of the *Transvaal Republic*, from farm to farm, gathering the people, and everywhere witnessing the power of the Lord accompanying the preaching of the Word. It is in those countries, the extreme limits of civilization, that I have felt, as acutely perhaps as it is possible for a human soul to feel, the woes and miseries of heathenism, and that I have been permitted in some measure to prepare the way for a now existing missionary work, on which the Lord's blessing seems visibly to rest.

During the last years I have resided in the colony of *Natal*. *Natal* is a beautiful and healthy country, a delightful mixture of tropical and European climate. It is only a small colony, the number of colonists amounting to no more than what would constitute the population of a third or fourth-class town in *Europe*, 14,000 or 15,000 inhabitants, whose scattered condition, and whose often all-absorbing cares to provide for the necessities of life, peculiarly during the present state of commercial depression and financial crisis under which *Natal*, in common with the whole of *South Africa*, is suffering, are as many hindrances to the success of the cause of religion. And yet I do not hesitate to pronounce our colony a very interesting one for various reasons, and worthy of the sympathy of the Christian world abroad. Nowhere earnest and pure Gospel religion is more needed than in young colonies as ours, where the influence of the first immigrants cannot but powerfully rest on the generations to come. Moreover, we are in constant communication with the two Dutch Republics. And, above all, we are at the door of entrance to the kingdom of Heathenism, to the numerous and powerful Kaffir tribes on our frontiers, and to our own *Natal* Kaffirs, amounting to no less than 200,000. Thanks to the Lord, many praiseworthy exertions are made in our colony for the spread of religion. We have Churches of all denominations in our midst. In the city of *Maritzburg*, which has no more than 2,000 white inhabitants, we have Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Scotch Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Wesleyan, Congregational, Baptist, and other places of worship. Amongst the heathen we have the worthy band of American missionaries labouring along the coast, and each of whose stations stands as a proof of the success of missionary enterprise. We have the Wesleyan missionary operations amongst the Kaffir and amongst the Hindoo coolies, lately introduced in our colony. We have the interesting *Hermansburg* Central Station, from which, like a living stream, Gospel truth is flowing, through a range of twenty-two Mission stations, far to the interior. We have the *Berlin* Missions, extending beyond *Transvaal*, and there enjoying God's blessing; and sometimes, under great persecution, witnessing among the natives instances of fidelity to the Saviour worthy to be placed on one line with the narratives of martyrdom in the first ages of Christianity. We have also private exertions in the missionary cause, the most interesting of which is that of that worthy servant of the Lord, the Rev. Mr. ALLISON, who, in *Maritzburg*, is the means of winning scores of natives for the Lord, most of whom come from distant regions and go back to the interior, as so many native missionaries, to spread the good seed among their benighted tribes.

Whilst these efforts are made for good, it is sad to think how much pernicious influence is exerted by that highly-talented man, whose name has been on the lips of all for the last year, and with whose celebrity the colony of *Natal* is so closely, and, I hesitate not to add, so unfortunately connected—Dr. COLENSO, the Bishop of *Natal*. Although far from having spoken those last words of negation and of blasphemy which have been heard from the lips of so many theologians on the Continent and in our country of *Holland*, yet it cannot be denied that he belongs to that unhappy school of theology, the necessary consequence of which must be the utter destruction of all Christian faith. Supported by the civil courts,

applauded and followed by increasing numbers, his name serves to strengthen the hands of all who disbelieve God's Word, and wish to live according to the will of the prince of this world. The injurious effects of his teachings are felt, not only among the white population over the whole of *South Africa*, but even among the black races his well-known theories about the Holy Scriptures and about polygamy tend to oppose the influence of the Gospel.

Ah, my dear friends, it is under such circumstances, and in such a country, that Christians feel the need and the blessing of that union which makes them overlook all little national and denominational differences, and makes them bow together, as we have so often done, in united prayer and supplication before our common Saviour. If there be one living and sensible proof of the truth of our blessed faith, which I have been privileged to see and to experience ever since I have been brought to the knowledge of the Lord, it is that union which binds His disciples together and makes them feel that, whatever diversity there may exist, they are all one in the same experience of the grace of the Lord Jesus; it is that union of which our Evangelical Alliance is but an imperfect utterance, but of which heaven will be the perfect manifestation. Another conviction to which I have been led is, that the Church of Christ has the same battle to fight over the whole world. Everywhere, even in the most distant parts of *South Africa*, in the *Cape Colony*, in *Natal*, and in the *Transvaal Republic*, the armies are preparing and gathering strength on both sides. Everywhere it is felt that union between the two is utterly impossible, and that the day is hastening of the great separation, when all living Christians will have to stand together on one side, and the great majority of the enemies of the cross on the other. A third remark, which I beg leave to make in conclusion, is that, whatever the world may say, missionary work, in the present humble way in which it is conducted, is not a failure. I have often heard men laugh at the attempts of missionary enterprise, and deny its good effects—yea, affirm its evil consequences. I have heard others, applauded by multitudes, proclaim that missionaries go the wrong way; that barbarians ought to be civilized first, and that Christianity, as a matter of course, will follow civilization. Now, the little that I have seen is more than sufficient to convince me that our worthy missionaries take the right course; that by instructing the young and by preaching the foolishness of the cross, they reach the hearts, and obtain results which cannot be obtained otherwise. I have seen the visible tokens of God's blessing resting on missionary efforts, and such power of God's converting grace displayed, as would be sufficient to convince any mind open to conviction of the reality of Christianity. I should have much more to add, but I feel that I have already trespassed on your indulgence. I therefore beg to close, Mr. Chairman and Christian friends, by bringing you the cordial salutations of our dear brethren in *Natal*. In the midst of the privileges which we are enjoying, may I humbly and earnestly request your prayers, and, as far as perhaps the occasion may present itself, your hearty co-operation, in what may help to strengthen the hands of those servants of the Lord who are labouring in those distant regions under so many depressing circumstances; may I request your prayers on behalf that Southern hemisphere which is now stretching out its hands from every side for spiritual help, and which the Lord has not forgotten in His gracious promises, but wherefrom, as from the North and East and West, many sons and daughters will come to take their place at the great assembly of redeemed sinners in heaven.

REV. PH. DURAND, Missionary from *South Africa*.—Dear brethren,—Permit me to address a few words to you in the Dutch language. That is to me a great satisfaction. I have been labouring now for a number of

years as a missionary of the London Missionary Society among the coloured population at the Cape. You know that in the Cape country missionaries of different societies are at work : French, Germans, Scotch, English, &c. For Europeans, the climate there is also very healthy, and the missionary work not unblest. The missionaries of the London Society have about 30,000 inhabitants under their spiritual supervision, of which 5,000 are members. It is a great happiness to be for the first time in Holland. When I survey your country I see everywhere the signs of happiness and prosperity. God has richly blessed you. That wealth is, perhaps, also the reward of Holland's former benevolence. Oh ! forget not in your prosperity the poor heathen at the Cape ! Why has not a single Netherland Missionary Society an agent at the Cape ? And that, while the Gospel is preached to the negroes in Dutch, and the Netherlander Van der Kemp was the father of the African Mission ! Van der Kemp—what a name ! When I gaze on this beautiful hall I see the escutcheons of many nations, and beneath them the names of many heroes of the faith. But under the great arms of the Netherlands, just opposite this platform, there is no name. Why ? Has Holland then no great and illustrious names to mention. Fool who asks it ! No country more than this. But it was, I suppose, because everyone would, in imagination, place there that name which he esteems the highest, and which he would wish to read there. Well ; if I might write there a name, it should be that of Van der Kemp. I do not know if there has ever been a nobler missionary than he, or if ever any one has better followed the example of Paul, “to be all things to all men, in order to win some for Christ.” Although a man of learning and refinement, yet to the Caffres he gave up all to be a Caffre. If he must be accused of anything, it is that he went too far in self-humiliation. But his influence was thereby equally great and blessed, and has practically shown that the lowest races also can be brought to the faith of Christ. With such an example before us we do not despair to educate a totally uncivilized and barbarous people. Nay, the African races are not incapable of understanding the Gospel. Some years ago there was near my residence a great inundation. All the fields were under water. In one night the valley had become a sea. When the day broke I saw upon a little hill a number of people gathered together who had no boat to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher, and we saw them swept away by the flood. As soon as possible we had a boat ready, yet, alas ! we could only save three men. These related to us, that when the water rose still higher, an old Caffre woman, a member of our Church, with certain death before her, with a loud voice raised the song, “Jesus receives sinners.” She continued singing, overpowering the lamentations of the others, and with peculiar elevation she uttered the words, “Come ye all, come to Him, sinners come ! What should hinder you ?” So in her own way she preached the Gospel in the hour of death. With the words, “He also has He received, for me He has gone to heaven,” she went down into the deep. When later you hear and raise that song—to you also dear—then think of the old Caffre woman. And further, Dutch friends, forget not the English missionary in your old Cape Colony.

VI.

CONCLUDING MEETING.

I.—RESOLUTIONS OF COMMITTEE ADOPTED:—

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| 1. DECLARATION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S-DAY. | 3. DECLARATION ON WAR. |
| 2. LETTER TO CHRISTIANS SCATTERED ABROAD. | 4. NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE. |

II.—FAREWELL SPEECHES:—

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| 1. REV. G. FISCH, PARIS. | 7. PASTOR KLEINSCHMIDT, NEWSALZ, BOHEMIA. |
| 2. DR. GUNDELT, CALW, WURTEMBERG. | 8. REV. M. COHEN STUART. |
| 3. MR. WORTMAN, NEW YORK. | 9. REV. DR. PRIME, NEW YORK. |
| 4. GENERAL BURROWS, CANADA. | 10. REV. E. D'HOMBRES, PARIS. |
| 5. PASTOR LANTARET, POMAREST. | 11. JOHN FINCH, ESQ., LONDON. |
| 6. REV. E. T. BLISS, CONSTANTINOPLE. | 12. PROFESSOR ASTIE, LAUSANNE. |

III.—CONCLUDING PRAYER, DOXOLOGY, AND BENEDICTION.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ADOPTED.

ON the first day of the Conference a Committee was appointed, to whom was referred the general direction of the business of the Conference, and the discussion and determination of questions which might arise in its progress. The Committee consisted of the following persons:—Baron Van Wassenauer Van Catwyck, the Hon. J. W. Van Loon, Rev. Cohen Stuart, Professor Rosseuw St. Hilaire, the Rev. G. Fisch, M. Audrien Naville, M. F. de Rougemont, Count A. Bernstorff, Rev. Dr. Krummacher, Professor Revel, Rev. T. R. Birks, Rev. Dr. Schmettau, Rev. J. Davis, and Rev. Dr. Steane.

The Committee met from time to time in the intervals of the Conference, and as often as occasion required invited other brethren to meet with them. The following matters, after discussion, were put into the form in which they now appear, and having been agreed upon, were read to the Conference at its last session, and adopted:—

DECLARATION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S-DAY.

“The brethren assembled at *Amsterdam*, from various parts of the earth, bear grateful testimony to the unspeakable advantage which they derive from the religious observance of the Lord's-day, and they feel a deep sorrow that, in many parts of *Europe*, this happy privilege is most imperfectly enjoyed. They therefore desire and pray that members of this Alliance should, in their several places of abode, and spheres of influence, use earnest endeavours to secure from States, municipalities, and masters of establishments, for every one, the weekly day of rest from labour, in order that all may freely and fully participate in the temporal and spiritual benefits of the Lord's-day.”

LETTER TO CHRISTIANS SCATTERED ABROAD.

“The Christians from various countries of the world, assembled for worship and conference in the city of *Amsterdam*, in the month of August, 1867, to their brethren in Christ Jesus, who are scattered abroad, bring affectionate salutations.”

Brethren, beloved in the Lord,—We, who for some days have been enjoying the privilege of delightful seasons of united worship and fraternal intercourse, have turned towards you in thoughts of tender affection.

We have borne upon our heart particularly those who have few persons near them sharing their Christian hopes; those who are called to encounter, without visible human support, the hostile influences of heathenism, or of superstition, as well as those who are denied the exercise of the right of public worship and the unrestrained announcement of the blessed Gospel.

We have felt that these circumstances, so far from separating us from you, draw us into closer fellowship, and make us more sensible of our common life in Christ. We have derived so much strength from realizing this union, that we earnestly commend to you the frequent consideration of it. The Divine Word assures us, that all the redeemed in heaven and earth form "one family" (Eph. iii. 14, 15), and renewed hearts everywhere confirm this assurance by the family affection which exists within them (John xiii. 34, 35). No seas, no diversities of language, no forms of thought, not even the imperfections of human character, prevent this union. "We are one body in Christ" (Rom. xii. 25).

This blessed truth, brought home to your hearts by the promised Comforter, will assuredly help to banish the feelings of loneliness under which you are sometimes ready to faint, to kindle the fire of your courage, when apparently facing the enemy alone, to inspire you with hope, when seeking the salvation of perishing sinners, and to draw you forth into utterances and acts of love towards all in whom you see the image of Christ, even when shadowed by error and infirmity.

"Beloved, to you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for His sake" (Phil. i. 29).

We desire to share the honour and the fruits of that suffering, so far as we may do so, through love and sympathy; to "remember them which are in bonds, as bound with them, and them which suffer adversity, as being ourselves also in the body" (Hebr. xiii. 3).

Let us, therefore, stand close to each other in the battle, each prepared to give counsel and defence to his brother, as well as forgiveness and compassion to the whole world, "the Lord making us to increase and abound in love, one toward another, and toward all men" (1 Thess. ii. 12).

Finally, "we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto Him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled" (2 Thess. ii. 1). And we beg that you will accept this cordial, though brief, expression of our regard, together with the assurance that any communication into which you may enter with us, through the medium of the Evangelical Alliance, will be received with gladness.

DECLARATION ON WAR.

The Conference, having had to deplore the fact that they were prevented from holding their meetings last year by the war which then spread confusion and alarm on every side, desire gratefully to acknowledge the hand of God, in the peace which now so happily prevails throughout *Europe*.

They take occasion from this auspicious circumstance, in conformity with the grand design of Christianity, which proclaims "peace on earth, good-will to men, and glory to God in the highest," and requires all who profess to acknowledge its divine authority to be also actuated by its spirit, to bear their united and emphatic testimony against war.

Without permitting themselves to use the language of indiscriminate condemnation, they cannot but look upon war as being always a calamity, and often in itself a crime. While it inflicts upon mankind some of the greatest evils that humanity can suffer, it is, in the vast majority of instances, opposed to the progress of civilization, violates the law of God, and is in direct hostility to the precepts and spirit of Jesus Christ.

The Conference rejoice to know that these sentiments increasingly prevail among the inhabitants of many countries, and that in some recent gratifying instances they have influenced rulers and governments; and the Conference would solemnly call upon their fellow-Christians in all lands, both to act upon them themselves, and by all proper means to

diffuse them amongst others, assured that in doing so they will promote the true interests of their several nations, both civil and moral, and the general happiness of all.

In giving forth this enunciation of their deliberate and unanimous judgment, the Conference believe themselves to be acting in conformity with the common faith of Christians, as embodied in the basis of the Evangelical Alliance, and they earnestly unite in prayer to God to hasten that blessed time foretold in His Word, when men "shall learn war no more."

THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE.

The Conference express the gratification with which the invitation to hold the next General Conference in *New York* is received, and suggest to the American brethren to correspond with the different branches of the Alliance, with a view to its being accepted, if it should be found practicable and desirable,

FAREWELL SPEECHES.

Pasteur FISCH—Allow me to say a few words, as a representative of the French branch. I much regret that so few of my countrymen have been here. The proverb says, "The absent are always in fault." On this occasion they are decidedly so, if they were able to come. All who have been present at our meetings will be of this mind. But there is reason to believe that many who have not been here wanted rather the opportunity than the desire. Ah! we are well assured of this, who have made our escape from the turmoil of *Paris* to repose and refresh ourselves in the bosom of this Christian assembly. Do not for a moment believe that French Protestants can ever be indifferent to the friendship of their Dutch brethren. There is no country in the world to which the evangelical Christians of France are so closely bound. To their proscribed fathers and brethren Holland in former times afforded an asylum, and was the home of liberty. And still in our own times—do not suppose that we can ever be so ungrateful as to forget it—when French Protestantism has need of support and assistance, we turn our eyes to Holland; and we know by experience that an appeal in the name of Christ, and of the necessities of His Church, always finds a sympathetic echo. *Cordiality, hospitality, munificence*—these are the pre-eminent virtues of Holland, and she does not decline from them in the present times, but, on the contrary, they are brilliantly exhibited under our eyes. Be assured that we give thanks to the Lord for what we have witnessed, and that we shall cherish the precious remembrance. And, on your parts, do not forget the 1,200,000 Protestants of France, scattered among a population of 36,000,000 souls. Amidst our conflicts with the superstitions of the Romish Church, and the still more terrible danger of an ever-increasing infidelity and worldliness, we shall fortify ourselves by the recollection of these days—by the conviction that a close alliance unites all the faithful, and by all that we have seen and heard among you. And we shall not cease, feeling our own weakness and wants, to implore the Lord to bless you, your country, your Church, your persons; and to preserve to you that true and living faith which was the glory of your

fathers, and which should remain the treasure of their children. Hold fast, dear brethren, this precious heritage, and Holland will again be a centre of life to the Christian world.

H. GUNDERT, of *Calw* (*Wurtemberg*).—Receive, dear friends, a parting salutation in the name of the German members of this Assembly. I have thought upon the hymn that we recently sang :—

“ Thus will the world acknowledge
That we are Thy disciples.”

I do not know exactly how it stands in this respect, and whether it is a difficult task to make this fact acknowledged by the world. We have met here many most excellent people; we have talked together of the things of the kingdom of God. What impression this makes upon the world, I know not, but this I know: *we ourselves in Amsterdam* have been enabled to recognize the fact, that we are disciples of Christ—weak, imperfect disciples, but yet His disciples, who honour and love Him. Often, indeed, when we examine ourselves, we ask doubtfully: Are we really Christ's disciples? Alas! there is so little true, faithful, sympathizing love among us. But here, in these glorious days, there was no room for doubt. We have felt ourselves to be near to one another, and near to the Lord. You, brethren of *Holland*, have manifested towards us much love, for Christ's sake; and the sentiment resounded from the heart of us all: We would be the Saviour's! Blessed he who is His! Alas! one feels often so poor and so cold in the Church of Christ; the world is often more loving than we are. My dear brethren, be this the fruit of our coming together (and this will be the best thanks, brethren of the *Netherlands*, for the love here shown us), that even after our separation, the world is compelled to testify concerning every member of this meeting: “Behold, he is a disciple of Christ; he belongs to the people of the Lord. See how he loves others, how joyful he is, and how strong, and how pious!”

Rev. D. WORTMAN, of *New York*.—Dear Friends: It is my duty to address a few words to you in the name of the friends of *America*. Our American churches, you will hardly consider foreign; for they have all sprung from you. We look upon *Scrooby-Manor* in *England*, and upon *Delfshaven* in *Holland*, as the birth-places of our great commonwealth. When we came to your country, we were only children coming home, and we felt at home in the midst of you. Now, that the children have been absent from their parents a little while, and have come home to see how their parents are doing, I trust the next step will be that the parents will come to see how their children are getting on. The objection has been raised that the sea is between us, and the question is asked: how shall we cross it? Well, when I crossed the sea from *New York* to *Europe*, I came in the *Great Eastern*, and it was a matter of conversation amongst us: what will be the next thing for the *Great Eastern* to do? You know she did not succeed in all things, although she is a noble ship herself. But after having laid the Atlantic cable which binds two hemispheres together, the question is: what shall she do now? The next thing for her to do is, it seems to me, to bring you to *America*, and so to bind us yet more closely to each other. We are connected already by other ties. All those questions which are now raised amongst you, are also raised amongst us. As you have to fight against the old sin of Popery and still more against the new sin of scepticism, so we have the same work to do, and we join with you in the fixed determination to vanquish them with God's help. The American Church is connected with all the churches of *Europe*. We have emigrants from all

your countries, and they are exerting their influence upon us. So it is only natural, that you should wish that our churches may prosper, while at the same time we also join our hands with you and lift our prayer to God to bless you and us. I am also inclined to say one word in regard to the somewhat equivocal position, which American Christianity may occupy in the eyes of some. I am a representative of a Church responsible for one of the greatest and most terrible wars that ever desolated the world. Now, the American Church, under God, takes all the responsibility of that war. We have been blamed by some for two things: first for sympathizing with slavery, and then for the war itself. Let me say what I think about that. Although there are some who sympathized with slavery, the Church did not; but we were under restraint. Being under peculiar obligations, we could not put down that which it was in our heart to do, and one of the greatest trials of true Christian hearts in *America*, was that they could do no more. But by and by, under God's dealings, a stronger moral sentiment prevailed. We love the Union, we fought for the Union, and so, we trust, fought for Christ and His Kingdom too. Then we felt that we had to proclaim liberty, and since that day a new vigour of Christian life has been imparted to us. Now I stand before you, a delegate of the American Church, purged at last from its old stain. Coming out of this terrible conflict, it got a new and a better spirit. We are now proud of uniting our hands with you. Receive with kind affection our greeting here. We trust ere long we may have the pleasure of bringing you our welcome in our own land!

General BURROWS, of *Canada*.—Having had the honour of serving in Her British Majesty's Army in the American colonies, I offer salutations from *Canada*. In the constitution of that country, recently an alteration has been made, which renders it very much like the organization of the Evangelical Alliance. The provinces united under one dominion, are all governed by separate governments standing under one head. Such is the principle of the Alliance. All the churches united in one blessed bond, and each comprehending the essentials of Christ's Gospel! In that spirit the people of *Canada* received an invitation to form a Branch; and they felt that it was good to dwell together in unity; they felt that they had been separated too long, and that now was the time to be united. A Branch has been formed; and I can assure you it is likely to bring forth many fruits worthy of conversion. May the glorious principles of the Evangelical Alliance be blessed by God, in order that ever more Christian countries and churches, and also individual Christians, may become united together by the bonds of sympathy and love!

Pasteur LANTARET, of *Pomarest*.—As a delegate of the Vaudois Church of *Italy*, I wish to say a few words in the name of the evangelical Christians of the *Italian* kingdom. This new kingdom has lately taken her place among the first Powers of Europe. From this period liberty of conscience through the whole country dates its rise. Italian Protestants are free, and the time will yet come when they will occupy a new place amongst the evangelical Christians of Europe. I am sure I shall have your sympathy when I speak in the name of evangelical Christians, belonging to a people who are spontaneously gathering round the banner of liberty and independence. This happy movement of reconquered nationality and unity will be succeeded by the slow work of spiritual development. This work will, indeed, be slow and difficult. Few foreigners have more than a very superficial knowledge of *Italy*. They love this beautiful country, but they know very little about it. Those who have only seen some of its great cities cannot judge of the real con-

dition of the people. To become acquainted with this the villages and hamlets must be visited. Then only can be known what Rome has done for this generous but light and versatile people. Then only will the sad and terrible truth be discovered. The Italians are Christians in name, but pagans in fact. Look at the most cultivated and superior classes of society. You find them, with here and there an exception, total strangers to religion. They are nearly all infidels, imbued with Voltairean ideas. A man distinguished by his high social position has not scrupled to declare openly that "faith is an absurdity; knowledge alone is needed." This is the belief of nearly all in the cultivated classes. They desire liberty of conscience, yes—but it is only to free themselves from all religion. As to the middle classes, in Italy as elsewhere the true kernel of the people, the great majority, without being positively hostile to the Gospel, are indifferent to it, and do not care to speak about it. Some fear that it would be injurious to their worldly interests. Romanism has developed among the most of them a disordered materialism. Observe again the lower classes, the masses, the proletarians. Among them you find no trace of religion at all. A few external forms, genuflexions before the image of Madonna—this is the only worship, the only religion, of the lower class of Italians. The Church of Rome cares little for these poor souls. It leaves them to brutify themselves with idleness and ignorance. The masses of the people are baptized pagans. Such is the condition of northern *Italy*. In the south it is worse still. In many of the villages there is a conflict almost every year between the admirers of the *white Madonna* and the *black Madonna*. The two idols are carried on a sort of hand-barrow in triumph through the streets, each followed by its votaries, and very frequently a battle rages between them, with knives and poignards, which costs the lives of many of the combatants. The veneration to be shown to one or the other of these *Mothers of God* depends on the result of the contest. The vanquished *Madonna* is abandoned and despised. The other, on the contrary, is borne away to the sounds of trumpets and tambourines. And this miserable spectacle scandalizes nobody! How should it surprise any one in a country where every peasant and artizan has his privileged saint, to please whom, when he has a favour to solicit, he burns a taper, but whom he often throws out of the window when the favour is denied? Do you not, my brethren, pity these poor, superstitious, ignorant people? Ah! think that out of the twenty-two millions of Italy eighteen millions can neither read nor write, and of the remaining four millions perhaps more than half are but imperfectly acquainted with the most elementary rudiments of knowledge! See, then, what Rome has left us! But see also the degradation from which, with the help of the Lord, liberty and the Gospel will deliver us. If there is a country which needs evangelizing, it is doubtless *Italy*. She is wrapped in darkness, but, thank God, the day begins to break, and believe me, we are full of hope and of faith. The beautiful evangelical church at Turin, to the erection of which you largely contributed, rises like the presage of a better future. The Protestant community in that city reckons twenty thousand souls. Of our thirty-five ministers, seventeen are engaged in the work of evangelizing. This blessed work is powerfully assisted by the other Protestant churches. Christian friends belonging to churches in England, in America, in Switzerland, in France, in Holland come to our aid. Yes, Holland has a special claim to our gratitude. Do we seek to found a school, to build a church, to commence a Mission, Holland is always ready with its help. *Netherland* Christians, be assured that amongst those who honour and bless the name of *Holland*, the *Vaudois* and Italians do not desire to occupy the last place.

Rev. E. T. BLISS, of *Constantinople*.—I bring you the salutations of the Turkish Branch of the Evangelical Alliance. In the name of the Christians of *Macedonia*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Mesopotamia*, and of all *Asia*, I greet you. Our Turkish Branch is the youngest of the Branches of the Evangelical Alliance in *Europe*, but in all *Europe* there is not one animated by a stronger love and a greater spirit of union. The great battle of religious liberty has been fought on Turkish soil, fought and won! Missionaries of the Cross and preachers of the Gospel have gone preaching from one end of the land to the other, and Turks, as well as Christians, have been blessed by this means. Yes, the battle has been fought and won; it now only remains to reap the fruits of the victory. It is a great point gained that we have Turkish law on the side of religious liberty. This is due chiefly to the exertions of Christian brethren, not the least to those of the Evangelical Alliance. The Sultan himself may now read the Bible, and even become a Christian, without violating the law of the empire. Still; if the law is on the side of Christianity, practice is on the side of oppression. The Turkish converts, especially in the interior of the country, still suffer under the yoke of intolerance. Dear brothers, sustain us with your powerful prayers. I know that my friends in *Turkey* love the Alliance. Far away in *Turkey*, far beyond the *Tigris*, when your invitation to prayer, at the commencement of the New Year, comes to them, it is received by all with a cordial welcome. Girt around by the deep snow, they meet in their humble places of worship, and unite with you in *London* and *Amsterdam*, and then feel strong in the thought, that they are all in each other's union, and have Christian brethren praying with them, and for them. In answer to these prayers, God's blessing has come down upon their land. Dear friends, the Alliance has none more fervent adherents than the distant brothers of the Eastern Church!

PASTOR KLEINSCHMIDT, of *Neusalz (Bohemia)*.—Dear Brethren: Receive also through a brother who is no stranger in *Holland*, the salutation of the Protestants of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. For many years I have been entrusted by the presiding Council of the Moravian Brethren with the duty of visiting the ministers and churches of those countries. You know that there are still many Evangelicals in these Austrian crown-territories. When the well-known Edict of Toleration of Joseph II. appeared in 1780, many thousands in *Bohemia* and *Moravia* acknowledged themselves to be not Roman Catholics, but Bohemian Brethren. They belong to a very ancient Church. As early as four hundred years ago, after the Hussite war, the Evangelicals in *Bohemia* found the means to form a little Church of their own, which was supplied with preachers by the Waldenses. After the terrible persecution of the Thirty Years' War, it was believed that the Protestants had been entirely exterminated; but the plants, rooted in faith, were not destroyed. This was shown to be the case in the year 1780. At present they number about 100,000 members, for the most part Slavonians (so-called Czees), although there are many Germans also among them. Two-thirds adhere to the Swiss, the remaining third to the Augsburg Confession. Since the last war, the Churches have fallen into a lamentable condition. Their means are exhausted; there are too few schools; the ministers and school-teachers are generally poor and necessitous. The Austrian Government, which manifests now the best intentions, has already contributed a considerable sum. But we cannot expect to receive what is needed from that quarter. The Brethren's Church must naturally feel a lively interest in the old father-land of the Moravian Brethren. But the whole of *Germany* must interest itself in this branch of Protestantism, which presents the natural connection between *Germany* and the *Slavonian* nations. And let *Holland* also not forget the Bohemian Brethren in prayers and gifts.

Rest assured that the father-land of the celebrated DE RUYTER, who formerly broke the chains of the Bohemian preachers, when they were imprisoned in the galleys, has never been forgotten in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*.

REV. COHEN STUART.

Beloved Brethren and Sisters in Jesus Christ our Lord,—We are at length met for the last time as members of the *Fifth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance*. At the moment of terminating these meetings, on the point of separating from each other, we are all deeply moved. It is the first grief we have felt since we assembled here. While under these impressions let us pause for a few moments, that we may recall to our thoughts what the Lord of His infinite goodness has done for us, and ask what He may expect from us in return. The President has well said that our farewell meeting should have a holy and serious character. As I am about to address you in the name of the Committee and of my beloved country, you require that my words should be simple and sincere, in harmony with the solemnity of the occasion.

This simplicity, nevertheless, does not exclude feeling. How is that possible in fact? God is my witness, it is with a heart overflowing with gratitude—I will even say sparkling with happiness—that I have ascended this tribune, penetrated with a sense of the blessings which He has lavished upon us, and for which may His thrice holy name be glorified for ever! How gracious has He been to us in hearing our prayers, and fulfilling our desires! From the first He has made the sun to shine upon us, like a smile of Divine grace, a symbol of the heavenly light which He would unveil to our eyes. Has not this Conference of evangelical Christians been a real Pentecostal festival, like that of which the primitive Church tasted the first fruits, when the dew of the Holy Spirit, fresh and pure, rested on the opening flower of the New Covenant? Have we not felt the reviving breath of the Spirit of God quickening the life of our souls, refreshing the atmosphere we have breathed, stirring up in our hearts the sparks of faith and love rekindled by contact with the heavenly flame? Have we not heard words that have testified that God has once more touched the lips of His prophets with sacred fire? *The unity of the Spirit in the diversity of tongues*—have we not seen and heard this in the harmonious concert of Christians from all countries united to edify one another, and to celebrate together the glory of God? Have we not proved that the risen Christ, the Head of the Church, is unchangeable—that the communion of believers is always a reality—that the Gospel has lost none of its creative power—that it will achieve the victory—that not only do the past eighteen centuries belong to it, but the present, and the future?

Casting a glance, then, back on what has been done—taking a rapid survey of the picture which has been unrolled before our eyes during these meetings—let us resume our experience, let us fix our recollections. What, then, have we seen? In the first place, in listening to the *Reports of the state of religion in different Christian countries*, the contemporary Church has passed under our review the history of its present condition, and we have felt life palpitating in the body of which we are members, and of which the different churches are the organs—this body often suffering and sick, but in those very sufferings recognizing the consciousness of its existence and its destination—this united, living, and organic body, which will never become a corpse while the Saviour lives, who has imbued it with His blood, in the life of which it lives and breathes. In the reports of the churches we have found Christ. Next we turned our view to the external world in which we live; society under its different

aspects; the State in its relation to the Church; Christianity and nationalities; all that is contained within that vast horizon which we endeavour to embrace in *Social Questions*, passed under review; but in each separate domain of social life, in literature, in science, in art, in national life, it is always Christ that we discern as the central sun, the source of all truth and of all light, around which the moral and intellectual world revolves, and from which the brightness radiates that enlightens the world, and every spark of human genius springs. Afterwards we cast a compassionate glance over the miseries that surround us in this world of sin and grief. We looked at the Church in contact with *Human Misery*, and again it was Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners and the Physician of souls, who appeared to us, warring with all these evils when He lays His benedictive hand on the sores of humanity. Then, lastly, we stretched our eyes towards the far distant horizon of the *Pagan and Idolatrous World*, where the Sun of Righteousness has never dispersed the darkness, and here once more, while we listened to what was said of Evangelical Missions, Christ was exhibited as the good shepherd who brings the lost sheep to the fold of His Church, and will at length enclose all His people in it—the Shepherd King whose crook is the sceptre of the world! Always, in these four sections, it is one name only to which we turn our thoughts and our hopes. On every side of the marvellous pyramid of the Christian Church, resting on the earth but rising to heaven, we see this majestic and holy figure of Christ which crowns the summit—Christ, always Christ, crucified, yet living; dead for our sins, but reigning by His death. He whom the heart of the Christian seeks for everywhere, and the eye of the believer knows how to find everywhere—HE has been the centre of our ideas and aspirations!

And hence, my brethren, has arisen that unity of the whole which we have seen amidst diversity of languages, of tendencies, of personal and national peculiarities represented in our assembly. Ah! what a harmonious concert, composed of all the different tones and accents! We have seen nationalities and individualities interchanging their convictions and mutually enriching each other; we have seen them plating with one accord, of all these various flowers, a crown for Him who wore the sanguinary crown of thorns for sinners. Do you want the proofs of this harmony? It would be easy for me to adduce them. Let me mention one only. When Professor LANGE, with the sublime ideas of his speculative and transcendent philosophy, showed us in the mystery of the expiation of sins the true centre of the Christian revelation, and when in a later meeting Dr. GUTHRIE, with that touching simplicity which distinguishes his eloquence, told the story of the little ragged-school boy who stripped off his jacket to receive the chastisement which one of his school-fellows had merited—they both exhibited, each after his own manner, the same truth, they both demonstrated compassionate love to be the centre and the heart of the Christian life. But where shall I end if I multiply proofs? This intimate harmony which has united us round the Cross does not leave itself to be demonstrated. It makes itself felt. And we have truly experienced this joy, this hope, this love, this peace, all these gifts of the Holy Spirit, which constitute our happiness and our true greatness here below, and give us a presentiment and foretaste of what heaven itself will be to the chosen of the Lord!

Well, my dear brethren, we all know that we have to thank God for the blessings He has bestowed upon us, not according to our deserts, but according to His mercy. People of little faith, as we are, how could we hope for them of ourselves? But next to God, it is to you, dear foreign brethren, it is to you who, listening to our appeal, have come here to give us the privilege of your presence, the support of your efforts, the aid of your light,—it is to you especially that we owe the success of our beautiful Christian festival. It is to you that the gratitude of the Com-

mittee, and of Christian *Holland*, is due. Be well assured our obligations to you are of long standing, nor do we believe they will ever be discharged. You have extolled *Holland* as the country of faith and liberty, as the classic soil of Protestantism, the ancient asylum of the persecuted, and the refuge of the proscribed, where the dove of the Holy Spirit found some few inches of land on which to plant her foot in the days of the deluge and devastation, when the ark of the Church was tossed on the billows which covered the world; and you may be sure we shall never forget the glories of our country. We are proud of the eulogies you have lavished on our national traditions, because we feel that *Holland* deserves them. But, my brethren, if Christian and Protestant Europe owes her obligations to *Holland*, you have amply repaid us, and it would be difficult to say which is the debtor. If our flag was the symbol of liberty, they were your valiant battalions, French and Swiss brethren, bringing to us the contingent of their manly courage and their intelligent strength, sharing our dangers and conflicts, and mingling their generous blood with that of our soldiers, who defended that flag and carried it to victory. They were the exiled Walloons, those heroes of industry, who, received as guests and friends, enriched this country, at that time the market of Europe, with the treasures of their laborious and intelligent workmanship. They were your learned men, who made us the still more precious depôts of their virtues and their wisdom, contributing to make *Holland* the intellectual mart of the whole of Europe. This, I rejoice to know, is no longer the case. *Holland*, thank God, has no longer the monopoly of religious toleration and free thought. But of the seed which our fathers sowed we reap the fruit, and we always rejoice in a harvest of which, we shall never forget it, you made us gather the firstfruits. Then let us continue friends and brethren; Frenchmen, sons of the Huguenots, who find in our country and its historical traditions those indelible traces left by your fathers; Belgian Protestants, politically separated from *Holland*, but united to us by bonds which politics could neither create nor dissolve; Swiss, breathing in your grand mountainous country the same glorious air of liberty which spreads at large over the plains of *Holland*, and you also take your place in this Christian line, beloved Protestants of *Italy* and of *Spain*. Though coming to us last, you are not the less welcome. But what do I say? Have you not your ancient titles of nobility, of a date anterior even to ours? Have you not had your reformers long before the Reformation, the Vaudois faith waking up to the harmonious accents of the Provencal lyre, and in your beautiful valleys, this *Israel of the Alps*, a people of saints and martyrs, opposing to their enemies nothing but their weakness, yet while succumbing carrying off the real victory, the victory of moral strength? I know it, you do not need us. "*L'Italia fara da se*" shall remain the device of your just national pride; but you will not therefore refuse the sympathy we offer you. Well, let us all join together united under the banner of our common King, the true *Victor Emmanuel*.

And now, allow me to address a few words to you, dear friends from *England* and *America*. We need not many words to understand one another. Ties of sympathy and love bind our nearer or more distant shores together. We never will forget that British missionaries first brought to our country the blessed Gospel, and that in the days of awakening Protestantism, the first Dutch Reformed Church was founded in *Austin-Friars*. So you will ever remember that our *WILLIAM of Orange*—may I not say quite as well *your WILLIAM of Orange*?—came from *Holland* to you, as the champion of liberty and Protestantism, laying the foundation of that constitution of which you are justly proud. But we want other connections now than those of mere historical recollections. I hope and trust our present Conferences have indeed brought us nearer together. To you, British friends, we owe this Evangelical Alliance.

Be sure that, new as it is here, it has already won a great many friends and adherents amongst us. May *Holland*, too, have got some new friends amongst you! Let our country be no longer a *terra incognita* to our nearest neighbours—separated from us only by that sea which, between commercial and seafaring nations so congenial to one another as you and we, makes no division, but forms a new link. I dare say that henceforth, at least, you will have other and better recollections of *Holland* than that of Dutch gin; that *Amsterdam* will have a better place in your remembrance than the too-renowned "*Schiedam*," and that if ever you remember again that proverb of yours about "the manner of the Dutch, giving too little, and asking too much," you will be ready to declare that in matters of spiritual commerce, be it that we are willing to ask more than we are able to give, it is real friendship and love we offer, and sincere sympathy we expect.

And this, too, we may trust to exchange with you, dear American friends. As the English branch of the Alliance is the oldest of all—yea, the primitive root of the Boabab-tree which is now growing in so many ramifications—yours is the youngest. I am happy and proud to say, the invitation you got from *Holland* to join our present meeting has been the very means of bringing forth an American branch, which, with the healthy and youthful vigour characterizing the fertile soil of your country, is outgrowing at once all that has elsewhere been seen. But there are other connections between us than this. More than one bond of communion exists between *America* and the *Netherlands*. It was here the pious Pilgrim fathers lived; hence it was they went to lay the foundations of your great commonwealth, and after the model of our United Provinces the American Union was framed. No! it was not the *Great Eastern*, in 1865, it was the *Mayflower*, in 1621, that laid the first submarine cable uniting your continent with ours, so that a stream of magnetic fluid runs from one hemisphere to the other, where on each side the same faith is professed and the same Christian love is felt; and if some shock were experienced on one side, it would be so on the other at once. Thus it was in the great struggle of your last war. All our prayers and hopes were for you; your wishes were ours, and here in *Holland* we all stood on the side of the good and great cause which God has blessed—the cause of Union and liberty. It may be that this Assembly in the old town of *Amsterdam* is to be followed by one in yonder city of *New York*, which was once *Nieuw Amsterdam*; but, even if we were never to meet again, we will be ready to mutually acknowledge that Americans and Dutch have their family likeness, and ought to be brothers in faith.

Yes, brothers we ought to be, English friends from *Great Britain* and *America*, and from all other parts of the world. We endeavoured to make you feel at home here. Still we gladly gave you here your foreigners' tickets, as with these some special privileges were connected. Now, on the eve of returning, dear friends, give us your foreigners' tickets back, and take our brotherhand in return; and let us still, after our parting, remain united around the blessed Cross of our Lord!

Will you allow me a few words, dear German brethren. Parting is sad; we feel this now to be true; and especially where we have such a parting after such a meeting. Yes, we have been *really* together, and not merely externally. To you also we owe gratitude for what you have been to us in these glorious and ever-to-be-remembered festive days, and for what you have imparted to us out of the riches of your love and knowledge. Our land owes very much to yours, religiously and intellectually. From Germany we received the Reformation, and at the feet of your learned thinkers young and old in this land sat themselves, when they would refresh their soul at the fountain of true wisdom. It is true that often immature, or even dangerous and poisonous fruits

come from the orchard of German Science to the Netherland markets; but these will perish of themselves; that which is good will remain, and be our spiritual nourishment. Brethren, be this our bond of union: not dissolution, but union of nationalities. High and Low German, united in race and in spirit; not uniform but united; one in the higher oneness of faith and love, which does not destroy and dissolve, but sanctifies and unites individuality and nationality. Yes, we know it; not "sea-embraced Holland-Friesland," but "love-embraced Germany-Holland," will be your watchword. And here we would renew and strengthen this sacred bond of love. We thank you, that at our call, German confederates, whose help we needed most, have taken the field. Continue to aid us with all your power in the contest against unbelief and superstition. In the name of the catholicity of the true evangelical faith, we have all to strive against radical rationalism, even in its present modern form. Let it be no *unio conglutinata*, no deceitful appearance that unites us, but a true family-bond. German brethren, we belong to your race. Let us all, from the *Meuse* to the *Vistula*, be true *Germans*,—men of the Lord.

But I have a Dutch word also in my heart, my dearly-beloved countrymen. Though one have heard many good things in these days in foreign languages, yet our own dear native tongue sounds sweetest to our ears, and finds the deepest and fullest echo in our hearts. Well, then, let us for a moment tell each other in our own beloved Dutch, for how great a blessing we have to thank our God. How little have we deserved that blessing! What doubt, wavering, weakness, cowardly fear and childish division was there among us, to which the history of the preparation of this assembly is a witness! It is well that I am now speaking our language. Strangers need not know all that has transpired in our midst, and in their presence we ought to maintain the honour of our country as much as possible, as long as their too favourable opinion of things, of which during the last few days they have only seen the bright side, does not lead us to shut our own eyes to our own failings, and to disavow our great offences and sins before God. What the foreigners have not seen He has seen, and if He had thought fit to punish our want of faith and unbelief, by withholding from us the blessings we have now received, which of us would have had a right to complain? But He has thought fit, in His mercy, to shame that unbelief by blessing us—by blessing us more than we could expect, more than we could pray for or imagine. Oh! let us never forget how cares and struggles have been rewarded, weakness and sin atoned for, in a way for which, although we cannot feel enough thankfulness, we ought to give thanks to God openly and loudly. Have we not tasted enjoyments and experienced blessings which we had thought hardly capable of realization in this world of imperfection. Was it not a Christian festival of faith and love? The nearness of our Lord, the true unity of believers, the winning power of the Gospel—have we not felt them and acknowledged them, learnt to understand and confess them, more here than ever before? And has it not been good and comforting? has it not been heart-strengthening and soul-elevating! *Been?* God grant that of all this, some good may remain; something remain of that brotherly love and unity of spirit so necessary in our days; God grant that the seed which has been sown here may grow so that it may ripen to a harvest for eternity; and that the good we have learnt from foreigners, rooted and developed on this our own soil, may bear fair and rich fruit for Holland's people and Church! Oh! what will be the future of that Fatherland, with her proud and glorious past,—of that land which is still highly favoured, but, alas! also in many respects deeply fallen? But we will not complain at a moment when every complaint ought to melt away in thanks for mercies received, or enter for a moment into a denunciation of our

sins and failings. We must not always complain; the Christian must also know how to rejoice when he experiences blessings; he must let more songs of praise be heard than dirges and lamentations. Brethren, I have been accused of optimism. Well, now, I willingly acknowledge it; after the experience of these days, I shall be a more obstinate optimist than ever before. And I think I am right in holding fast to the conviction that true Christian belief is always optimistic, for it is sure of its cause, of its future, of its Lord; it can make its shout of triumph heard in the midst of the battle. The Christian knows that he fights, but the Lord conquers: the Church suffers, but her Head lives and reigns. The weaker we are in ourselves, the stronger we are in Him.

And now, my dear brethren, I must close. We have come to the conclusion of this great assembly. What will flow from it? What will be its results, not only for my country, but for the Christian Church at large? What will be the manifest effect, the practical fruit of these meetings? Our materialistic and practical age demands in everything positive proofs in order to be convinced; and I think that Christianity, being permanently a positive fact, ought to satisfy this tendency; I think that we Christians ought to be *positivists par excellence* to the world, justifying our convictions by unanswerable proofs, the reality and value of which the utilitarian world itself would not be able to deny. My brethren, may our efforts tend to this end! Let us constrain unbelievers to confess that faith is the most real of all the realities of this life; that true humanity is found alone in Christ. We know that the Gospel has lost nothing of its savour and vital force. Let us be the salt of the earth, the lights of the world! Let us cause the light of love and truth to shine all around us in the sphere in which we move, and may it make the day chase the darkness, and pierce the veil of infidelity! Let us not be a pretext or an excuse to those who will not or cannot believe the Gospel. Let us carry back to our homes from our happy sojourn here something more than such recollections as time will efface, or a breath of air may dissipate. Let us go wherever God may call us, carrying these remembrances as seeds of life, carrying our strength and our talents, working, striving, praying, loving, suffering, hoping, with new zeal and fresh ardour! Thus, although separated, friends of the Alliance, we shall continue allies, and united; and our very separation, while it disperses us to all parts of the world, will multiply the benefits of the Conference, and make the harvest a hundredfold.

One word more, my brethren, and I have done. One word—or rather two; the affecting and at the same time consolatory word, remembering that it is in fact two: *adieu!* A Dieu, my dear brothers and sisters, all of you, whether you are friends or strangers, foreigners or fellow-countrymen,—a Dieu! It is to Him and His Divine mercy I commend you; you, your different countries, your homes, your wants, and your prayers! To Him we all desire to devote ourselves. To God our heart, our life, our strength, that which lives in us, and which may He vivify by His Spirit,—all to God, and for ever. Amen

DR. IRENAEUS PRIME of *New York*.—My dear Brethren: This is a most solemn hour indeed; we are all moved and afflicted. Yes, it is true: this is the first pain we have felt, since we have come together in this place. Thanks be to God, for what He has done to us during these days, in His infinite mercy! When we have spent so many happy days together in blessed intercourse, coming closer one to another, and in some degree nearer to our great Master,—what can we do but, with friendly lips and with tears in our eyes, press each other's hands, speaking these words, which are almost in all languages, and which express so much, when deeply felt and sincerely uttered: "God be with you. Farewell."

When PAUL took leave of his dear friends near *Ephesus*, they could not restrain their emotions. So it is very natural that we are moved in our hearts on the eve of our departure from this place. We have seen here the forebodings of the great day, when the Saints of all nations, from the North, and South, and East, and West, will gather in the great assembly of the people of God. It was such an unspeakable privilege to us, to assemble with the brethren in unity of spirit. We were no strangers here, but friends and brothers in Christ. Let us remain one in Him. There is no lasting bond but the Gospel of Christ. Dear friends, we hope this assembly may be succeeded by one in *New-York*. We will look out for you, as we want you to come to strengthen our hearts. And now, may God fill your and our hearts with the love of the Holy Spirit! Then we remain united under different denominations, united on earth, though separated by distance, and at length united before the throne of Heaven, where we shall meet to part no more! Amen.

PASTEUR ERNEST DHOMBRES.—Allow me a few of these precious moments. I feel that I must thank you for the reception you have given us. What M. Fisch did as a member of the Committee of the French branch of the Alliance, permit me to do in the name of all the Christians of France who have been present in these edifying assemblies. By a graceful and delicate attention, you have wished that every member of this Conference should leave his portrait at Amsterdam. Be assured that we shall all carry away at the bottom of our hearts a photographic remembrance of this great assembly, imprinted by the brilliant light of this Christian festival. This will remain an unalterable photograph, never to be effaced. On this grand photographic cartoon will appear all the places in which we have met; this hall decorated with artistic taste as beautiful as it is Christian; this pleasant garden where we have breathed the fresh air, and the fraternal banquet provided for us every day. In this picture will be grouped the inhabitants of your city who have received us with such cordial hospitality; after them the churches which have been freely opened to foreign preachers; and above all, the remonstrant church where we celebrated that heavenly feast, and passed one of the most precious, one of the happiest moments of our lives; and lastly, all those cherished and venerable names which represent men whom we are delighted thus to have met, whom we are proud henceforth to believe are our friends, and whom we hope never to forget. And although all these names, even those of VAN WASSENAAR, COHEN STUART, VAN LOON, and many more, will and must one day be effaced, there is another name in the very centre of our recollections which shall never be effaced—the name of Jesus Christ our God and Saviour! Dear brethren, beneath this name, which God Himself, of His Divine goodness, has inscribed on our hearts, let us place another, the name of one of the seven churches of Asia—*Philadelphia*: BROTHERLY LOVE! My friends, amidst these scenes a family remembrance occurs to my mind. Two centuries ago one of my ancestors came to your country, a fugitive from his own, from which he had been driven. Seeking a free country he came to *Holland*. Dear brethren, the times are changed, blessed be God! We are not come now from *France* as refugees, and we shall be happy in returning to our beloved country. But ever remember French Christians, their conflicts and their dangers. Permit me to ask your prayers for all the Protestant churches of *France*. I am not a member of the Free Church, but I ask your prayers for that. But especially pray for the Reformed National Church. She has her enemies within and without. Pray that the truth may triumph. As for us, dear friends and brethren, we will pray for *Holland*. I remember that on one occasion an Englishman, looking on the 4,000 Sunday-school children of *Paris*, said to them: “Dear children, I have seen to-day the guards of *Paris*, magnificent

men; you my children, I believe, are the true guards of the city of *Paris* if you grow up in the fear of the Lord." So I say to the Christians of *Holland*, you are the guards of *Holland*, and the guard of the servants of Christ; these guards, whether young or old, know how to live and die for their Chief. They will never surrender. Face the enemy, then, with a resistance as firm as that with which the dykes of your country repel the fury of the waves. My friends, in a spiritual sense every country has need of a dyke; *Switzerland*, *France*, *Germany*, need a dyke against the ever-increasing tide of infidelity; *England* and *Scotland* against the influx of Ritualism and Popery. Evangelical Christians are called to be the salt of the earth, the lights of the world; let us form this dyke against which all the waves of the tempest shall beat in vain, if only it rests on the immovable rock—Jesus Christ, and His Gospel!

JOHN FINCH, Esq., of *London*—Mr. Chairman, dear Friends: I have been deputed as treasurer of the British Branch of our Alliance, in the absence of our President, to address you at this farewell meeting. After all that has been so eloquently said, I claim your attention only for some minutes. Let me then say a few words, however inadequate to the occasion. But the present is not so much a time for words as for feeling. Your hearts have been turned towards us, and ours to you. There have been many blessed gatherings from the date of the establishment of the Alliance, twenty years ago. We have been engaged—I speak it in humility, not in boasting—in some of the most important events of the Christian Church, and of the world at large. We have sympathized with the afflicted and down-trodden, and the prison-doors have, in more than one instance, been opened by our endeavour. To God be all the glory, and may we be kept with all humility when we think of it. This Alliance never undertook a work of that kind—to intercede for the afflicted and the persecuted, and to assert the truth of religious liberty—without meeting with abundant success. We have succeeded in everything we have undertaken. It is marvellous in our sight, and to God, I say, be all the praise! I have learned one truth in this Alliance, and that is—the nearer we approach to the likeness and image of Christ, the nearer we approach to each other. That is the point we should have in view. The connection between *Great Britain* and the land in which we are now is of the most intimate kind. We cannot be in *Holland* without thinking of the time when you were a refuge to the afflicted. Again, we remember that it was your Prince of ORANGE who came as the defender of our liberties; and when you go to the opposite coast (to *Hull*) and see the effigy of that great Sovereign, you will see that we have not forgotten our obligations to *Holland*. Let us trust that we shall have still greater union, a union which shall one day be perfected when we meet together around the throne of the Lord. You have beautifully symbolized the various meetings of this Alliance. We have been, as your walls teach us, to *London*, to *Paris*, *Berlin* and *Geneva*; but we have met nowhere with more kindness and affection than have been here accorded to us. Not even when we enjoyed royal patronage have we ever received a more sincere evidence of kindness and goodwill than we have found in *Holland*. Our prayer is, that you may be blessed in "your basket and your store," and in all spiritual blessings in Jesus Christ.

PROFESSOR ASTIE, *Lausanne*.—Before the concluding prayer, I wish to say a few words. Separation is always a solemn and painful thing. We have all experienced this in our families. Then we press more closely to each other; we turn our eyes to heaven; we say adieu. . . . My dear brethren, we also form a family; in a few moments we shall say adieu. Let us again for the last time gather around the Lord: let us

thank Him for having blessed us; let us ask Him to preserve us, that we may stand together in the great day of Christ, surrounded by many witnesses. Meanwhile, dear friends and brethren of *Holland*, who have so heartily received us, one only wish! You have made us rejoice with great joy. We have felt at home with you; we have found ourselves in the midst of a Protestant nation. Be then faithful to your religious and national traditions! As for us French Protestants, we have traditions before which we start back with affright; those of *St. Bartholomew*, and the *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*. Yours are happy and glorious. Ah, consider well the price, the value, the responsibility of this precious legacy which your fathers have bequeathed you. *Noblesse oblige*, friends of *Holland*, and yours is of ancient date. Keep your escutcheon unstained. Abide faithful to these national and Christian traditions. Maintain your faith. Show that the flag of *Holland* has always the same significance, that it unites the colours of *Christianity and Liberty*. Brethren of *Holland*, be always faithful to this flag, faithful to the motto of your house of *Orange*: JE MAINTIENDRAI!

After these Valedictory Addresses a parting hymn was sung, and the Chairman called upon the REV. DR. STEANE to offer the concluding prayer.

After humble adoration, and a rehearsal of some of the glorious perfections of Jehovah, with profound worship founded upon them, and prayers for blessings needed in common by all the supplicants, and by the universal Church; special supplication was made for *Holland*, her people, her churches, her ministers, her magistrates, her legislators, her king and the House of *Orange*; then for all the countries from which the Conference had been gathered, for all Christian ministers and missionaries, and for all the churches of Christ throughout the world; for the increase of brotherly love and godly zeal; for the Evangelical Alliance, and for a special and rich blessing to follow the present Conference, with the forgiveness of all its errors, infirmities, and faults; afterwards followed a solemn commendation of all the brethren to the protection of Divine Providence in their travels home, and to the love of the Father, the grace of the Redeemer, and the communion of the Holy Ghost; with devout thanksgiving for the manifold tokens of His presence, preserving unbroken to the close the harmony and loving temper of the assembly, and refreshing it with His gracious influence; and the prayer closed with expressions of unshaken faith in the Divine promises, especially the last, "Behold, I come quickly," adding the responsive petition of the whole Church, "Amen; Even so, come, Lord Jesus!" Amen.

The Doxology was sung, the Benediction pronounced, and the assembly rose.

THE MISSIONARY FESTIVAL AT VOGELENZANG.

THE Conference finished, the assembled brethren were invited to participate on the following day in the engagements and pleasures of the annual gathering of the Dutch Missionary Societies. For the last five or six years the friends and supporters of these different institutions have annually united to hold a large meeting in the open air, in the park of some nobleman or other wealthy person, kindly placed at their service for the purpose. On the present occasion it had been fixed by previous arrangement that this meeting should be attached to those of the Evangelical Alliance Conference, and it certainly formed a delightful and appropriate conclusion to the whole.

The village of Vogelenzang is about half an hour's distance by rail from Amsterdam, and there, in the beautiful and finely-wooded park of Mr. BARNAART, some 20,000 persons assembled and spent the day in a most agreeable manner, listening to missionaries, and missionary reports and addresses, intermingled with prayer and praise, and with social intercourse of an eminently gratifying and Christian character. The railway officials informed the writer that they had issued 16,000 tickets, and it seemed, besides, as if all the private carriages and hired vehicles of the neighbourhood had been put in requisition to convey the surrounding population thither. The weather was uninterruptedly propitious from dawn till dewy eve, and the company began arriving at an early hour. The first train left Amsterdam at 6 o'clock, and others followed at convenient intervals. To the English visitors, and probably still more to other foreigners, there was something at once novel and striking in the scene. For there was, in the first place, a remarkable blending of all classes, from the nobleman to the peasant; the rich and the poor met together with no apparent assumption of superiority on the part of the former and no servility in the latter; and besides, there were many singular national or provincial costumes—the Dutch knickerbocker and its appropriate accompaniments, the women of North Holland with their peculiar caps, and families from the island of Marken—fathers, mothers, and children—in the antique dress, which for centuries

has distinguished the inhabitants of this island, and upon which modern fashions have made no innovation. All were cheerful together, in the consciousness of a common enjoyment.

The proceedings commenced at 10 o'clock, when thousands of voices, sustained by a powerful orchestra, lifted up to heaven the psalm of praise.* The opening prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. HELDRING, president of the General Missionary Commission, and the vice-president, the Rev. VAN RHYN, preached from Heb. xii. 28. He was followed by Mr. LOOMAN, who gave a short account of the different missionary societies of the Netherlands. These are as follows:—1. The Zeist Missionary Society, established 1732. A branch of the Moravian Society, with 318 missionaries and 70,000 members in communion, a third of whom are in the Dutch island of *Surinam*. 2. The Netherlands Missionary Society (1797). It has sent out 119 missionaries, and has at present 23 principally in the Amboyna islands, in Ceram, and Java. 3. The Baptist (1848), with 2 missionaries in Java. 4. The Java Committee (1851), 6 missionaries and assistants. 5. The Ermeloc Missionary Society, whose labours are confined to the Sangir and Talant islands. 6. The Missionary Society of the Reformed Separatists (1857), labouring in Java and *Surinam*. 7. The Netherlands Missionary Union (1858), with 7 missionaries. 8. The Utrecht Missionary Society (1859), with 14 missionaries and assistants in New Guinea. 9. The Dutch Reformed Missionary Society (1865), with 10 missionaries and assistants in Java. 10. The Netherlands Missionary Society for the Jews (1862), with 3 missionaries, of whom one is labouring in *Surinam*. These societies received last year 153,820 guilders, and published 20 different missionary papers. After this the strangers on the platform were presented to the assembly, another hymn was sung, and the first meeting closed. When the company had partaken of refreshments, which were plentifully provided, they re-assembled—not, however, round one platform, but three, one for the English, another for the French, and a third for the Germans, and addresses were delivered by many speakers in these languages, which were translated into Dutch by persons appointed for the purpose, who, when they were wanted, could be distinguished in the crowd by a red favour worn conspicuously on their dress. Among the English speakers, Lord RADSTOCK, ROBERT BAXTER, Esq., and the Rev. F. TUCKER may be especially mentioned, who were instant at all opportunities to show to the people the way of life. Later in the afternoon the principal platform was again occupied by the Dutch brethren, both ministers and missionaries, who addressed the people; and then, after another interval, the concluding address was delivered by the Rev.

* Ps. lxxvii. 1, 2.

J. C. G. WESTHOFF, of *Amsterdam*. LUTHER's Hymn was sung in the Dutch translation of TEN KATE, and a doxology, with the benediction, closed the proceedings of the day.

It should be added that, in addition to several booths in which refreshments could be obtained, Mr. BARNAART opened his mansion to the foreign guests and their families, who were supplied, with the utmost courtesy and kindness, with everything they could desire. They were welcomed by their excellent host and his friends, who were present to assist in doing the honours, to his spacious and richly furnished salons, in which whatever a generous hospitality could suggest was provided for them.

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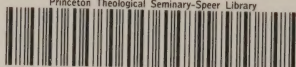
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